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THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

THE NEW WORLD ORDER

"We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward a historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times . . . a new world order can emerge; a new era -- freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace, an era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony."

-- President George Bush
September 11, 1990

The Bush Administration has been a force for a world order based on respect for the rule of international law and on international cooperation in pursuit of shared goals. It was instrumental in forging a grand coalition to battle tyranny and aggression in the Persian Gulf. It has provided assistance to emerging democracies throughout the world, encouraged the growth of free trade, and has provided a beacon of freedom to those who have suffered the stifling weight of oppression.

Guiding Principles

Because of the strength of its people, institutions, and vision, the United States plays a key leadership role in the formation of the new world order. The new world order is more than just a slogan; it is a quest for all humanity -- a quest for a world in which nations settle disputes through cooperation, not confrontation; where the strong protect the weak; where people are governed by the rule of law and not the tyranny of despots; where people are free to choose their own leaders and form of government; and where they can travel and enjoy the fruits of their own labor free from oppression.

The Gulf War

The Gulf War was the first example of the emerging new world order. During this conflict, the Bush Administration worked tirelessly to forge a unique partnership of nations to confront Saddam Hussein's threat to the Middle East. This coalition included new alliances among old antagonists and -- with the assistance of a strengthened United Nations -- beat back Hussein's aggression.

Democracy

The Bush Administration has encouraged the development of new democracies where people can build their futures based on the knowledge that their lives will be governed by their own laws and not by the whims of despots or oppressive bureaucracies. From Nicaragua to Argentina, Ethiopia to Ukraine and other republics of the former USSR, the United States is providing financial, intellectual, and moral support to those who choose the path of self-determination and freedom.

International Cooperation

As seen during the Gulf crisis, the United Nations has begun to fulfill the role with respect to ensuring collective security and maintaining peace that its founders envisioned over 45 years ago. In addition, the United Nations has played a major role in encouraging new dialogues in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Europe. It has actively negotiated the release of Western hostages in Lebanon; stationed troops along contested borders; chartered nuclear, biological and chemical inspection teams; and held firm on sanctions against Iraq. Regional organizations have also played a major role in working for solutions to regional crises -- the Gulf Cooperation Council in the Gulf War, the Organization of American States in Haiti, and the European Community in Yugoslavia.

Open Borders and Open Trade

The Administration has worked tirelessly to dismantle artificial barriers to trade and travel. The last four years have witnessed the end of the Cold War, the destruction of the Berlin Wall, the elimination of travel restrictions in most of Eastern Europe, and the rebirth of democracy in Eastern Europe. In addition, the Administration has played a major role in lowering tariffs and other restrictions on trade.

The Bush Administration has nurtured the vision of a new partnership of nations based on consultation, cooperation, collective action, and the rule of law. It is a partnership whose goals are to encourage democracy, increase prosperity, and strengthen the peace.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

SOUTH AFRICA

"[A]partheid must be eliminated. We've worked with the nations of the world to bring an end to this system of racial prejudice. Progress has been slow and often painful. But progress has definitely been made I firmly believe that this progress is irreversible."

-- President George Bush
July 10, 1991

President Bush has long believed that apartheid must end -- and that the United States must help build a new, democratic, post-apartheid South Africa. Disputes over policy towards South Africa have not been disputes over ends but over means -- and the Bush Administration is confident the means it uses are the most effective at promoting both democratic change and market-oriented economics.

Promoting Political Change

At the beginning of the Administration, the President urged the South African government to unban political parties, release political prisoners including nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, and begin a negotiated settlement that would lead to a democratic South Africa. In an historic reversal of apartheid policy, President F. W. deKlerk began opening up South Africa's political system. Mandela was released in February 1990 and a few months later visited the White House and held talks with President Bush.

Because of the historic changes in South Africa, including the release of Mandela and other political prisoners and the abolition of such pillars of apartheid as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, the Administration determined in July 1991 that the five criteria described in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) of 1986 had been fulfilled. President Bush signed an Executive Order terminating the CAAA sanctions. In doing so, the Administration helped mark the end of the apartheid era and contributed to South Africa's entry into the post-apartheid period.

In September 1990, State President F. W. deKlerk made an official visit to Washington -- the first face-to-face meeting between a U.S. and South African leader in over 40 years. At that time, President Bush reiterated his support for a constitutional democracy in South Africa.

Progress continues on constitutional and political reform. In December 1991, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) was launched, and South Africans of all races together began negotiating a new political structure. The Bush Administration continues to act as a facilitator and observer to these historic and difficult political and constitutional negotiations.

Promoting a Market Economy

The Bush Administration has also emphasized the importance of a strong, market-oriented economy. In his various meeting with key South African political figures including State President de Klerk, President of the African National Congress Nelson Mandela, and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, President Bush has focused on the need for a healthy economy led by the private sector.

Part of our commitment includes assistance that will help prepare black South Africans to participate fully in the revitalization of their economy and to help meet the most pressing needs of black South Africans in the areas of housing and education.

As President Bush remarked in July, "This is a moment in history which many believed would never be attained." Much remains to be done, but South Africa is on the road to building a new democracy for all of its people.

(February 18, 1992)

THE ENTERPRISE FOR THE AMERICAS INITIATIVE

"[The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative] is a prescription for greater growth and a higher standard of living in Latin America -- and right here at home, new markets for American products, and more jobs for American workers."

-- President George Bush
June 27, 1990

The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has supported the economic revitalization of Latin America and the Caribbean. It has bolstered the commitment to market-oriented reforms and investment liberalization by Latin American leaders by producing tangible results for their developing economies while also providing new, profitable opportunities for U.S. trade and investment. As a result:

- . Net capital inflows to the region more than tripled, from \$4 to \$14 billion, between 1989 and 1990;
- . Foreign exchange reserves increased by \$13 billion, the largest increase in a decade;
- . As one of the fastest growing markets for American products, U.S. exports to the region grew by 10% in 1990, with growth forecast at 14% for 1991; and
- . U.S. direct investment in Latin America rose by more than 15% in each of the last two years.

The three pillars of the Enterprise for the Americas are trade, investment, and debt reduction. To expand trade, President Bush proposed that we begin the process of creating a hemisphere-wide free trade zone; to increase investment, the President proposes that we adopt measures to create a new flow of capital into the region; and to further ease the burden of debt, the Administration has announced a new approach to debt in the region -- with important benefits for our environment.

Trade

President Bush's proposal to create a free trade zone in the Americas is a goal now widely accepted throughout the hemisphere. As a first step, the United States has already successfully negotiated bilateral trade framework agreements with thirty countries. We are engaged in intense negotiations with our Canadian and Mexican colleagues on the North American Free Trade Agreement. Chile could also be a free trade agreement candidate based on its open trade and investment regimes and prudent macroeconomic management.

Our neighbors are responding by reducing trade barriers and introducing reforms that offer opportunities for American exports and investment. U.S. exports to the region grew by 10% in 1990 and approximately 14% in 1991, creating more jobs for Americans. A market of close to five hundred million people is opening up to American business and the products of American labor.

Investment

The Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) is taking the lead in a new investment sector lending program aimed at helping Latin American and Caribbean countries undertake dramatic liberalization of their investment regimes. Such loans have already been negotiated with Chile, Bolivia, Jamaica, and Colombia. Negotiations are now underway with Argentina, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay.

The United States has also proposed an innovative Multilateral Investment Fund, with a one-time capitalization of approximately \$1.5 billion. The Fund (MIF), to be administered by the IADB, will provide resources for privatization, strengthening the productive capacities of the work force, and making capital more easily available to the smaller entrepreneur. Japan, Spain, Portugal, and Canada have all expressed their enthusiastic support, with Japan and the United States each pledging \$500 million over five years for capitalization. Major Latin countries have also stated their intention to join the Fund. The MIF agreement was signed on February 11, 1992.

Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, and others have initiated the difficult process of privatization, creating opportunities for local businesses as well as American companies.

Debt Reduction

The Bush Administration has signed debt agreements under EAI with Chile, Bolivia, and Jamaica on the basis of their commitment to economic reform, eliminating a total of \$263 million in food assistance debt. We are seeking further authority and appropriations from Congress to reduce foreign economic assistance debt and to sell a limited portion of Eximbank and Commodity Credit Corporation assets for debt/equity, debt-for-nature, or debt-for-development swaps.

Protecting the Environment

The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative is not just about promoting economic growth; it has other tangible benefits for the people of the hemisphere, particularly by encouraging protection of the environment.

The Bush Administration is negotiating a comprehensive plan with Mexico to deal with bilateral environmental concerns in the context of the broad Enterprise for the Americas effort.

Chile, Bolivia, and Jamaica have already signed Environmental Framework Agreements with the United States, and we expect more nations to follow. These Agreements enable them to make interest payments on their reduced debt obligations in local currency to support grass roots environmental projects. This element of the EAI has received strong support from the environmental community and includes their active participation through the new "U.S. Environment for the Americas Board" to review the local environmental programs.

The Enterprise for the Americas initiative is helping hemispheric countries grow and develop as never before; Venezuela, Argentina, Mexico, and Chile by are all experiencing good rates of growth. High growth rates produce employment and better living standards, reducing immigration pressures and the threat of authoritarian government. For Americans, EAI means greater access to foreign markets, increased U.S. exports, greater opportunities for investment abroad, and an increased emphasis on protecting our common hemispheric environment.

(February 18, 1992)

THE ANDEAN TRADE PREFERENCE INITIATIVE

"This legislation will expand economic alternatives for these countries and help halt the production, processing, and shipment of illegal drugs."

-- President George Bush
December 4, 1991

In September 1989, the President approved an Andean Counter-Drug Initiative that expanded military, economic, law enforcement, and intelligence cooperation for selected Andean countries for the purpose of strengthening their counternarcotics efforts. The Andean Trade Preference Initiative is part of that strategy; its goal is to reduce the flow of cocaine to the U.S.

At the Cartagena summit in February 1990, President Bush joined the Andean Presidents in a commitment to fight drug trafficking through a strategy of mutually reinforcing actions to cut demand and supply. To the Bush Administration, that commitment includes supporting the Andean nations, through the Andean Trade Preference Act (ATPA), in the development of new export opportunities to give people an alternative to the cocaine economy.

U.S.-Andean Counternarcotics Cooperation

The Administration recognizes the need to provide help to those who take economically and politically painful action to fight the production of illegal drugs. At Cartagena, the Andean Presidents appealed to President Bush to provide new trade opportunities to encourage legal sources of employment to displace permanently the cocaine economy. Last December, the President was able to fulfill his commitment by signing the ATPA. Modeled after the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), the ATPA gives Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia duty-free treatment for almost 6,100 products (two-thirds of all U.S. tariff categories) for a ten-year period. About \$300 million worth of Andean products now charged duties will become duty-free.

Economic Benefits to the U.S.

Looking at the hemisphere's economy as a whole, as our imports increase, our neighbors generally grow more prosperous. The CBI experience and recent trade patterns throughout the hemisphere show that we can also generally expect to sell more to countries that sell more to us. The Bush Administration believes that ATPA will promote economic growth among the Andean countries and that this growth will translate into larger imports of U.S. goods and services.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

CANADA

"We have always enjoyed superb relations with Canada, and a unified, strong Canada is a great partner; has been and will continue to be."

-- President George Bush
April 10, 1990

President Bush has conducted relations with Canada with the goal of deepening our partnership. In world affairs, trade, and the environment, the United States and Canada have worked together to advance the common interests of our two nations.

Canadian Partnership in World Affairs

President Bush and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney have sought to advance common Western interests globally. Canada took a dramatic step by contributing military forces to the international coalition the President built to respond to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Canada was in the forefront among NATO allies in proposing initiatives aimed at reaching out to the new democracies in the East -- including the establishment of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Within this hemisphere, Canada -- which has recently joined the Organization of American States -- helped support U.S. policies toward Haiti.

Air Quality Agreement

On March 13, 1991, in Ottawa, President Bush and Prime Minister Mulroney signed the U.S.-Canada Air Quality Accord. This historic agreement resolved a long-standing environmental concern between the two countries by establishing an effective bilateral mechanism to address transboundary air pollution issues. It recognizes that pollution does not respect national boundaries and can be reduced to the benefit of both countries through cooperative action.

