

Chapter 12:

# Foreign Policy and National Defense

## **Foreign Policy**

Bush                      Gore

## **National Defense**

Bush                      Gore

## **Foreign Policy - Bush**

**George W. Bush**

Miami, Florida

August 25, 2000

### ***Cooperating with Latin American Countries & Promoting Democracy***

America has one national creed, but many accents. We are now one of the largest Spanish-speaking nations in the world. We're a major source of Latin music, journalism and culture.

Just go to Miami, or San Antonio, Los Angeles, Chicago or West New York, New Jersey ... and close your eyes and listen. You could just as easily be in Santo Domingo or Santiago, or San Miguel de Allende.

For years our nation has debated this change -- some have praised it and others have resented it. By nominating me, my party has made a choice to welcome the new America.

I come from a state where Hispanic culture is strong. There are over 1 million Hispanic-owned businesses in America -- and over a hundred thousand in our state of Texas. There are over 6,000 Hispanic officials elected or appointed in this country -- and more than two thousand in my state, including some appointments I have made... our Secretary of State at one time, our Insurance Commissioner, and a justice of the Supreme Court. The strong families and deep faith and durable dreams of Latinos make America more, not less, American.

Yet for all these bonds of language and family, of travel and trade, Latin America often remains an afterthought of American foreign policy.

Those who ignore Latin America do not fully understand America itself. And those who ignore our hemisphere do not fully understand

American interests.

This country was right to be concerned about a country like Kosovo -  
- but there are more refugees of conflict in Colombia.

America is right to be concerned about Kuwait -- but more of our oil  
comes from Venezuela. America is right to welcome trade with China --  
but we export as much to Brazil.

Our future cannot be separated from the future of Latin America.

Some still look at Latin America through old stereotypes.

But I see a hemisphere of 500 million people, striving with the dream  
of a better life. A dream of free markets and free people, in a hemisphere  
free from war and tyranny. That dream has sometimes been frustrated --  
but it must never be abandoned.

This hemisphere, united by geography, has often been divided by  
history. In the 19th century, many strong nations wanted weak  
neighbors they could dominate. But those days have passed. In the 21st  
century, strong nations will benefit from healthy, confident, democratic  
neighbors.

Weak neighbors export problems: environmental trouble, illegal  
immigration, even crime, drugs and violence. Strong neighbors export  
their goods, and buy ours -- creating jobs and good will.

We seek, not just good neighbors, but strong partners. We seek, not  
just progress, but shared prosperity. With persistence and courage, we  
shaped the last century into an American century. With leadership and  
commitment, this can be the century of the Americas.

In 1992 -- the 500th anniversary of Spanish contact with America --  
we seemed well on our way toward that vision. The United States and our  
friends in the region had overcome the debt crisis. We negotiated the end  
of cruel and bloody wars. Together, we confronted inflation and checked  
nuclear proliferation. Democracy was advancing. And the North

American Free Trade Agreement promised to be a blueprint for free trade throughout the hemisphere.

But the promise of that moment has been squandered. The Clinton/Gore administration has had no strategy. We have seen summits without substance, and reaction instead of action. We were promised fast-track trade authority -- as every American president has had for 25 years. And yet this administration failed to get it. We were promised a Free Trade Area of the Americas.

Yet it never happened. Chile was promised partnership in NAFTA. And it was "delayed."

And, in spite of real, even dramatic progress in some parts of Latin America, problems have grown into crises. Narcotic traffickers seek to gain control of a government. Many free nations still struggle to show economic results for all their citizens. And we can never forget the vast, urban slums where young children scramble for survival.

Should I become president, I will look South, not as an afterthought, but as a fundamental commitment of my presidency. Just as we ended the great divide between East and West, so today we can overcome the North-South divide.

This begins with a renewed commitment to democracy and freedom in this hemisphere -- because human freedom, in the long run, is our best weapon against poverty, disease and tyranny.

As I speak, we are celebrating the success of democracy in Mexico.

It is a tribute to a promising new president -- and a tribute to a visionary out-going president as well.

