

America's new world orders. Forging international alliances and heading off a looming trade war will be further complicated by slow economic growth in the United States, Europe and Japan that threatens to encourage more competition than cooperation among the United States and its traditional partners. Promoting democracy and human rights, which Clinton has vowed will be a cornerstone of his foreign policy, is also proving to be more difficult, costlier and less certain than many people imagined, not only in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe but almost everywhere. Unless he is even luckier than Bush, President Clinton will find himself under siege before he can even get his administration organized. Among the likely trouble spots:

- World trade talks. Clinton may find himself taking office just as a bitter dispute between the United States and the European Community over farm subsidies erupts into a trans-Atlantic trade war. After the latest effort to break the deadlock failed last week, Washington announced that it will slap up to \$300 million worth of punitive tariffs on European farm exports. The EC has targeted a list of U.S. agricultural products for retaliation. Unless the dispute is resolved in 30 days, when the U.S. penalties are to take effect, the resulting battle could cripple attempts to liberalize world trade, encourage Europe, North America and East Asia to retreat into protectionist trade blocs and dim any chances of stimulating global growth.
- Russia. Clinton will face a very different Russia than the one that was the compliant junior partner in Bush's three greatest diplomatic accomplishments: German unification, war against Iraq and Middle East peace negotiations. Inflation is more than 1,300 percent a year and climbing, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin is under growing pressure from Russian nationalists, military officers and industrialists to put the brakes on economic reform and slow moves to retire the huge Soviet nuclear arsenal.

Tensions are escalating between ethnic Russians and the people of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and on December 1 Yeltsin will face a hostile Congress of People's Deputies dominated by reac-

Democracy in danger. Apatzeld

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tionaries. Things are even less promising elsewhere in the former Soviet Union.

m The Middle East. Bush and then Secretary of State James Baker walked away from their own Mideast peace talks last August, and now the negotiations need a decisive American push. In order to hold his eroding political base together, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin needs some concrete response from the Arabs. for example an end to the mostly symbolic boycott of companies that do business with Israel. It is important to achieve something concrete and substantive in the next two or three months, says Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi.

Bush may have knocked down Saddam Hussein, but the dictator has already bounced back. And while the United States and its allies have tried to keep a tight lid on Hussein's military power, Iran has rapidly been rearming and is beginning to throw its weight around the Persian Gulf again.

m North American free trade. Clinton wants to negotiate side agreements to the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico that President Bush is expected to sign in December. Clinton will be pressured by labor leaders and others to demand concessions from Mexico on environmental and labor relations issues.

m The Balkans. As winter threatens to intensify the humanitarian crisis in the former Yugoslavia, the war threatens to drag in Albania, Hungary and Greece, among others.

m Collapsing peace plans. In South Africa, hopes that apartheid would die peacefully have been replaced by fears that a civil

is not dying peacefully in So

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GREAT DEAL.

war is beginning in Natal Province. El Salvador's U.S.-backed President Alfredo Cristiani is balking at a United Nations peace plan for his country; America's former guerrilla allies in Angola mounted a post-election offensive (they lost); Afghanistan, where the United States helped arm the mujaheddin guerrillas, is no more peaceful today than it was under a Soviet puppet regime; and the genocidal Khmer Rouge are ignoring the U.N. plan for Cambodia.

Bush and Baker tackled these issues piecemeal, choosing a few, chucking others and usually reacting to events rather than trying to anticipate them. And even if Bush wills Clinton his vaunted Rolodex, it may not be much help: Britain's John Major, France's Francois Mitterrand, Germany's Helmut Kohl and Canada's Brian Mulroney all may be on their way out, too.

But if Bush and Baker want to leave office on higher notes than the ones they struck during the final weeks of the campaign, there are some things they might do. Baker could return to the Mideast peace talks, with someone from the Clinton camp in tow, to revive the negotiations and ensure that there is no costly timeout. Bush could press Ukraine to ratify the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which would help ensure that the START agreement doesn't fall apart and also clear the way for Clinton to seek deeper cuts in nuclear weapons.

The lame-duck president, who no

longer has to fear the voters or special interests, could begin trying to improve the environmental and other provisions of the Mexican free-trade agreement that Clinton has criticized. Finally, Bush could work overtime to head off a trade war with the EC and to salvage

. the Uruguay round of the
world-trade talks.

-But it now falls to Bill Clinton
to convince the American people that the
choice between foreign and domestic
policies is a false one and that there can
be no revival at home if America's influ-
ence abroad continues to decline. |

ul Africa.

BY JOHN WALCOTT

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U.S.NEWS & WORLD REPORT, NOVEMBER 16, 1992