The agreement contains specific emission standards for reducing sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides emissions, the precursors of acid rain. For sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides, the agreement commits the United States to implement the requirements of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, which were signed into law by President Bush on November 15, 1990. It also commits Canada to implement current air quality requirements, and to adopt several stringent new requirements for controlling pollution.

Bilateral Trade Relations

The U.S.-Canada Free-Trade Agreement (CFTA) established the world's largest and most comprehensive bilateral free trade area. The total value of goods and services which flow between the two countries is approximately \$200 billion. The CFTA entered into force on January 1, 1989, and implementation has proceeded smoothly over the past three years. Traders and investors on both sides of the border have moved to take advantage of the many opportunities opened by the progressive reduction and elimination of trade and investment barriers.

One of the main features of the CFTA is the accelerated elimination of tariffs, accomplished at the initiative of the private sector and with the concurrence of Congress and the Canadian Government. In May 1990, the first round of tariff acceleration was concluded, covering over 400 products valued at almost \$6 billion. In September 1991, the second round of negotiations produced accelerated elimination of tariffs on over 250 products worth \$2 billion. The Administration initiated in late 1991 a third round of this trade liberalizing exercise widely supported on both sides of the border.

Now, the United States, Canada, and Mexico are engaged in intensive negotiations to produce a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). When completed, this will establish a single market of 350 million consumers and producers and \$6 trillion in annual output.

(February 18, 1992)

CENTRAL AMERICA

"I can see a democratic Central America in which all of the nations of the region live in peace with each other; where the citizens of the region are safe from the violence of the state or from revolutionary guerrillas; where resources now devoted to military defense could be channeled to build hospitals, homes, and schools."

-- President George Bush
March 24, 1989

The Bush Administration recognized early that a sustained, bipartisan policy of democracy, peace, and development for Central America was a critical national interest. Because of historic political and economic problems; the isthmus' proximity to the United States; and the strong human, economic, and historic ties we have with the region, Central America and the United States have remained closely linked.

Strengthening Democracy

Elected, civilian presidents hold office in each of the Central American states, and the principle of consent of the governed is now firmly established. Political pluralism has expanded. Privileged institutions such as the military are under increasing pressure to become more accountable to civilian authority. In Nicaragua, Sandinistas and supporters of President Chamorro's coalition actively debate the nation's future. In El Salvador, President Alfredo Cristiani is opening the way for electoral reform and more plural legislative representation.

The Bush Administration has actively supported both democratic processes and expansion of the rule of law. The protection of basic individual freedoms and human rights are cornerstones for successful democracy. We have programs in areas as diverse as the administration of justice, electoral support, and legislative assistance. Strengthening democracy has also involved attempts to reduce polarizing violence. The United States has moved to support the goal of national reconciliation. It has also worked actively with the United Nations and Organization of American States peacekeeping and verification activities in the region.

The Quest for Peace

Early on, the Bush Administration recognized opportunities for helping to end the period of conflict in Central America. The Administration worked to build support behind the Esquipulas II Accord of August 7, 1987. In numerous diplomatic and political fora, the Administration recognized that a binding Central American commitment to the Esquipulas formula was key to the success of the peace process.

The Nicaraguan people in February 1990 freely elected President Violeta Chamorro and have built a genuine democracy, the first for Nicaragua in the 20th century. This event permitted a negotiated end to the Nicaraguan civil war and the return and demobilization of the Nicaraguan Resistance. The United States immediately removed trade sanctions against Nicaragua and rushed more than \$400 million in emergency assistance to the new Chamorro government.

The Bush Administration has consistently supported the U.N.-mediated negotiations to end the eleven-year-old war in El Salvador. The Administration focused on developing all possible means of support to move the negotiations toward a permanent settlement and a U.N.-monitored cease fire. This included a dramatic departure -- U.S.-Soviet cooperation -- in support of the Salvadoran peace process. The U.S. has committed itself to working with the Salvadorans, the United Nations, and the international community to consolidate and guarantee the success of peace.

Regionally, the Administration has supported political and security cooperation. A regional policy of cooperation and integration is beginning to take hold. The Central Americans inaugurated their Central American Parliament in November 1991. In July 1990, the Central Americans resumed disarmament and reduction talks with the goal of a regional agreement that would reduce burdensome arms expenditures. The Nicaraguan military, which formerly threatened the regional military balance, has been reduced to fewer than 20,000 soldiers in 1991.

Functional ties of trade and commerce, as well as shared interest in developing stronger democratic procedures and institutions, are knitting the states of the region together from Panama to Mexico.

Support for Development

The Administration has worked to provide substantial assistance to the region. Approximately three quarters of a billion dollars in non-military assistance has flowed annually to Central America. In the exceptional year of 1990, more than one billion dollars in aid went to the region. This assistance is used to address problems ranging from balance of payments problems to meeting the basic human needs of the region's people. The United States in 1991 also provided major debt relief to Honduras and Nicaragua, forgiving most of these countries' official debt obligations to the United States.

(February 18, 1992)

MEXICO

"Relations . . . between the United States of America and Mexico have never been better. Mexico has a bold new President, Carlos Salinas. He's reformed that economy dramatically. And he's extended the hand of friendship to the United States of America, and I've been proud on your behalf to reach out and shake that hand."

-- President George Bush
March 19, 1991

A Special Relationship

President Bush has assigned a high priority to relations with Mexico. He has met with Mexican President Salinas six times, most recently at Camp David on December 14, 1991. Cooperation with Mexico has progressed on a wide range of issues, including narcotics, trade, the environment, immigration, and border issues. Eleven U.S. Cabinet members and agency heads met with their Mexican counterparts in Mexico City in September 1991 to discuss our bilateral agenda, a unique event that symbolized recognition of our mutual interdependence.

A Growing Market

During the last four years, as Mexico reduced import barriers and introduced a wide range of reforms, U.S. exports have more than doubled, generating over 250,000 additional jobs for American workers. Mexico is our third largest trading partner. Under the North American Free Trade Agreement proposed by the Bush Administration and now under negotiation, we will do even better. We will continue to benefit from Mexico's growth -- exports and jobs will increase. For every dollar Mexico spends on imports, 70 cents is spent on imports from the United States; for each dollar of GNP growth, 15 cents is spent on U.S. goods. The Bush Administration remains committed to completing negotiations on a Free Trade Agreement as soon as possible.

Counternarcotics Cooperation

Mexican-U.S. cooperation in the war on drugs is becoming increasingly effective, as President Salinas has declared the war on drug trafficking a national priority. More arrests are being made and more crops eradicated. Nearly fifty tons of cocaine, mostly destined for the United States, was seized in Mexico during 1990. A binational Mixed Permanent Commission has been established to coordinate policies and enforcement activities with Mexico. A Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty came into force in May 1991. This treaty is a valuable law enforcement agreement aimed at the mutual goal of fighting criminals whose illegal activities, including narcotics activities, transcend national boundaries.

Environmental Cooperation

President Bush and President Salinas agreed in Monterrey, Mexico in November 1990 that the environmental agencies of the two countries would prepare an integrated plan for the border area, expected to be completed by the end of 1992. Both governments are committed to environmental progress, with wastewater treatment, hazardous waste disposal, and air pollution receiving priority. The goal of this initiative is simple: to protect human health and the environment along the border comprehensively.

The Bald and Aztec Eagles

The ties between Mexico and the United States grow stronger every day. Most important, of course, are the close and friendly ties between our peoples -- families, tourism, and commerce. The Bush Administration, for its part, has worked hard to advance our relationship with Mexico, and those achievements will benefit the American people in many practical ways -- more jobs, a cleaner environment, and reducing the inflow of narcotics over our common border.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

NICARAGUA

"On this day, Nicaraguans can celebrate their nationhood with the knowledge that they are truly independent and truly free."

-- President George Bush
Nicaraguan Independence Day
September 15, 1991

The Establishment of Democracy

In Nicaragua, the Bush Administration took a chance on democracy. The results have been impressive. Where Nicaragua was run by a totalitarian regime, it now has a pluralistic, vibrant democracy under the leadership of President Violeta Chamorro. To achieve this, the Bush Administration worked with a range of diverse political forces in Nicaragua, including the hostile Sandinistas who had ruled Nicaragua for a decade, to establish a dialogue and encourage democratic processes. In early 1989, the Sandinistas agreed to elections, and over the next year the Administration worked to ensure the elections would be free and fair.

Recognizing the unequal contest between the Sandinistas and democratic forces, the Bush Administration received Congressional permission to provide overt assistance to the Nicaraguan opposition and to the electoral process itself. The Administration pushed for the elections to take place under the scrutiny of international observers. The resulting elections were a genuine expression of the will of the majority.

From War to Peace

The Administration actively encouraged the demobilization of the Nicaraguan Resistance and its reintegration into civilian life and has vigorously sought foreign governments' contributions to the demobilization and reintegration effort. The Administration has encouraged Nicaragua to reduce its army, once one of the largest and best-equipped in the region, by 75%.

Towards Economic Recovery

The Bush Administration's economic assistance has been a major factor in the success of President Chamorro's efforts to break the back of the hyperinflation inherited from ten years of Sandinista rule and to breathe life into an economy that had been reduced to shambles. Inflation, which reached an annual rate of 13,500% in 1990, has been reduced to essentially 1% per month since May 1991. The budget deficit has been eliminated, private banks have opened, 350 state enterprises are to be privatized, and the trade regime has been liberalized.

(February 18, 1992)

ASEAN

"Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, more open political systems, and open markets, form the building blocks for what I've called the new world order."

-- President George Bush
January 4, 1992

"Our relations with the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations are at the core of our engagement in this dynamic subregion."

-- Secretary James A. Baker III
Foreign Affairs, Winter 1991/92

ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, was founded in 1967 to strengthen regional cohesion and self-reliance. The original five members -- Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia -- have since added Brunei. The six maintain cooperative formal relations with a number of "Dialogue Partners" including the United States. All meet together annually at the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting. ASEAN encompasses a population of almost 340 million people and is America's fifth largest trading partner, rivaling U.S. commerce with Germany. The United States is ASEAN's largest export market.

Economic Cooperation with ASEAN

Dynamic growth and trade mark ASEAN economies. The subregion is the fifth largest U.S. trading partner, and the U.S. is ASEAN's largest market. Increasing deregulation and shifts in economic policies are opening ASEAN markets to U.S. trade and investment.

The U.S. has contributed significantly to ASEAN nations' development through the security shield afforded by the U.S. military presence in the region and through imaginative foreign assistance programs which have helped nations like Indonesia and the Philippines deregulate their economies, expand stock markets, or begin to modernize their commercial law.

The Bush Administration has continued these successful U.S. policies. In December 1990, the United States and ASEAN formally created a Trade and Investment Cooperation Committee which provides a structure for discussions on trade, investment and technology transfer. USTR has worked particularly closely with ASEAN governments to ensure protection of intellectual property.

In Singapore on January 4, 1992, the President announced a U.S.-Asia Environmental Partnership to address the range of vital environmental issues. ASEAN states figure as key partners in this effort to link academic, government, and private business talent, energy, and skills to address a basic issue confronting the nations of Asia. The partnership should lead to a significant increase in U.S. exports to the region.

ASEAN is also at the core of the concept of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), which the Bush Administration has strongly supported. APEC provides scope for U.S.-ASEAN cooperation in the larger Pacific Rim region. The United States strongly supports APEC, believing it will further stimulate growth and trade.

Political and Security Issues

ASEAN is the key factor in regional stability. Two of ASEAN's members, the Philippines and Thailand, have bilateral defense treaties with the United States. The United States has worked closely with ASEAN leaders on regional issues such as promoting a peaceful settlement in Cambodia. Their leaders have discussed vital issues of regional stability, such as the situation in Cambodia at the annual Ministerial Meeting and in relevant international fora.

The reduce worldwide threat resulting from the demise of communism has prompted changes in the U.S. military presence in all of Asia. U.S. air and naval forces are leaving long-standing bases in the Philippines. ASEAN states are working with the United States to continue the American role as regional stabilizer and balancer as the strategic threat diminishes. Access agreements to facilities such as Singapore exemplify the nature of the future U.S. security presence in the region.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

CAMBODIA

"Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. . . . [T]he Cambodian Peace Accord . . . offers the very real hope of national reconciliation to the long-suffering people of Cambodia."