Later today, I will meet with the president-elect of Mexico, and begin what I hope is a strong and constant friendship. I have a vision for our two countries. The United States is destined to have a "special relationship" with Mexico, as clear and strong as we have had with

Canada and Great Britain. Historically, we have had no closer friends and allies. And with Canada, our partner in NATO and NAFTA, we share, not just a border, but a bond of good will. Our ties of history and heritage with Mexico are just as deep.

Differences are inevitable between us. But they will be differences among family, not between rivals.

To strengthen that bond, our two countries need a meeting at the highest level, shortly after the American election -- even before the new presidents of our nations are inaugurated.

Should I be elected, I will use that November summit to keep Mexican-American relations moving forward.

We must talk about the availability and cleanliness of water on both sides of the border ... about opening the promise of NAFTA to small businesses and entrepreneurs ... about economic development in areas of Mexico that send illegal immigrants to this country ... about improving health and criminal justice in both nations.

Mexico is an emerging success story. Yet elsewhere in this hemisphere, democracy is still on trial -- threatened by the false prophets of populism.

I look forward to working closely with the nations of this hemisphere but recognize that they cannot be bullied into progress. We will treat all Americans -- North, Central and South -- with dignity. I will improve our bilateral relations and work with the Organization of American States to confront the problems of our hemisphere.

My administration will strengthen the architecture of democracy in Latin America -- the institutions that make democracy real and successful. The basics of democracy should be refreshed with programs that train responsible police and judges. We will encourage professional and civilian-controlled militaries, through contact with our own. The

principles of free speech should be advanced through American media exchanges. We will create a new "American Fellows" program, inviting young men and women throughout the Americas to work for a year in various agencies of our government. We will encourage party-building and help monitor elections. These are ways to treat the symptoms of corruption and discord before they turn into violence and abuse of human rights.

To all the nations of Latin America I say: As long as you are on the road toward liberty, you will not be alone. As long as you are moving toward freedom, you will have a steady friend in the United States of America.

The health of a democracy depends on real economic gains for average citizens. And this requires Latin American governments to act for themselves: To lift the barriers of bureaucracy and over-regulation that prevent the poor from creating legal small businesses. To give more priority and funding to universal education -- because no nation can afford to squander the talent of its people.

Our nation can be an ally in these efforts. The future of this hemisphere lies with the creation of millions of small businesses among the poor -- the surest path out of poverty. But the poor in Latin America often have no access to small amounts of working capital -- to credit cards or bank loans -- that would help them buy something as simple as an oven to bake and sell bread. So I support what are called "microloans" -- small, no-collateral loans allowing the poor to build a business and employ their neighbors. As president, I will ask Congress for \$100 million dollars to help microcredit organizations that are working in Latin America. And I will ask the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank to add to this investment. We will apply the power of markets to the needs of the poor.

We can also use the power of debt reduction to relieve poverty and protect the resources that sustain life in the Americas. We will link debt reduction and the conservation of tropical forests. These forests affect the air we breathe, the food we eat, medicines that cure disease, and are home to more than half of earth's animal and plant species. Expanding the aims of the Tropical Forest Conservation Act, I will ask Congress to provide \$100 million to support the exchange of debt reduction for the protection of tropical forests.

In addition, we must recognize and promote the important role of American charities and churches and relief organizations in Latin America -- organizations which build housing, health clinics and schools. Groups like Amigos De Las Americas, which trains young people to be community health workers in the region. These are practical and effective ways for the wealth and compassion of America to help all the Americas - - and introduce many of our own people to their nation's neighborhood.

I recently proposed extending the charitable tax deduction to every American, which will encourage both giving and outreach. And we can be charitable beyond our borders, so I will encourage American churches and congregations to adopt Latin American churches -- meeting their people and helping in their work. I will challenge American businesses to do their part -- for example, by having their employees volunteer their help with development projects. And I will instruct our embassies to serve and help these non-profits, as they now help businesses, with a counselor appointed specifically for that purpose. Good relations among governments are strengthened by millions of friendships among our people.

Our country is sometimes impatient with the progress of democracy in Latin America. We forget that democracy is a long march. In our country, democracy grew to maturity over time, and only with great work

and sacrifice. It is no different today throughout the Americas.