-- President George Bush
January 4, 1992

Since 1979, when Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia and chased the brutal, murderous Khmer Rouge leadership of Cambodia into the border regions, the United States has closely coordinated efforts with Thailand, the treaty ally most immediately threatened and other members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to bring about a political settlement. Our object was to craft a just and durable peace, a settlement which would enable the Cambodian people to voice their will in free and fair elections and, at the same time, to limit the armed threat posed by the Khmer Rouge, a threat the Vietnamese had been unable to destroy.

The Bush Administration has finally achieved success in this effort to begin the process of restoring peace to Cambodia. The agreements signed in Paris on October 23, 1991, represented the culmination of a long and intense U.S. effort, focused on working through the five Permanent Members of the U.N. Security Council.

The UN Role

The United States supports the strong UN role envisioned in the Paris agreements. Since late December 1991, the U.N. Advanced Mission in Cambodia has been deployed in an observer role. UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali has named his Special Representative for Cambodia; earlier a Force Commander was designated to take charge of peacekeeping elements of the U.N. Transitional Authority for Cambodia (UNTAC). The UN will appropriate operating funds for UNTAC in February to begin the largest and most expensive peacekeeping and political operation the world body has ever undertaken. Such a strong UN role and the virtually unprecedented cooperation among the Permanent Five members of the Security Council is a fruit of President Bush's strong support for the UN and his efforts to increase its effectiveness. American financial and political and moral support for that effort is indispensable to ensure that peace comes to Cambodia and that we can move into a new era with the nations of Indochina.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

CHINA

"The demonstrators in Tiananmen Square were advocating basic human rights, including the freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of association Throughout the world we stand with those who seek greater freedom and democracy."

-- President George Bush
June 5, 1989

The Bush Administration has advanced our interests and ideals in China: broader democratization and respect for human rights, restraint in weapons exports, and free and fair trade. Since the President's February 1989 visit to China, the world has changed irrevocably. During this dynamic period, our policy of engagement has allowed us to keep faith with the Chinese people, elicit essential cooperation in the UN Security Council and other global and regional fora, and advance American economic interests in China and the Asia/Pacific region.

After Tiananmen Square: Sanctions Remain in Place

The Administration's relations with China began positively in February 1989 with a Presidential working visit that set the stage for mutually beneficial relations with the People's Republic. However, the Chinese decision to brutally suppress popular and peaceful demonstrations on June 4, 1989, resulted in an immediate suspension of normal relations between our two countries that continues to this day.

The Administration and Congress agree that we cannot resume fully normal ties with the PRC until our concerns are favorably addressed. Through Administration and Congressional action, key elements of our bilateral ties remain suspended. Some sanctions have been lifted, others imposed -- all in an effort to coax the Chinese to be more responsive to our concerns. We continue to engage the Chinese to press for progress on our human rights, nonproliferation, and trade agendas.

Most-Favored Nation Status: The Case for Engagement

The Administration's support for continued Most-Favored Nation (MFN) status for China since 1989 has generated controversy. Some critics have sought to censure China by revoking MFN. They advocate cutting our ties and isolating the PRC. Yet rather than a blunt signal of disapprobation, MFN status is in fact a means

to promote the expansion of market-oriented reform in China and sustain Hong Kong and Taiwan investment in China's economic reform program. More than two million Chinese are proving that privatization can work in South China -- and MFN is their lifeline to free trade. In 1990, U.S. exports to China totalled \$4.8 billion: that translates into tens of thousands of jobs sustained in the U.S.

Isolation Serves No One

We have benefitted from China's participation in international efforts ranging for the Gulf War to the Middle East Arms Control talks initiated by the President to the realization of genuine hope for peace in Cambodia. The Administration's policy of engagement with China helps to sustain our ability to elicit Chinese contributions to global peace and security. Rising tension in the Korean peninsula illustrates the continuing need for dialogue with China to foster cooperation in areas of mutual interest. Dialogue with China in these areas is especially important in the United Nations Security Council.

Secretary Baker's November Visit: A Milestone

The President's decision to send the Secretary of State to China paid dividends. The Chinese committed to formalize their accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty no later than March 1992 and declared their intention to adhere to Missile Technology Control Regime guidelines (in exchange for removal of proliferation sanctions designed to produce precisely such adherence). The Secretary made our case for substantial improvement in human rights face-to-face with China's senior leaders.

Trade issues remain a high priority. We have been engaged in Section 301 trade investigations of China's inadequate protection of intellectual property rights and market access barriers. Negotiations on China's intellectual property rights practices were successfully concluded on January 17, 1992, resolving that investigation. While China's intellectual property rights regime will remain flawed until the Memorandum of Understanding signed on that day is implemented, China has committed itself to improving protection for U.S. intellectual property, providing strong protection for U.S. inventions and trade secrets and copyrighted works such as computer software and sound recordings. Much hard bargaining remains on market access; we are encouraging China to undertake trade reforms that will improve our commercial ties as well as advance China's application to join the GATT.

The Future

It has now been two and one-half years since the Tiananmen tragedy. The Administration has repeatedly demonstrated a commitment to improved US-China ties and to the well-being of the Chinese people. We are looking to China to continue to address the problems in our relationship in a sustained manner that will benefit the American and Chinese people.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

JAPAN

"The United States and Japan today stand on the threshold of a new era in cooperation, in which our nations seek to build a new world of freedom and democracy. The task before us is daunting -- one which will require vision and courage. But it is one from which we cannot shrink."

-- President George Bush
January 9, 1992

The Bush Administration has improved job-creating trade relations with Japan and made important strides toward free, fair, and open trade between the two economic powers. In the past four years, exports to Japan have increased 30% while imports from Japan have increased only 3%.

In January 1992, President Bush and Prime Minister Miyazawa issued the Tokyo Declaration, which outlines the broad strategic, political, and economic relationship between the U.S. and Japan. Together with the U.S.-Japan Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Security, this pronouncement of Global Partnership between the U.S. and Japan represents the substance and vision in the Administration's promotion of peace, stability, and free and open trade, not just in Japan, but throughout the world.

Economics and Trade

The President is committed to strengthening U.S. trade with Japan. He has worked successfully with the Japanese Government to open new markets for American goods and services and eliminate barriers to our trade. The Administration's policies have contributed to a sharp decline in the bilateral trade deficit, achieved by expanding U.S. exports and jobs, not protectionism or managed trade.

As part of its market-opening strategy, the Bush Administration has aggressively challenged unfair trade practices. We have used Section 301 and other provisions of U.S. trade law to negotiate agreements to eliminate Japan's barriers to U.S. semiconductors, amorphous metals, telecommunications, satellites, supercomputers, construction services, and forest products.

President Bush and former Prime Minister Uno launched the Structural Impediments Initiative (SII) in July 1989. This initiative represents a unique and extensive endeavor between the U.S. and Japan to integrate our economies by solving structural problems that stand as impediments to trade and balance of payments adjustment. One early result has been to open the Japanese retail distribution system to large scale American marketers. The SII process was reconfirmed during the President's trip to Japan in January; the President opened a branch of an American chain store to symbolize the opening of the Japanese retail market under SII in his Administration.

The trade deficit with Japan has dropped 30% since 1987, and exports have increased, adding \$20 billion in exports and thousands of American jobs. Our exports to Japan in sectors where we have trade agreements have increased at an even faster pace than U.S. exports to Japan overall. Exports in U.S. manufactured goods to Japan now account for about 64% of U.S. exports to Japan, up from 55% in 1985. From 1987 to 1990, U.S. beef exports to Japan doubled, from \$558 million to over \$1 billion. U.S. citrus exports also rose, including orange juice exports which rose six-fold from \$2.7 million to \$18.5 million.

Since 1988, U.S. merchandise exports to Japan have risen by an astounding 30% to \$49 billion. U.S. merchandise exports to Japan have grown 50% faster than U.S. exports to the rest of the world. American exports to Japan in 1990 were greater than our exports to West Germany, France, and Italy combined.

In specific sectors:

- . Telecommunications exports are up 180% since 1988, to about \$735 million in 1991.
- . Semiconductor exports rose from \$920 million in 1986 to nearly \$2.4 billion in 1990.
- . Since the June 1990 satellite agreement was signed, one \$600 million contract has been awarded; a U.S. firm won.
- . U.S. firms have won three out of eight contracts since the June 1990 supercomputer agreement was signed. Prior to the agreement, U.S. supercomputers were chosen in only two out of 43 awards.
- . U.S. industry expects the June 1990 wood products agreement to increase U.S. exports of plywood and other processed wood products by over \$1 billion annually.

The President's recent trip to Japan substantially improved our access to Japan's \$65 billion paper market, the \$4 billion flat glass market, and improved our access to Japan's automobile and auto parts markets as well.

We remain concerned about Japanese impediments to market access and continue to work vigorously to remove these impediments through both bilateral and multilateral talks.

During the President's January 1992 visit to Japan, he agreed on a package of unprecedented measures that will significantly improve access of American products in Japan:

- . Private Japanese companies have pledged significantly increased trade and opportunities for U.S. businesses. For auto exports alone, the Japanese have announced their intention to more than double their imports of U.S.-made auto parts from \$9 billion to \$19 billion by 1994.
- . The Japanese government committed itself to a growth package which we sought in order to increase domestic demand. In concert with us, the Japanese government moved to lower interest rates, which could help stimulate global growth.
- . New agreements will provide billions of dollars in market opportunities for American exporters of paper goods, glass, and computers.
- . The President and Prime Minister Miyazawa agreed to expand the Structural Impediments Initiative by adding new commitments that will improve the business environment and help the Administration continue its progress toward free and fair trade with Japan.

Political/Security Cooperation

In 1991 we concluded a new host nation support agreement which will bring an estimated \$1.7 billion in total new Japanese contributions to the support of U.S. forces in Japan between now and 1995. In addition, we reached agreement providing for co-development of the next generation Japanese fighter support aircraft (FSX), to be funded entirely by the Japanese Government. The agreement guarantees at least a 40% workshare for U.S. companies and provides for the transfer of all technology derived from U.S. technology applied in the project to the U.S. without charge. Moreover, Japan has agreed to continuation of a substantial (\$500 million per year) Facilities Improvement Program (FIP) which provides new and modern facilities and buildings to U.S. forces forward deployed in Japan.

Japan provided a substantial contribution (\$11 billion) to the multinational effort in the Gulf War, as well as an additional \$2 billion in direct assistance to the states in the region most adversely affected by the crisis. The U.S. received about \$10 billion of Japan's \$11 billion contribution in cash payments and in-kind support, including the purchase of U.S. equipment and transportation services.

Under this Administration, the United States has enjoyed unprecedented cooperation with the Japan in international affairs and formally launched a global partnership that will be a major force for peace, stability, and prosperity in the world:

- . With American leadership, Japan has begun to participate more directly in key regional initiatives. Japan dispatched four minesweepers to international mine-clearing operation in Persian Gulf and sent an international disaster relief team with helicopters to Bangladesh.
- . Japan has agreed to link aid allocations to progress on arms control, democratization, market-oriented reform, and human rights, forming new opportunities for cooperation by the U.S. and Japan.

President Bush believes that the world's two leading economic powers should work together, not apart. This will provide significant benefits for Americans. Our economic and trade relations with Japan are improving. While the Administration remains concerned about access to the Japanese market, we cannot let trade disputes of themselves harm the alliance and cooperation our nations share in so many fields of human endeavor.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

KOREA

"[A]s the world itself stands on the threshold of a new era, so too we now enter a new era in U.S.-Korean relations. What began in the heat of war as a military alliance has grown into a broader relationship, a partnership anchored in shared economic interests and common political ideals."

-- President George Bush
January 6, 1992

President Bush's September 1991 announcement of a reduction in U.S. nuclear forces lent momentum to the rapid pace of positive developments in the dialogue between North and South Korea that offers hope of permanent peace on the peninsula.

Improving Market Access

U.S. efforts to open Korea's markets have yielded concrete results. Korea is now our seventh largest export market. U.S. exports are projected to be 33% above their 1988 level, and our bilateral trade deficit, which peaked at \$11.4 billion in 1988, has dwindled to nearly zero.