America must recognize that not only can our neighbors learn from us, but we can learn from them.

Let me give you one example. Back in 1980, Chile faced problems with its retirement system. They decided to convert the pay-as-you-go system into a system of personal retirement accounts -- in which contributions are invested in a safe portfolio of bonds and shares. The idea was to empower the common man -- with something to own and pass along to their children. And the reforms didn't just benefit individuals, but the Chilean economy as a whole.

The Chilean economists who originally designed these reforms studied here in the United States -- at Harvard and the University of Chicago. They learned here and now it is time for us to learn from them. No question, our solutions for Social Security will be different, but we can learn from their experience with reform.

Listening to our neighbors -- treating them with dignity -- is what I mean by respect. But respect is not unconditional. It must be earned. We will respect those who respect the rights of their citizens. In our hemisphere, there is one clear example where this does not happen. The leadership of Cuba has not even begun the journey to that goal. So I challenge the Castro regime to surprise the world and adopt the ways of democracy. Until it frees political prisoners, and holds free elections and allows free speech, I will keep the sanctions in place.

I will support the forces of democracy, and revive the voice of Radio and TV Marti.

Our inspiration is Jose Marti himself ... "Man loves liberty," he said, "even if he does not know that he loves it. He is driven by it and flees from where it does not exist. La libertad no es negociable." Freedom is not negotiable.



Mr. Castro, let your people live in freedom.  
The first goal in our hemisphere is democracy.

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## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: Foreign Policy – Asia***

As in every region of the world, America's foreign policy in Asia starts with its allies: Japan, the Republic of Korea, Australia, Thailand, and the Philippines. Our allies are critical in building and expanding peace, security, democracy, and prosperity in East Asia joined by long-standing American friends like Singapore, Indonesia, Taiwan, and New Zealand.

Republican priorities in the next administration will be clear. We will strengthen our alliance with Japan. We will help to deter aggression on the Korean peninsula. We will counter the regional proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems and deploy, in cooperation with our allies, effective theater missile defenses. We will promote peace in the Taiwan Strait. We will reconstitute our relations with the nations of Southeast Asia. We will obtain the fullest possible accounting for our POW/MIAs from the Pacific wars. And we will promote democracy, open markets, and human rights for the betterment of the people of Asia and the United States.

Japan is a key partner of the United States' and the U.S.-Japan alliance is an important foundation of peace, stability, security, and prosperity in Asia. America supports an economically vibrant and open Japan that can serve as engine of expanding prosperity and trade in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Republic of Korea is a valued democratic ally of the United States. North Korea, on the other hand, lies outside of the international system. Americans have shed their blood to stop North Korean aggression before. Fifty years after the outbreak of the Korean War,

Republicans remember this "forgotten war." Americans should honor the sacrifices of the past and remain prepared to resist aggression today. Policies to protect the peace on the Korean peninsula will be developed in concert with America's allies, starting with South Korea and Japan. What must be clear is an American policy of decisive resolve. The United States will stand by its commitments and will take all necessary measures to thwart, deter, and defend itself and its allies against attack, including enemy use of weapons of mass destruction.

After fighting together in both world wars, the United States forged a formal alliance with Australia that has stood the test of fire in the Korean, Vietnam, and Persian Gulf conflicts. American partnership with Australia is just as relevant to the challenges of Asia's future, as exemplified by Australia's leadership in the East Timor crisis.

American ties to the Philippines have been close for more than a hundred years. We Republicans have supported the victory of Filipino democracy and cherish our continuing friendship with this great nation and its people who have been by our side in war as in peace.

America's key challenge in Asia is the People's Republic of China. China is not a free society. The Chinese government represses political expression at home and unsettles neighbors abroad. It stifles freedom of religion and proliferates weapons of mass destruction.

Yet China is a country in transition, all the more reason for the policies of the United States to be firm and steady. America will welcome the advent of a free and prosperous China. Conflict is not inevitable, and the United States offers no threat to China. Republicans support China's accession into the World Trade Organization, but this will not be a substitute for, or lessen the resolve of, our pursuit of improved human rights and an end to proliferation of dangerous technologies by China.

China is a strategic competitor of the United States, not a strategic

partner. We will deal with China without ill will — but also without illusions. A new Republican government will understand the importance of China but not place China at the center of its Asia policy.

A Republican president will honor our promises to the people of Taiwan, a longstanding friend of the United States and a genuine democracy. Only months ago the people of Taiwan chose a new president in free and fair elections. Taiwan deserves America's strong support, including the timely sale of defensive arms to enhance Taiwan's security.

In recognition of its growing importance in the global economy, we support Taiwan's accession to the World Trade Organization, as well as its participation in the World Health Organization and other multilateral institutions.

America has acknowledged the view that there is one China. Our policy is based on the principle that there must be no use of force by China against Taiwan. We deny the right of Beijing to impose its rule on the free Taiwanese people. All issues regarding Taiwan's future must be resolved peacefully and must be agreeable to the people of Taiwan. If China violates these principles and attacks Taiwan, then the United States will respond appropriately in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act. America will help Taiwan defend itself.

This country's relations with Vietnam are still overshadowed by two grave concerns. The first is uncertainty concerning the Americans who became prisoners of war or were missing in action. A Republican president will accelerate efforts in every honorable way to obtain the fullest possible accounting for those still missing and for the repatriation of the remains of those who died in the cause of freedom. The second is continued retribution by the government of Vietnam against its ethnic minorities and others who fought alongside our forces there. The United States owes those individuals a debt of honor and will not be blind to

their suffering.

Attention to the fate of East Asia should not obscure American attention to the future of South Asia. India is emerging as one of the great democracies of the twenty-first century. Soon it will be the world's most populous state. India is now redefining its identity and future strategy. The United States should engage India, respecting its great multicultural achievements and encouraging Indian choices for a more open world. Mindful of its longstanding relationship with Pakistan, the United States will place a priority on the secure, stable development of this volatile region where adversaries now face each other with nuclear arsenals.

The Republican party is committed to democracy in Burma, and to Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi and other democratic leaders whose election in 1990 was brutally suppressed and who have been arrested and imprisoned for their belief in freedom and democracy. We share with her the view that the basic principles of human freedom and dignity are universal. We are committed to working with our allies in Europe and Asia to maintain a firm and resolute opposition to the military junta in Rangoon.

Because of the strategic location and historical ties of the Pacific island nations to the United States, the next Republican administration will work closely with the countries of this region on a wide variety of issues of common concern.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: Foreign Policy - Africa***

The nations of Africa have endured tremendous burdens of war, poverty, disease, and bad government. But freedom is gaining ground in South Africa, Nigeria, Niger, Mozambique, and Mauritius. Democracy can help ensure that the interests of the people are elevated above the preoccupations and self-enrichment of corrupt elites.

Some of Africa's developing countries are turning to private markets, building middle classes, and evolving toward more representative forms of government that respect individual liberties. But such transformation is not simple. A Republican president and Congress will work to encourage these efforts through closer economic integration, security assistance, and support for freedom. Republicans will replace process with outcome and rhetoric with substance.

Americans are troubled by the humanitarian catastrophes that have plagued the people of Africa including conflicts in Sierra Leone, the Great Lakes region, the Horn of Africa, and elsewhere. The risk of famine is never far away. Millions live in poverty and suffer from disease, especially AIDS and the vaccine-preventable diseases that prey on innocent children. The situation in the Sudan demands special attention, due to its employment of the slave trade and its persecution of Sudanese Christians, and we deplore the government of Zimbabwe's refusal to adhere to the rule of law. The conflict in Angola should be resolved through dialogue leading to the release of political prisoners and democratic government.