We have made substantial progress in removing trade barriers in Korea. In 1989, we reached agreement on a tariff reduction plan that will bring Korean tariffs down to OECD levels by 1994. We also elicited Korean agreement to simplify import and direct investment procedures. At our prompting, Korea has begun negotiations to permit foreign companies access to government procurement contracts and has recently begun to liberalize its financial markets, though much more remains to be done.

We have expanded agricultural trade: exports have grown from \$2.5 billion in 1987 to \$3.2 billion in 1990. Korea is now our third largest agricultural export market after Japan and Canada. Moreover, agreements in 1991 greatly expanded market access for U.S. firms in the service sector, including telecommunications, civil aviation, and trucking. Korea has also eased restrictions on its distribution market and on travel services.

International Initiatives and Cooperation

We helped President Roh achieve the long-sought objective of becoming a member of the UN in 1991. In addition, Korea was one of the first countries to offer assistance in the Gulf conflict.

Seoul donated \$500 million to U.S., coalition, and frontline states and dispatched a medical team to the conflict.

Direct Talks between North and South Korea

With the support and encouragement of the Bush Administration, North/South talks have gained significant momentum. To contribute toward common U.S. and South Korean policy objectives, we concurred in the South's decision to suspend Team Spirit joint military exercises in 1992. The U.S. has supported South Korea's lead in dealing with the North, resisting North Korea's attempt to negotiate with the U.S. directly and thereby undermine the legitimacy of the South Korean government.

North Korea's recent actions offer indications of great promise, but we have learned from experience also to exercise great caution. Administration officials met with North Korean Party Secretary for International Affairs Kim Young Sun in New York in January 1992 to explore the prospects for improved bilateral ties if Pyongyang follows through on its commitments in the North-South dialogue, specifically compliance with International Atomic Energy Agency and bilateral inspection regimes.

Democratization

The Administration has strongly promoted continued democratization in Korea. With U.S. encouragement, President Roh Tae Woo has overseen a steady strengthening and expansion of Korea's democratic institutions, including a solid commitment to civilian rule; a National Assembly with active opposition parties; greater local autonomy; improved human rights; increased independence of the judiciary; and growth of a vigorous free press.

Evolving Security Relationship

The U.S. commitment to the defense of the Republic of Korea remains unwavering; at the same time, our security alliance is evolving to meet the new opportunities of the increased economic strength of the South, the collapse of imperialistic communism and the subsequent modification of America's defense priorities. At our initiative, Korea has agreed that it should take increasingly greater command and financial responsibilities for its defense. Last year, Korea committed to fund one third of the local costs of U.S. deployments in Korea by 1995. The U.S. force structure in Korea will be adjusted to keep pace with the changing situation in consonance with the actual security threat as assessed by U.S. and Korean leaders.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

THE PHILIPPINES

"The end to the Cold War gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. Having said that, I want to assure you and all of our many friends in this part of the world, that the closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell an end to American engagement."

-- President George Bush
January 4, 1992

"[O]ur overriding concern is to sustain good relations with a democratic and economically resurgent Philippines. And second, regardless of the future of our military presence at Subic Bay, our security engagement in Southeast Asia will remain undiminished, even if realized through other arrangements."

-- Secretary of State James Baker
Foreign Affairs, Winter 91/92

The relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines is changing. Two developments underlie the change and promise a new, mature association between us:

First, the democratic election of Corazon Aquino prefigured an Asian-wide movement toward pluralism. The U.S. assisted at the birth of this movement and helped Filipinos protect it at vital stages over the past few years, as seen when the President authorized the use of U.S. military aircraft on behalf of the elected authorities threatened by a coup and by our sparking a multi-billion dollar Multilateral Assistance Initiative (MAI) to promote sustained economic growth and improved living conditions.

Second, the end of the Cold War lessened the strategic logic for U.S. military bases in the Philippines. That reality, natural disaster, and elements of Philippine nationalism combined to bring about an end to more than 90 years of U.S. military presence at bases there. At the Philippine Government's request, U.S. naval forces will leave Subic Bay by the end of 1992.

Economic Relations

The U.S. has an important stake in the Philippines and is working to help Filipinos bring about democracy and a responsive economic system. About 125,000 American citizens, many of Philippine origin, live there. A total of \$1.8 billion of American funds are invested in the Philippines, and two-way trade was \$5.6 billion in 1991. Overall, the Philippines is the sixth largest recipient of U.S. development and security assistance. The Administration inspired the July 1989 launch of the MAI. This

multilateral effort involves 26 donor countries, including Japan and the World Bank, and concretely demonstrates the U.S. commitment through a \$1 billion pledge over a five year period.

Security Relations and the Future

The Philippines has the only communist insurgency active in Asia. Our security assistance has aided the Philippines to reduce the size of the insurgency and reclaim much of the countryside.

The factors that ended the 90-year American military presence at bases in the Philippines risked to undermine and damage U.S.-Philippine relations at the outset of this new, post-Cold War era. The Administration moved carefully through the set of negotiations for a Treaty that would keep a presence there for the rest of the century. When the Philippine Senate rejected that Treaty, we accepted President Aquino's offer to talk about a three-year period of withdrawal. That proved too complex to effect, and we are now complying with the existing Treaty's timetable for full withdrawal in one year. Our nations remain in formal military alliance through the 1952 Mutual Defense Treaty.

Filipino and American leaders are determined to see our relations evolve and mature in this new era. Our shared commitment to democracy and U.S. assistance to Philippine efforts to redress economic problems and to deal with the underlying causes of insurgency and the threat of armed violence and terrorism demonstrate that determination.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

POW/MIA and VIETNAM

"We are now normalizing our ties with Laos and have begun to move with Vietnam along a path marked by implementation of the Paris accords [on Cambodia], and for the sake of many, many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our concerns, our deep concerns about POW and MIAs."

-- President George Bush
January 4, 1992

"The conflict in Indochina has preoccupied this Nation for years. Finally, we've entered into a period of healing and constructive cooperation. We will work step by step to resolve the painful issues left by that war..."

-- November 12, 1991

President Bush is determined to obtain the fullest possible accounting for our servicemembers who are recorded as Prisoners of War or Missing in Action from the Vietnam War. Vietnamese performance on this humanitarian issue will determine the pace and scope of the process of normalizing relations with Vietnam, as well Hanoi's implementation of the comprehensive settlement agreements for Cambodia.

POW/MIA: A Humanitarian Issue

Since 1987, the President's Special Emissary to Hanoi for POW/MIA, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General John Vessey, has visited Hanoi regularly to seek agreement to courses of action and to assess progress on this issue. Vietnamese officials at all levels have publicly and privately committed their nation to helping effect that fullest possible accounting. Fifteen joint investigations have taken Vietnamese and American teams to remote areas to excavate crash sites and interview witnesses. A U.S. Defense Department office opened in Hanoi on July 8, 1991, to work with Vietnamese authorities to investigate crash sites and reports of live Americans.

In the Administration's view, there is still much more that Vietnam can do: give over more remains and grant access to archives which have details that would resolve the fates of many of the POW/MIAs. The Administration will continue to press the Vietnamese government and work with other governments in the region to obtain the fullest possible accounting of these servicemen. Their families deserve no less.

Normalization of Relations

As the President has said on many occasions, resolution of our concerns on POW/MIA issues is a precondition to normal relations with Vietnam. U.S. policy on normalization of relations was explained to the Vietnamese authorities on April 9, 1991, in a document known as the "roadmap." It lays out a phased process of mutual steps which will end with an exchange of ambassadors. The first official talks on normalization took place in New York on November 21, 1991. The process was still in Phase I in February 1992.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

SOUTH ASIA

"Today marks the start of a new chapter in the history of Afghanistan. For the first time in over nine years, Soviet forces no longer occupy that country. This development marks an extraordinary triumph of spirit and will by the Afghan people, and we salute them for it."

-- President George Bush
February 16, 1989

South Asia receives relatively little notice from most Americans. Yet it is home to one-fifth of the world's people, to great and ancient civilizations, and to thriving democracies and economies.

Afghanistan

Soon after the Bush Administration took office, the last Soviet military forces left Afghanistan. Nearly a decade of U.S. effort had paid dividends, as Soviet imperialism had been rebuffed. This successful resistance by a brave Muslim people working with the help of the United States played a key part in bringing an end to the Cold War. Afghanistan is no longer a major irritant in East-West relations. Today, as a result, we can dedicate our energies not to waging war but to negotiating peace.

The Subcontinent

Progress toward ending the Afghan war, coupled with the end of the Cold War, has created new opportunities for the more than one billion people of South Asia and for the United States. The United States is taking the lead on working to improve relations between India and Pakistan; a May 1990 mission led by Deputy National Security Advisor Robert Gates helped alleviate tension, especially over Kashmir, that threatened to erupt in another tragic and violent conflict between the region's most populous and powerful states.

Currently, the United States is fostering new diplomatic efforts to improve relations between India and Pakistan and tackle the danger posed by the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons. The United States is also working to support political and economic reform. We welcomed the return of democracy to Pakistan and the emergence of new democratic governments in Nepal and Bangladesh. Trade with and investment in the region is growing, paralleling the initiation of market economic reforms.

The end of the Cold War also offers an opportunity for continued improvement in U.S.-India relations. India's recent approval of several longstanding U.S. proposals for investment in India is but one fruit of this growing cooperation. The world's two largest democracies have much to share.

A Humanitarian Effort

In the wake of major floods in the spring of 1991, the United States in Operation Sea Angel acted to alleviate human suffering in Bangladesh, saving thousands of lives in the process. Bangladesh, among the world's poorest nations, was an early contributor of armed forces to the coalition arrayed against Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait.

Our goal is a South Asia no longer preoccupied with violence and conflict but instead able to devote the great energies and talents of its people to promoting economic growth and political stability. We believe that the people and countries of the region, together with the United States, are making progress toward that goal.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

EUROPE

A Europe Whole and Free

"For 40 years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe lay dormant, buried under the frozen tundra of the Cold War. And for 40 years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end But passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. The world has waited long enough. The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free."

-- President George Bush
May 31, 1989

"Just two years ago today, the revolution swept away that stark and searing symbol of Europe's division, and that wall came crashing down. But history allows little time for celebration. With change comes new challenges We must help the nations of the East secure the freedoms they have won."

-- November 9, 1991

From the first days of the Administration, President Bush vigorously supported the seeds of reform and democracy starting to bud first in Eastern and Central Europe and in the former Soviet Union itself. Like the President's early call for moving "beyond containment" in U.S.-Soviet relations toward a new era of cooperation, his vision of a Europe "whole and free" aimed not merely at improving East-West relations but at bringing an end to the Cold War and Europe's cruel division.

A Cautious Policy Produces Results

The Administration pursued a carefully calibrated policy of encouragement for the official "perestroika" efforts in these countries, vigorous support for the respect of human rights in the East and the unofficial democracy movements, and pursuit of an historic cooperation in resolving international problems with the government of the Soviet Union. As a result, the Administration successfully promoted the dramatic transformation which has swept communism from power in practically all of Europe.

Help for New Democracies

However, President Bush also recognized that if this vision of an undivided democratic Europe was to be assured, the struggling democracies of Central and Eastern Europe needed help -- relief from debt, access to Western markets, and financial and technical assistance. The Administration rallied our European partners and others to undertake a major coordinated assistance program, which has already proven vital for the stability of these new democracies.

The Fiscal Year 1993 Budget will request \$520 million for assistance to Central and Eastern Europe. In addition to funds made available in previous years, this will bring to over \$1.7 billion the level of U.S. assistance to these new democracies. Besides extending Most Favored Nation tariff treatment to countries which now qualify for it, the Administration granted preferential access to U.S. markets for Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia under the Generalized System of Preferences program.

We and our key allies are mounting another essential assistance effort to support the democratic and reform forces in the former Soviet Union. The President has proposed that Congress approve over \$600 million for new technical assistance and humanitarian efforts. In addition to assistance previously announced, this will bring to over \$5 billion the level of various forms of U.S. assistance to these people in their time of need.

Today, America is more secure and the peoples of the former communist bloc are on the pathway to democracy and prosperity. The task of securing the democratic revolutions of the last three years is as critical as any we faced during the Cold War, if we are to usher in a new era of peace, prosperity, and cooperation in Europe and America.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

"I have made clear from the outset of this Administration my view that a strong, united Europe is very much in America's interest. . . . [W]e also expect that the new Europe will assume new responsibilities for maintaining and strengthening the world economic system. This means working with us to bridge our bilateral differences, to expand an open global trading system by successfully concluding the Uruguay Round, and to avoid the dangers of protectionism."

-- President George Bush
December 11, 1991

President Bush has worked tirelessly to build an effective and cooperative relationship with the European Community and its member states. This builds upon shared strategic objectives and promotes America's trade and investment interests.

"EC 92:" The Single Market

During the last four years, the European Community has made significant progress in its program to create a single European market by the end of 1992. The Administration is determined to assure that American companies and investors will not be discriminated against in this process and will be able to compete fairly in this expanded and profitable market.

Evolving US-EC Political Cooperation

The Bush Administration has developed procedures for regular consultations with the European Community on a range of political and economic issues. There are now semi-annual Presidential consultations with the EC Presidency as well as regular exchanges at the ministerial and experts levels. This pattern of close cooperation has already borne fruit, for example in assuring close cooperation during the Gulf War.

In Central and Eastern Europe, the Administration has worked closely with the EC and its member states to support the transformation of these societies from communism. This same pattern of close partnership is evident in efforts to aid the former Soviet Union. In both cases, the European Community is making major contributions of funds and expertise to assure our common goal of a Europe whole and free.

But the cooperation with the new Europe goes farther; for instance, the Administration has invited the EC to participate as a partner in the search for peace in the Middle East.

Support for European Unity

The member states of the European Community have agreed on new treaties increasing the political and monetary integration of the Community. The President, like all his predecessors since World War II, supports European unity out of the strong conviction that it is good for Europe, good for the Atlantic partnership, and good for the world. The President has worked closely with the leaders of our European allies to ensure that Europe's steps toward unity will strengthen our renewed Atlantic Alliance. A strengthened EC can be a more effective partner for the United States in assuring a stable and democratic Europe and a more peaceful world order.

The World Trading System

The President has consistently made clear that the United States will defend its economic interests and will work for a free and a fair international trading system in the context of the Uruguay Round negotiations. He and his senior advisors have devoted significant effort to working with the Community and its member states to solve our differences over such questions as subsidies for agricultural trade, market access and intellectual property rights. While progress has been made, significant differences remain to be resolved before the Uruguay Round can be successfully concluded. The Administration will not yield in its efforts to support American interests and to build a trading system which promotes prosperity for all on the basis of free and fair competition.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

"Poland is where the Cold War began -- and now the people of Poland can help bring the division of Europe to an end In part because of what you are doing here, the genuine opportunity exists for all of us to build a Europe which many thought was destroyed forever in the 1940s. That Europe -- the Europe of our children -- will be open, whole, and free."

-- President George Bush
July 10, 1989

Support for democratic change in central and eastern Europe was at the forefront of President Bush's agenda from the very beginning -- long before the idea became fashionable. The President's first major foreign policy address was on eastern Europe: speaking in Hamtramck, Michigan, in April 1989, at the time of the historic Roundtable Agreement in Poland, he announced eight specific steps to provide economic assistance, each conditioned on real progress toward economic and political reform.

Economic Assistance

In July 1989, President Bush was the first foreign leader to address the first freely elected Eastern European parliament in more than four decades. While in Poland and Hungary, he announced a further set of U.S. assistance measures, including the creation of Polish-American and Hungarian-American Enterprise Funds to support the development of a private sector and market reforms. Immediately thereafter at the Paris Economic Summit, G-7 leaders accepted the President's proposal for concerted Western action in support of democratic change and market reforms in central and eastern Europe. The result of this initiative -- the Group of 24 -- has served to pool and channel Western resources, with more than \$36 billion now committed to assist these new democracies.

As democratic change swept the region, the President called for further U.S. assistance and appointed Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger Coordinator for U.S. Assistance to Eastern Europe. He also established the Citizens Democracy Corps to serve as a center and clearinghouse for American private voluntary activities in support of democratic change.

Total U.S. assistance and credits for eastern Europe, including grants under Treasury, AID, and USDA programs and loans and guarantees reached \$955 million for FY 1990 and \$1.123 billion for FY 1991. The President's budget for FY 1993 proposes \$520 million in budget authority for grants.

Promoting Trade and Investment

Recognizing that trade and investment, not Western aid alone, would be the real engines of economic progress, the President set a high priority on encouraging U.S. investment, stimulating trade, and opening American markets to the products of the new democracies.

In March 1990, he announced the American Business and Trade Enhancement Initiatives and, at the July 1990 Paris Economic Summit, encouraged other Western countries to follow the U.S. lead. In addition to assisting the Central and East European countries in their unprecedented transitions from command to market economies, these measures also serve to open important new markets to American business.

Building a Europe "Whole and Free"

The President also took the initiative in promoting the eventual full integration of the new democracies into the community of free nations. At the London Summit in July 1990, NATO endorsed the President's proposal for establishing new liaison relationships with these countries, inviting them to accredit permanent representatives to NATO headquarters in Brussels.

A year later, again at U.S. initiative, NATO established a new North Atlantic Cooperation Council comprised of NATO and East European foreign ministers. Similarly, at the November 1990 Paris Summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the President gained agreement for new CSCE institutions and mechanisms to ensure the full incorporation of the new democracies on central and eastern Europe.

As these new democracies continue their transitions, they have become not merely recipients of U.S. aid but our close partners in world affairs. They are strong champions of a continuing strong U.S. role in Europe, and they were among the first to join the international coalition against Iraqi aggression in the Persian Gulf. Indeed, because of Poland's strong help, it was chosen to be the representative of U.S. interests in Iraq -- our "protecting power" -- when our Embassy there could no longer operate.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

GERMANY: UNITED IN PEACE AND FREEDOM

"The United States and the Federal Republic have always been firm friends and allies. But today we share an added role: partners in leadership."

-- President George Bush
Mainz, Germany; May 31, 1989

Even before the opening of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the East German communist regime, President Bush took the lead in supporting the process of German unification. American leadership was decisive in achieving a Germany united in peace and freedom, the agreed withdrawal of Soviet forces stationed in the heart of Europe, and the end of Europe's post-war division. With the end of the Cold War, the United States can now build with united Germany and its other European partners a wider transatlantic community of peace, prosperity, and shared values.

The President Takes the Lead

In late October 1989, when several of Germany's neighbors were expressing reservations about the prospect of a united Germany, the President publicly expressed his support for German unification and his confidence in Germany's democracy and commitment to the Western alliance system. Six weeks later, addressing a NATO summit meeting in Brussels, he outlined, and NATO endorsed, a four-point approach for the achievement of German unification. The Administration's position strongly affirmed the right of the German people to self-determination. After 45 years, Germany had the right, if its people so chose, to live in a single state without limitations on its sovereignty.

Less than one year later, the President's leadership and resolve helped achieve what few thought possible: a Germany united in peace and freedom, remaining a full member of NATO and America's strong partner in the new Europe.

The Diplomacy of Two Plus Four

In February 1990, the Administration gained agreement for discussions among the two German states and the four wartime powers -- the U.S., U.K., France, and the U.S.S.R. -- which continued to exercise rights and responsibilities within Germany under post-war arrangements. Together with the Federal Republic, the Administration took the strong position that internal process of unification was for the two German states to work out; the

"Two Plus Four" mechanism should be confined to the external aspects of unification -- the termination of Four Power rights and responsibilities and the restoration of full German sovereignty from the moment of unification.

After a meeting at Camp David in late February, the President and Chancellor Kohl discussed German unification and announced that a united Germany would remain a full member of NATO, including its integrated military structures. In subsequent meetings with British Prime Minister Thatcher and French President Mitterrand, the President cemented agreement on the agenda and strategy for the Two Plus Four talks.

Addressing Soviet Security Concerns

Responding to strong Soviet objections to Germany's remaining in NATO, the Administration stressed that a united Germany, like any other state under the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, had the right to join or leave alliances. In their Washington Summit meeting in May-June 1990, however, the President assured President Gorbachev that the United States and its allies were prepared to address legitimate Soviet security concerns arising from German unification. In light of these assurances, President Gorbachev agreed at the end of the Summit that the matter of alliance membership was for the Germans to decide.

The President's initiatives at the July NATO Summit -- calling for further conventional and nuclear force reductions and extending NATO's hand of friendship to former Warsaw Pact adversaries -- paved the way for ultimate Soviet acceptance of German unification and of united Germany's remaining a full member of the Atlantic Alliance. Following a further series of Two Plus Four negotiations, agreement was reached on the "Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany" in September. Formal unification of the two German states followed in October. The President signed the Instrument of Ratification of this Treaty on October 18, 1990.

"Partners in Leadership"

As German Chancellor Kohl has said many times, the achievement of German unity would not have been possible without the help of the United States and of the President and Secretary Baker personally. The President's strong support was crucial not only to our German friends but also to U.S. interests, which are served by the advent of a democratic, united, fully sovereign Germany as a strong partner of the United States, capable of assuming new responsibilities in Europe and beyond.

America's relationship with united Germany has remained strong. American business has been welcomed into investing in the five new Federal States of eastern Germany, and our two nations continue to cooperate on a wide range of bilateral and multilateral initiatives. Notably, in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, Germany provided \$6.45 billion, including \$5.77 billion in cash, in support of the U.S. and coalition effort to liberate Kuwait and resist Iraqi aggression. Strong cooperation with Germany, the world's fourth largest economy, is good for two nations, for the transatlantic partnership, and for the world.

(February 18, 1992)

RELATIONS WITH THE FORMER USSR

"For over forty years, the United States led the West in the struggle against Communism and the threat it posed to our most precious values. This struggle shaped the lives of all Americans. It forced all nations to live under the specter of nuclear destruction. That confrontation is now over. The nuclear threat -- while far from gone -- is receding. Eastern Europe is free. The Soviet Union itself is no more. This is a victory for democracy and freedom. It is a victory for the moral force of our values. Every American can take pride in this victory."

-- President George Bush
December 25, 1991

The President has led the international community in supporting the historic shift in the former USSR from communism to a new era of hope based upon a foundation of democracy and free markets. The President has welcomed this change and has given active support to reformers in the new independent states.

The President's policy during the last three years was critical in transforming U.S.-Soviet relations from an era of Cold War confrontation to a time of unprecedented engagement and cooperation in arms control, regional issues, human rights, and economic development. His personal diplomacy during this period with President Gorbachev, Russian President Yeltsin, Ukrainian President Kravchuk and others was critical for the success of western attempts to support democratic change. Amid the tremendous upheaval of the last three years, American policy was firm in its support of those seeking democracy, generous in its relief to those suffering from privation, and visionary in pointing the way toward a new and more hopeful future.

Political Change in Europe and Human Rights

- . The President's leadership and personal diplomacy in supporting change behind the Iron Curtain was instrumental in enabling the liberation of Eastern Europe from communism in 1989 and German unification in NATO in 1990.
- . Our unstinting 51-year advocacy of Baltic rights and the President's behind-the-scenes work with Gorbachev and Yeltsin were critical in securing Baltic independence in 1991 and the liberation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from Soviet rule.
- . The Administration's firm resolve to defend the rights of refuseniks and those who wished to emigrate freely led to the passage of a landmark Soviet law on free emigration in 1991. Soviet emigration practices resulted in the movement of hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews, Pentecostals, and others to the U.S., Israel, and other western countries.

Historic Cooperation in Resolving International Problems

The President's constructive engagement with Gorbachev led to a stunning reversal of U.S.-Soviet rivalry around the world and produced peaceful settlements of long-standing disputes such as:

- . Free elections in Nicaragua and the establishment of a democratic government;
- . Namibian independence;
- . A ceasefire in Angola;
- . A ceasefire and mutual cutoff of arms in Afghanistan;
- . The Cambodian peace conference

The President's diplomacy also produced unprecedented cooperation from the USSR in forging the alliance against Saddam Hussein.

Promoting Political Change Within the USSR

- . The President demonstrated clear U.S. support for democrats and reformers in their quest to transform the USSR.
- . The President's leadership and support for President Gorbachev during the attempted coup in August 1991 galvanized worldwide sentiment against the coup plotters.
- . Following the attempted coup, the President made efforts to build new U.S. relations with Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, and other democratic governments among the republics.

Promoting Economic Change Within the Former USSR

The President led the international effort to help transform the Soviet economy from command mechanisms to the market economics:

- . The President called in December 1990 for the IMF and World Bank to form a Special Association with the USSR. The Administration has since called for IMF/World Bank membership for the new states that have arisen from the ashes of communism.
- . The Administration supported Soviet participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).
- . The President took other steps to expand U.S. business opportunities in the former USSR such as passage of the U.S.-Soviet Trade Agreement, granting of Most Favored Nation Status, and introduction of Export-Import Bank and Overseas Private Investment Corporation programs.

Humanitarian Assistance

We and our key allies are mounting an essential assistance effort to support the democratic and reform forces in the former Soviet Union. The President called for an international coordinating conference in Washington in January 1992 to ensure an effective global response to this humanitarian crisis. The President proposed over \$645 million for new technical assistance and humanitarian efforts. If passed by Congress, in addition to assistance previously announced, this will bring to over \$5 billion the level of various forms of U.S. assistance to these people in their time of need.

- . The President acted in December 1990 to begin U.S. humanitarian food and medical assistance to needy people. This permitted the Government to provide \$3.75 billion in American grains and other bulk commodities to the former USSR in 1991.
- . The U.S. is prepared to provide \$265 million to provide food grant aid to particularly hard-hit regions this winter. The U.S. military will also make 54 flights to cities in each of the new states in mid-February, delivering food and medical supplies to those in need.
- . The President's emergency medical initiative attracted \$25 million in donations of medical supplies from American citizens and the U.S. private sector.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

THE GULF CRISIS

"The test we face is great -- and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the new world we seek, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose; if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination, it would be a signal to actual and potential despots around the world. America and the world must defend common vital interests. And we will."

-- President George Bush
September 11, 1990

With the end of the Cold War, the crisis in the Gulf became the defining event of the new world order. Aggression could not be allowed to stand lest the future become one of war and violence. After great sacrifice and effort, aggression was defeated. It was a victory for law, for decency, and for American leadership.

The crisis began on August 2, 1990, with Iraq's unprovoked and premeditated attack on and subsequent occupation of defenseless Kuwait. At stake were the resources vital to the functioning of the world and the principles that would govern the next era of international relations. The world was understandably shaken by the brazen ruthlessness of Iraq's invasion.

Diplomatic Efforts

From early August until mid-January 1991, the United States and the world sought to convince Iraq to withdraw without condition and without further delay from Kuwait. Iraq would not heed the call of the international community. Iraq ignored a dozen resolutions of the UN Security Council and the diplomatic approaches by fellow Arab and Muslim states as well as those by the Soviet Union and the United States. Indeed, in early January, Secretary of State Baker travelled to Geneva to meet with Iraq's Foreign Minister. Eight hours of conversation came to nought as Iraq once again rejected the will of the world.

War in the Gulf

The war, like the diplomacy that preceded it, was carried out with unprecedented international cooperation forged by American leadership. Thirty-three countries joined in an international coalition to achieve the liberation of Kuwait. Fighting came to an end after six weeks. The pessimists were proved wrong; so too were those who counselled unlimited patience, as time only would have provided Saddam with the opportunity to produce nuclear weapons. The depth of Saddam's ruthlessness was demonstrated by his missile attacks on Israeli and Saudi Arabian cities and by "torching" more than 600 Kuwaiti oil wells, an act of environmental terror.

Post-War Opportunities

The United States has been central in shaping the post-war Gulf region. We played a leading role in helping to extinguish Kuwait's fires, and we will continue to do what we can in assisting Kuwait's physical and political reconstruction. New security arrangements are being negotiated with key friends. The President announced on May 29, 1991, a comprehensive initiative to slow and where possible stop the spread of conventional and nonconventional weapons.

The coalition that fought and won the war is keeping the pressure on Iraq to ensure full compliance with all UN resolutions -- particularly those demanding Iraq be denied all weapons of mass destruction. And the United States will not rest until a new Iraqi leadership emerges, one prepared to live in peace with its own people and all the peoples of the region. Firm leadership in the Gulf Crisis has had broader regional benefits as well; Arab-Israeli peace talks have begun, and American hostages in Lebanon have returned home.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

DEFENSE

"We have entered a new era, one whose outline would have been unimaginable only three years ago."

-- President George Bush
August 1991

The Bush Administration has made the most dramatic change to our defense strategy in the last fifty years. Shifting the focus from the threat of a global war with the Soviet Union and its allies, our military forces are being restructured to deal with regional contingencies with a force level 25 percent smaller than they were in 1990. The new defense strategy emphasizes nuclear deterrence, forward presence, crisis response capability, and an ability to reconstitute large forces should that ever be required.

The Defense Agenda

President Bush announced the new defense strategy on August 2, 1990, the very day Iraq invaded Kuwait. The strategy provided for capabilities to deal with intensive operations such as Operation Desert Storm. It was a sound approach before the events of August 1991 in the Soviet Union and before President Bush's historic nuclear initiative of September 27, 1991, and it remains a sound approach now.

Defense Budget

By Fiscal Year 1997, Defense outlays will fall to approximately 3.4 percent of GNP and 16% of Federal spending, the lowest levels since before World War II. Over 100 separate weapons programs have been eliminated since March 1989, and efforts are underway to close over 300 military installations worldwide.

The President's budget for FY 1993 reduces the Department of Defense's six year FY 1992-1997 defense plan by \$63.8 billion in budget authority and \$36.7 billion in outlays compared to the February 1991 plan. Compared to the February 1991 plan, this plan reduces \$50.4 billion in budget authority and \$27.4 billion in outlays, adjusting for Congressional action, technical corrections, and inflation reestimates.

Smaller Forces

The reduced force levels will be realized by deactivating one-third of the Army's active divisions, eliminating about 100 Navy ships, and reducing active Air Force fighter wings by 35%. Today, there are fewer active troops on duty than before the Korean War.

Military Operations

The decisive results of Operation Just Cause in Panama and Operation Desert Storm in the Middle East demonstrated the superb capabilities inherent in our Armed Forces. Operation Provide Comfort in Turkey and Operation Sea Angel in Bangladesh showed how military forces could support humanitarian efforts.

Arms Control and Proliferation

The Administration has made significant progress in arms control, including conclusion of START and Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) agreements. In his State of the Union address, the President proposed far-reaching reductions in nuclear weapons that go well below negotiated levels of the START treaty. Efforts continue for agreements on chemical weapons, expansion of the membership of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Biological Weapons Convention, and arms control in the Middle East (ACME).

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

THE DEFENSE BUDGET

"These cuts are deep, and you must know my resolve: This deep, and no deeper. To do less would be insensible to progress, but to do more would be ignorant of history."

-- President George Bush
January 28, 1992

The basis for our Nation's defense budget has drastically and fundamentally changed from the planning of the last 40 years. In his 1992 State of the Union address, President Bush proposed a \$50 billion reduction in defense spending over the next five years in addition to reductions already planned. The dramatic downsizing of the U.S. military will reduce defense outlays to approximately 3.4 percent of GNP and 16% of total Federal outlay by Fiscal Year 1997, the lowest levels since before World War II.

Budget Trends

The President's FY 1993 budget provides \$267.6 billion in DOD budget authority and \$272.8 billion in outlays. This authority level is \$9.9 billion below the FY 1992 level enacted by Congress, a decline of 7% in real terms. The outlay level is \$10.4 billion below that enacted for FY 1992.

From FY 1992 through FY 1997, DOD budget authority will decline in real terms by an average of 4% per year. By FY 1997, the cumulative real decline in budget authority will be 37% from FY 1985, the peak year, and 29% from FY 1989. Outlays decline in real terms by 26% from FY 1985 and 30% from FY 1989.

Restructuring

These reductions are being realized by dramatic cuts in force structure -- fewer people; fewer divisions and airwings; fewer ships, aircraft, and tanks. Savings also result from cuts in infrastructure, in the pace and scope of modernization programs, and through management reform.

By FY 1995, force structure will decline by about 25% from the FY 1990 level. Reductions include ten Army divisions; ten Air Force tactical fighter wings; and 95 battle force ships, including three aircraft carriers.

Active military personnel is expected to decline by more than 500,000 between FY 1990 and FY 1997, reserve manpower by over 250,000, and civilian end-strength by over 200,000.

Defense Management

A series of consolidation and efficiency initiatives undertaken by the Bush Administration will produce estimated savings for the 1991-1997 period of \$70 billion. Consolidation of maintenance operations, laboratories, and supply depots are already showing evidence that these savings are achievable.

Savings from base closings resulting from the 1988 and 1991 Base Closure Commissions will be more than \$2 billion annually when the Commissions' recommendations are fully implemented.

Burdensharing

Joined by the world's leading nations, the United States successfully worked to create a coalition in which 33 countries joined forces to liberate Kuwait. Foreign commitments to the United States, including commitments of both cash and in-kind assistance to offset the costs of Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, total \$54 billion. The record to date is one of truly remarkable contribution, cooperation, and achievement.

- . Over 97% of foreign commitments have been received, and we expect the remainder in the near future.

The Administration continues to emphasize achieving equitable defense burdensharing among U.S. allies. Our NATO allies provide the majority of forces and equipment deployed in Western Europe. To offset the cost of U.S. forces deployed in Europe, Germany currently provides real estate and family housing with an annual value of \$900 million. The U.S. military presence in Europe will decline from the current level of approximately 300,000 to about 150,000 by the mid-1990s.

In Asia, the U.S. and Japan negotiated a new host nation agreement which by 1995 will result in Japan's assuming more than 75% of the cost of stationing U.S. forces there, compared to roughly 50% in 1991. The Republic of Korea is increasing its contribution to host nation support; by 1995, Korea will assume 33% of the cost of stationing U.S. forces there.

U.S. allies in Asia have responded positively to Administration requests for a more equitable sharing of the defense burden. In early 1991, the U.S. and Japan negotiated a new host nation agreement, which by 1996 will result in Japan's assuming more than 50% of the cost of stationing U.S. forces there. The Republic of Korea is increasing its contribution to host nation support while maintaining its defense expenditures at roughly 5% of its GNP.

"We were resolute in the Cold War. And we have gained greater security for our commitment. We were resolute in the Persian Gulf War. And we have forestalled what would have become a much larger danger there. Now, as we reduce our forces, we must not forget the deterrent value of highly capable, although smaller forces. We must not ignore the importance of shaping -- at least in those regions critical to us -- an environment within which peace and democracy and prosperity can flourish."

-- Secretary Dick Cheney
January 31, 1992

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

DEFENSE RESTRUCTURING

"The United States would be ill-served by forces that represent nothing more than a scaled-back or shrunken-down version of the ones we possess at present What we need are not merely reductions -- but restructuring."

-- President George Bush
August 2, 1990

The Bush Administration is making dramatic changes in the structure of our Armed Forces. Through planned reductions, our forces will be reduced to the smallest acceptable level, a "Base Force" below which further reductions would not be prudent.

Four Basic Force Packages

Strategic Forces will include all three legs -- land, sea, and air -- of the strategic triad and will continue to meet the enduring demands of nuclear deterrence and defense. Atlantic Forces will deal with the threats, primarily ground threats, characteristic of Europe and Southwest Asia, while Pacific Forces will be structured for what is essentially a maritime theater. Contingency Forces will be largely based in the United States and will consist of selected units of all four military services, able to respond rapidly to unpredictable crises.

The Base Force

By Fiscal Year 1995, the essential elements of the force will consist of 18 Army divisions (12 active), 452 combat ships including 13 aircraft carriers, and 26 tactical fighter wings (15 active). This force is 25 percent smaller than the FY 1990 force of 28 Army divisions, 547 combat ships including 16 carriers, and 36 Air Force tactical wings. The number of active duty personnel will decrease by 520,000 -- from 2.1 million to 1.6 million.

Defense Infrastructure and Operations

Overseas bases and sites will be reduced by 14% and domestic bases by 9% by 1995. Over 100 separate weapons programs have been eliminated since March 1989. A new investment strategy will place emphasis on technology demonstration and prototype development necessary to preserve future military capabilities. In addition, the high readiness levels achieved in the late 1980s will continue to be maintained.

Adjustment Programs

For communities which will be affected by base closures and other realignments, the Economic Adjustment Committee coordinates the efforts of 23 Federal agencies -- five of which were added by this Administration -- to minimize the economic impact and provide resources and assistance in converting these facilities to alternative uses. The Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration has \$50 million in funding for this effort.

For those civilians whose jobs are eliminated, the Federal Government offers a full range of transition services, including priority placement within the Defense Department and referrals to other Federal agencies and State and local governments as well as private employers. Individuals also can enroll in job placement seminars for education and counseling services.

In conjunction with the States, a comprehensive array of adjustment services are available to displaced workers through the Job Training Partnership Act's \$527 million Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance (EDWAA) program. In addition, for displaced workers whose job loss is due to base closures and reductions in defense spending, EDWAA's \$150 million Defense Conversion Adjustment Program provides retraining, job placement, and other adjustment services.

As President Bush has said about these communities, "we've got to rebuild And Washington can and will help."

(February 18, 1992)

CONVENTIONAL FORCES

"We are a rich and powerful nation, and the elements of our power will remain formidable. But our wealth and our strength are not without limits. We must balance our commitments with our means and, above all, we must wisely choose now which elements of our strength will best serve our needs in the future. This is the challenge of strategy."

-- President George Bush
August 1991

The Bush Administration has a proven record in national defense that has enhanced both the security of the United States and the prospects for peace and stability around the world. We have seen the fruits of this policy in the growth of democratic and market-oriented governments in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, as well as in the thwarting of Iraq's aggression. One benefit of this more secure world -- and a goal of the Administration -- is a reduction in our defense forces consistent with declining threats.

The Current Force

The Administration has continued the essential policies of maintaining a strong force, forward-deployed as necessary in Europe and the Pacific, and forging solid alliances to contain the threats we have faced since the end of the Second World War. The combination of strong forces and effective alliances deterred the Soviet Union, our most formidable adversary.

In 1990, our conventional forces included 28 Army divisions, a Navy of 16 aircraft carriers and about 547 battle force ships, and 36 tactical fighter wings in the Air Force. That force met every challenge it faced. But the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the break-up of the Soviet Union make it possible for us to reduce our forces and reorient them to the diverse challenges of the future.

The Future Force

By Fiscal Year 1995, the Army will be reduced by 10 divisions, and the Navy will have three fewer aircraft carriers and close to 100 fewer ships. The Air Force will be reduced by eliminating ten tactical fighter wings. This is a 25 percent reduction from 1990 force levels. By 1997, Defense outlays will fall to less than 3.6% of GNP, the lowest level since before World War II. These are dramatic savings the American people will reap as a result of our steadfast defense posture of the 1980s and early 1990s. The future force, while smaller, will retain its capabilities to perform successfully the missions required of it.

The Uncertain World of the Next Century

The reductions the Bush Administration will make over the next five years reflect the success of our policies vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and other threats to our own and our allies' interests. But the world is still a volatile place. Prudent cuts can be made in defense spending; reckless cuts must not be. There is no doubt that we must maintain the capability to defend our interests around the world. As Desert Storm so dramatically demonstrated, maintaining a strong, well-equipped, well-trained, and professional fighting force is the surest way to guarantee the protection of our interests and values around the world.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

STRATEGIC FORCES

"[T]he deterrence issues of a new era are at hand. Despite the threat posed by the existence of Soviet nuclear weapons, the likelihood of their deliberate use by the Soviet state is declining These developments affect questions of nuclear targeting, the alert status and operational procedures of our forces and, ultimately the type and number of weapons sufficient to ensure our safety and that of our allies."

-- President George Bush
August 1991

The Bush Administration has sought to maintain strategic deterrence and strengthen stability through a combination of arms control and prudent force modernization. Despite acute economic and political difficulties in the republics of the former USSR, nuclear capabilities there remain substantial. Reductions in nuclear forces, including those mandated by the START Treaty and those President Bush has proposed will increase our knowledge and predictability about these forces. These reductions will permit us to be more selective in our force modernization efforts.

Strategic Modernization

The Administration has maintained a modern, capable, and effective strategic triad of strategic ballistic missiles, submarines, and bombers. The Trident submarine program has been fixed at 18 submarines and its new missile, the D-5, has successfully begun deployment. Continued development and flight testing of the B-2 bomber has firmly planted US aerospace industry in the new era of low-observable technology. The Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missile, proven during years of deployment, will be upgraded.

START Treaty

After nine years of negotiation, President Bush and former President Gorbachev signed the START Treaty on July 31, 1991. START reduces the number of weapons deployed on missiles and bombers by approximately 30 percent and the number of the most destabilizing heavy ICBM warheads in the former USSR by 50 percent. The Treaty also establishes detailed procedures for carrying out and verifying further reductions as may be decided in the future.

September 1991 Nuclear Initiative

In response to the dramatic changes in the then-Soviet Union, President Bush announced on September 27, 1991 a series of steps to enhance stability and reduce dramatically the size and nature of U.S. nuclear deployments worldwide. The President also invited the Soviets to reciprocate these measures and called on them to agree to eliminate all ICBMs with multiple warheads. As a result of favorable response by former President Gorbachev on tactical weapons, all ground-launched theater nuclear weapons are to be eliminated, and theater nuclear weapons are to be removed from ships, submarines, and naval aircraft on both sides. President Bush also announced the removal of nuclear bombers and certain ICBMs from alert status, an accelerated destruction of Minuteman II ICBMs once START is ratified, and the cancellation of mobile ICBM and nuclear short-range attack missile programs.

The President's January 1992 State of the Union Initiative

In his recent State of the Union address, President Bush announced major unilateral reductions in U.S. strategic nuclear modernization programs. The B-2 program will be limited to 20 aircraft, and the program for a new Small ICBM will be canceled. Production of the W-88 warhead for Trident II (D-5) sea-launched ballistic missiles will be terminated, and purchases of the advanced cruise missile beyond those already funded will cease.

The President repeated his call for a ban on all land-based ballistic missiles with multiple warheads. Should the leaders of the former USSR respond positively to President Bush's proposal, deployed strategic nuclear warheads for both sides would be less than half the number permitted under START. For the U.S., in addition to eliminating the multiple-warhead Peacekeeper missile, warheads on the 500 Minuteman III ICBMs would decrease from three to one, warheads deployed on Trident submarines would be reduced by about one-third, and a substantial number of strategic bombers would be oriented primarily toward conventional missions.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

"... Even as we work to reduce arsenals and reduce tensions, we understand the continuing, crucial role of strategic defenses. They can defend us against accidental launches -- or attacks from the many other countries that, regrettably, are acquiring ballistic missile capabilities. In the 1990s, strategic defense makes much more sense than ever before."

-- President George Bush
February 7, 1990

The Bush Administration has vigorously pursued the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Building on the work begun under President Reagan, SDI has continued to make enormous technical progress. President Bush has reshaped SDI to keep pace with the changing world. The result, Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS), will be deployed starting in 1996, or as soon as technologically feasible.

Strong Support for SDI

The President has been strongly supported SDI. Despite his personal appeals, Congress has consistently cut his budget requests -- over \$3 billion since Fiscal Year 1990. For FY 1993, the President requested \$5.425 billion for SDI activities.

GPALS

The receding Soviet threat, together with the growing threat from ballistic missile proliferation, led the President in January 1991 to set a new goal for SDI -- Global Protection Against Limited Strikes. The aim is to protect the United States, our forces abroad, and our allies against accidental, unauthorized, or third world ballistic missile strikes.

The need for such a policy was brought home within a matter of months as Iraqi SCUDs were fired at U.S. and coalition forces in Saudi Arabia and at Israeli cities. The Patriot defense system proved that we can shoot down such missiles, but we can do far better with SDI technologies.

Despite limited budgets and restrictive testing procedures, SDI has pioneered sensor, computer, and rocket propulsion technologies. If the United States is to achieve the full promise of SDI, Congress must provide the funding that the Administration has requested.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

DESERT STORM

"The nations of the world can and will act collectively to deal with aggression [but] only the United States can mobilize the international community and then lead it."

-- President George Bush
January 9, 1991

In the Gulf War, the Bush Administration brought together an unprecedented economic, political, and military coalition of 33 nations that enforced United Nations Security Council Resolutions, evicted Iraqi forces from Kuwait, and reestablished the sovereignty of that nation. America played a leadership role that only it can exercise in the post-Cold War world.

Force: A Last Resort

From the outset of the Iraqi invasion, the Bush Administration's actions were designed to protect our national interests, confront and deter aggression, support our friends and allies, encourage the broadest possible collective response, and gain the endorsement of the United Nations. Only when negotiation failed did the United States advocate the use of force to ensure compliance with UN Security Council Resolutions. Finally, the coalition military campaign will be remembered for its effort, within the bounds of war, to be humane -- both during and after the fighting.

Major Achievements

The U.S.-led victory in the Gulf War was also important for what it signified in the post-Cold War era. International cooperation, never before attempted or achieved at such a widespread level, became a reality. This was manifested in a resurgent United Nations and extraordinarily successful multinational air, land, and naval operations. All operational objectives were achieved and Iraq capitulated in only 1000 hours of combat. The 32 other members of the coalition provided 205,000 troops alongside the U.S. forces of over a half-million men and women.

The coalition effort destroyed over 3,700 Iraqi tanks, made combat ineffective 42 Iraqi divisions, and captured over 70,000 POWs. The victory reflected political confidence in the leadership of our armed forces, keen strategic planning and insight, the validity of our past technological investment and the extraordinary quality and capabilities of our military men and women.

A Flexible Strategy

One distinguishing feature of the strategy used during the War was that it was developed before the invasion of Kuwait, focusing on potential regional threats rather than the global conventional confrontation that was of decreasing likelihood. Another was the application of lessons learned in the twenty years since Vietnam -- strategically, operationally, and tactically. Third was the successful and rapid transformation of U.S. efforts from warfighting to humanitarian concerns inside Kuwait, with tens of thousands of Iraqi POWs, and with the immense effort to help Kurdish refugees in northern Iraq and southern Turkey. The men and women of our armed forces again displayed the compassion that reflects American principles and values.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

CHEMICAL WEAPONS ARMS CONTROL

"Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed."

-- President George Bush
October 1, 1990

"The Gulf war has once again raised the specter of chemical weapons and demonstrated that unscrupulous regimes can and will threaten innocent populations with these weapons of terror so long as we permit them to exist. These stark events renew and reinforce my conviction, shared by responsible leaders around the world, that chemical weapons must be banned -- everywhere in the world."

-- May 13, 1991

President Bush has personally led the United States' drive to ban the terrible specter of chemical warfare from the face of the Earth. His efforts have led to real results and the hope of further progress. No nation, and no President, has done more than the U.S. under President Bush to remove the scourge of chemical weapons.

Bilateral Chemical Weapons Arms Control: U.S.-USSR

In 1990, Presidents Bush and Gorbachev signed an agreement calling for the destruction of nearly all of both nations' declared stockpiles of chemical weapons -- one of the most comprehensive agreements in over 65 years. Designed to begin the destruction of these uncivilized weapons and to provide an incentive and model to others, the agreement provided that destruction begin by 1992, reducing the number of chemical weapons to about 10 percent of the parties' declared stocks by 2002. Yet the Bush Administration did not wait until 1992. It quickly began a destruction program to develop and demonstrate destruction technology meeting the most stringent safety and environmental standards.

Multilateral Efforts

A treaty banning all chemical weapons has been under negotiation in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva since the early 1980s. The United States has been a leader in this effort and urged other nations to commit to serious negotiation in the hopes of concluding the treaty as soon as possible.

Then-Vice President Bush tabled the first comprehensive draft of a treaty in 1984 which is still the basis of the talks. In May 1991, President Bush announced a major initiative to push forward the negotiations. This included the formal renunciation of the use of chemical weapons by the U.S. for any reason including retaliation and the unconditional commitment of the U.S. to destroy all our chemical weapons within ten years of entry into force of the treaty. Our efforts in Geneva are continuing.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

COUNTERTERRORISM

"[T]he hostage-takers did more damage to their cause than they did to American resolve . . . each heartless act against innocents announced to the world the inhumanity of the captors This Administration has followed a no-negotiation policy since the beginning. Bargaining serves only to make a currency of human lives -- and leads to more of the evil it seeks to end."

-- President George Bush
December 12, 1991

The Bush Administration has followed a consistent, determined, and successful policy regarding terrorists. It has persistently pursued bringing to justice those responsible for terrorist crimes against American citizens and interests; it does not negotiate deals with terrorists. It has, with considerable success, sought to expand counterterrorism cooperation among friendly nations, and has discouraged all states from direct or indirect support for terrorism.

In Pursuit of Justice

Almost three years after the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, U.S. and Scottish officials issued warrants against two Libyan intelligence officials for their roles in the crime. Exhaustive investigations by both countries, cooperating with other governments, have produced conclusive evidence of their deeds, and of the responsibility of the Libyan Government. The United Nations Security Council unanimously passed a resolution calling on the Libyan Government to permit these officials to submit to trial.

In other significant cases, Mohammad Rashid, a Palestinian terrorist wanted in connection for bombing a Pan Am flight in 1982, was tried and convicted in Greece of murder. Eight terrorists responsible for the 1988 bombing of the motorcade of former Secretary Shultz were successfully prosecuted in 1991 by Bolivian officials. These criminals were also responsible for the 1989 deaths of two U.S. Mormon missionaries. The Bush Administration lent extensive support to foreign governments to bring the terrorists to justice.

Hostages

We believe we are near the end of a tragic and criminal spate of hostage-taking in Lebanon. Our policy has led to this final phase without holding our policies or our nation hostage. Our steadfast approach was the basis for the successful efforts of former UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to secure the release of Western hostages in Lebanon. Eight Western hostages, including six Americans and the remains of two other Americans, have been released. We remain deeply troubled by the continued detention of others held hostage there and elsewhere and call for their immediate and unconditional release and for a full accounting of any who may have died in captivity.

Counterterrorism Cooperation

The Bush Administration has enhanced global cooperation against terrorism. Exchanges of information, policy and philosophy, and methodologies has been carried out on a regular basis with friendly governments in Europe, Latin America, and Asia. New programs have been undertaken with the newly democratic states in Eastern Europe and with Middle Eastern states. Through the State Department's Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program and those of other agencies, we have improved other governments' abilities to successfully fight terrorism. These efforts were essential in the extensive, unprecedented international effort that thwarted the plans of Iraqi terrorists following the invasion of Kuwait.

Recommendations of the President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism have resulted in better security for the traveling public. The Rewards for Terrorism Information Program has proven beneficial in soliciting information leading to the prevention, frustration, or favorable resolution of terrorist acts against U.S. persons or properties overseas.

In short, the Bush Administration takes seriously its commitment to bring to an end the unlawful use of terrorist tactics wherever they occur and to bring to justice those responsible for terrorist acts. The steady decline in international terrorist incidents shows the wisdom of our course.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

"The Nation's foreign policy has always been more than simply an expression of American interest. It's an extension of American ideals. This moral dimension of American policy requires us to remain active, engaged in the world."

-- President George Bush
May 27, 1991

We best safeguard peace and security by strengthening the forces of democracy abroad and by encouraging governments to abide by international standards of human rights. History has demonstrated that rulers who respect the rights of their own citizens are more inclined to respect the rights of their neighbors than those who oppress their own people.

Translating Ideas into Action

In pursuing our human rights objectives, we have sought to engage foreign governments in human rights dialogues. Where necessary and appropriate we have rendered help to enable governments to build or to strengthen institutions protective of human rights. Where constructive dialogue could not be initiated we have withheld assistance or otherwise curtailed our economic relations with such countries.

Central and Eastern Europe

As the Communist structure has collapsed, the Administration has responded with programs designed to enable the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to democratize. A principal focus has been on technical assistance designed to help these countries develop productive market-oriented economies and establish a framework of government by consent of the governed.

Africa

A tide of democratic reform is moving across Africa, and the Bush Administration is encouraging and assisting its advance. Efforts to improve human rights receive our strong moral and financial support. We are helping transitional governments write new constitutions, draft electoral codes, inform their citizens of basic rights, and conduct free and fair elections -- which sometime turn long-term incumbents out of office.

East Asia and the Pacific

The trend towards democracy in Asia includes the key milestone of a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia, drafted with major U.S. participation, which has free and fair elections as its goal. Elsewhere, nations are moving from Leninist pasts or authoritarian regimes towards pluralism. A communist regime in Mongolia transformed itself through free elections in 1990 with our encouragement and support. In the Philippines, campaigning is underway for Presidential elections in May 1992. Thailand's coup government oversaw the drafting of a new Constitution, and free elections are scheduled for March 1992. U.S. legal and administrative efforts have fostered the return to democratic governments there. Burma and China continue to run against this trend, despite major Administration efforts of diplomacy and, where necessary, sanctions.

Worldwide

Whether a country is large or small, advocates of freedom throughout the world know that the United States is with them, led by an Administration which avoids empty rhetoric and follows a course deliberately and thoughtfully laid out to improve their conditions of life, to get them out of prison, to let them speak as they wish, to practice the religion of their choice.

International and Regional Institutions

Within the institutions of the international community, the Administration has urged greater attention to human rights and more practical steps to protect them. For instance, the President has called upon the United Nations to play a greater role in election monitoring. Secretary Baker has proposed the establishment, under the auspices of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, of an Office of Democratic Institutions, which could serve as a clearing house for assistance by traditional democracies to the new democracies.

As a member of the Organization of American States, the United States supported energetic OAS roles to restore democracy and human rights in Haiti and Nicaragua. The United States continues to provide funds for the African Human Rights Center in the Gambia. In a move which has been warmly received by human rights advocates at home and abroad, the President has urged the Senate to provide advice and consent on the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights. Finally, the country reports on human rights practices prepared annually by the Department of State have won increasing recognition as the most thorough and credible accounts available.

(February 18, 1992)

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON

NONPROLIFERATION

"We must redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples."

-- President George Bush
October 1, 1990

The Bush Administration has acted boldly to thwart the spread of weapons of mass destruction, strengthening U.S. export controls and pursuing new initiatives to rid the world of chemical weapons and promote arms control in the Middle East.

Nuclear Nonproliferation

The Bush Administration has been a steadfast supporter of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The United States has encouraged other nations to join the NPT and adhere to IAEA safeguards on the control and use of nuclear materials. The NPT regime has been reinforced by the decisions of countries such as France, China, and South Africa to join the treaty. Moreover, Argentina and Brazil agreed to accept IAEA safeguards over all of their nuclear activities. Meanwhile, the dangers of nuclear proliferation in such irresponsible states as Iraq and North Korea continue, requiring continued vigilance.

Ballistic Missiles

U.S. efforts to prevent the spread of ballistic missiles center on the 18-member Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), which seeks to control missile-related exports worldwide. The U.S. hosted the MTCR Plenary in November 1991, where the Partners agreed to a new list of equipment subject to export controls. We will continue to encourage other nations to join the MTCR and to further the emerging international consensus against the spread of missile technology.

Chemical and Biological Weapons

Through the Enhanced Proliferation Control Initiative, the Bush Administration expanded U.S. export controls and proposed stringent international controls over precursor chemicals, recognizing that only multilateral measures will be truly effective. This approach bore fruit in the 20-nation Australia Group of major chemical producers, of which the United States is a leading member, which agreed in 1991 to control common lists of chemical weapons precursors and equipment usable in chemical weapons manufacture. The Australia Group also agreed to pursue export controls relevant to proliferation of biological weapons.

Iraq

The history of Iraq's reckless drive to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them demonstrates the dangers of the permitting the spread of nonconventional weapons to go unchecked and the need for continued vigilance. American actions during the Gulf War -- severely damaging sites used to develop nonconventional weapons and seeking to destroy Iraq's SCUD missile capability -- demonstrated the concern with which we regard the spread of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile technology. With the wholehearted support of the United States, the UN Special Commission established by the UN Security Council Resolution ending the Gulf War seeks to dismantle the Iraqi programs for producing weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. These UN efforts have uncovered extensive Iraqi cheating; they will continue as long as necessary.

Arms Control in the Middle East (ACME)

The Gulf War crystallized international concern over questions of nonproliferation. On May 29, 1991, President Bush seized the opportunity of this new climate to launch an arms control initiative for the region of most acute danger: the Middle East. The initiative called on the five major arms suppliers -- the U.S., the U.K., France, the Soviet Union, and China -- to show restraint and consult with each other to ensure that their conventional arms transfers supported legitimate self-defense needs. By October 1991, the five had agreed on a set of guidelines governing such transfers; they will reconvene in the U.S. in 1992 to continue their work. Elements of the President's initiative requiring action by regional states -- such as a freeze on producing or acquiring either surface-to-surface missiles or nuclear weapons grade material -- will be addressed in the context of the Middle East peace process.

(February 18, 1992)

THE UNITED NATIONS

" . . . for the first time, we have a real chance to fulfill the UN Charter's ambition of working to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.'"

-- President George Bush
September 23, 1991

The Bush Administration has a solid record of pragmatic support for the United Nations. President Bush is the first President who has served as our Ambassador to the United Nations, and through our leadership at the UN and President Bush's thorough knowledge of the UN system, the UN passed its finest hour during the Gulf crisis and its aftermath. We have supported the UN system, strengthening it through leadership, action, and emphasis on reforms to improve its effectiveness.

A Revitalized UN

Our goal is a strengthened, effective UN that can advance U.S. principles and interests by enhancing international cooperation in the new world order. The end of the Cold War offered a chance to replace the rhetoric of conflict with the reality of cooperation at the UN, and we have seized that opportunity. The UN is now better positioned to fulfill its founders' vision than ever before. We will continue our leadership at the UN to promote peace and security with economic and social justice as the foundation for world stability.

The UN in the Gulf Crisis

Strong U.S. leadership molded the successful UN response to Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, which sent an strong warning to any dictator or despot, present or future, that aggression will be unrewarded and meet collective resistance. The UN Security Council passed no fewer than 12 resolutions relating to the crisis before the beginning of Operation Desert Storm. This intense diplomatic effort was unprecedented in UN history and showed the world the possibilities of a revitalized UN in the international system.

Scrapping Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction

Following Iraq's defeat, U.S. leadership resulted in a UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) which is charged to identify and destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical, biological, and ballistic weapons. UNSCOM has uncovered the enormous extent of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction; exposed and frozen its multiple efforts to develop a nuclear device; commenced the destruction of its massive chemical weapons program; revealed its biological warfare activities; and destroyed dozens of SCUD missiles, including some with chemical warheads. Strong US support will continue for this effort in the face of Iraqi deceit and deception until all of Saddam's arsenal is destroyed.

Peacemaking and Peacekeeping

The U.S. has publicly and privately supported UN-sponsored conflict resolution in Iran-Iraq, Namibia, Afghanistan, Angola, Iraq-Kuwait, the Western Sahara, Cambodia, and elsewhere. Major efforts are continuing with El Salvador and Cyprus. The UN now has 11 peacekeeping operations, five of which began in the last year.

Humanitarian Concerns

The U.S. has been at the forefront of UN humanitarian activities, perhaps best evidenced by the U.S. military role in rescuing hundreds of thousands of Kurds who fled Saddam Hussein's brutality to the Iraqi mountains this past year. We lead the world in supporting UN refugee programs. President Bush delivered an address to the World Summit for Children in 1990, indicating strong U.S. backing for efforts to reduce childhood preventable deaths (40,000 per day) and give children worldwide a better future.

We welcomed the humanitarian efforts of the UN Secretary General and the UN organization which brought about the safe and unconditional release of American hostages in the Middle East.

Election Initiative

President Bush proposed an initiative in 1990, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1991 with overwhelming support, to enable the UN to respond capably and quickly to the requests of member states for electoral assistance, thus supporting democratic growth worldwide.

UN Reform for Greater Efficiency and Effectiveness

The U.S. has frequently called on the UN for more streamlined operations and improved efficiency, especially demanding more budget discipline.

As the UN continues to move from polemics to practical problem solving, the U.S. is helping to shape a more meaningful UN role in tackling such transnational threats as illicit drugs and environmental degradation.

(February 18, 1992)