The people of Africa need economic opportunity, foreign investment,

and access to markets, food, and medicine. The United States will support international organizations and non-governmental organizations that can improve the daily lives of Africans. The United States must also work to promote democracy and sound governance in Africa, and the prevention and resolution of conflict. We will help the continent achieve its economic potential by implementing measures to reduce trade barriers. Republicans will not ignore the challenges of Africa.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: Foreign Policy - Europe***

As a result of the courageous and resolute leadership of Presidents Reagan and Bush, the Cold War has been won, Germany unified and, with the leadership of a Republican Senate, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary returned to the Euro-Atlantic Community. The security of the United States is inseparable from the security of Europe. Now in its second half-century, a strong NATO is the foundation of peace. Sustained American commitment to the security of Europe has paid off. Our allies across the Atlantic face no conventional external threats. American military deployments are a fraction of their Cold War size. But alliances are not just for crises. They are sustained by the kind of joint planning, political and economic as well as military, that defines and reinforces common interests and mutual trust.

Standing alongside our allies, we seek a NATO that is strong, cohesive, and active. The next Republican president will give consistent direction on the alliance's purpose, on Europe's need to invest more in defense capabilities, and, when necessary, on acting jointly with the United States in military conflict. The United States needs its European allies to help with key regional security problems as they arise, since America also has global responsibilities. Our goal for NATO is a strong political and security fellowship of independent nations in which consultations are mutually respected and defense burdens mutually shared.

For our allies, sharing the enormous opportunities of Eurasia also means sharing the burdens and risks of sustaining the peace. We seek



greater cooperation within NATO to deal with the geopolitical problems of the Middle East and Eurasia. We will work with our European partners as we develop our plans to build effective missile defenses that can protect all of America's allies.

Republicans believe that the political objectives of Europe and America are mutually reinforcing and complementary. The next Republican president will ensure that the relationship between NATO and the European Union, particularly in the division of military responsibilities, is clear and constructive. The leaders of the European Union must resist the temptation of protectionism as we work together to build a Europe whole and free.

We are proud that America's longstanding commitment to the forward defense of democracy is being rewarded as Europe becomes whole and free. In the new era that resulted, some of America's strongest allies and friends have been the democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. In their recent histories, these nations have shown their commitment to the values shared by members of the Trans-Atlantic community. Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians inspired the world, assaulting the Iron Curtain again and again until finally it crashed down forever.

As the new democracies of Central Europe chose freedom, America was ready to respond. Republicans made the enlargement of NATO part of our Contract with America. Their firm stand before the American people and in the Congress finally succeeded in bringing Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary into the North Atlantic Alliance. Republicans recognize and applaud the tremendous achievements of the people of Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia in reclaiming their freedom and rejoining the Trans-Atlantic community of democracies.

It is in America's interest that the new European democracies become fully integrated into the economic, political, and security institutions of the Trans-Atlantic community. These countries are today making great progress toward developing the market economies and democratic political systems that are the best way to ensure both their long-term stability and their security. The enlargement of NATO to include other nations with democratic values, pluralist political systems, and free market economies should continue. Neither geographical nor historical circumstances shall dictate the future of a Europe whole and free. Russia must never be given a veto over enlargement.

The Republican party has long been the advocate of independence for the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, even when others despaired of their emergence from foreign rule. We reaffirm our traditional ties with and strong support for the courageous Ukrainian and Armenian people, who like the people of the Baltic States, have endured both persecution and tyranny to reassert their ancient nationhood. The United States should promote reconciliation and friendship not only between the United States and Russia, but also between Russia and its neighbors.

The current administration has damaged the NATO alliance with years of insensitivity and episodic attention. In the Yugoslav war the administration bungled the diplomacy, misjudged the adversary, and ignored the advice of our military commanders. Even after NATO's operations in Bosnia and Kosovo laid bare Europe's lagging military capabilities, the administration failed to persuade the allies to enhance these capabilities. The next Republican administration will work to repair this damage.

After the many trials and errors of the current administration, the United States is contributing to NATO's peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia-

Herzegovina and Kosovo. Those troops cannot stay indefinitely without jeopardizing the American ability to defend other important U.S. and allied interests. Over time European troops should take the place of American forces under the NATO umbrella as the United States and its allies work together to bring peace and democracy to the Balkans. The next Republican president will not negotiate with indicted war criminals such as Slobodan Milosevic but will seek their arrest, trial, and imprisonment.

Russia stands as another reminder that a world increasingly at peace is also a world in transition. If Russia can realize the enormous potential of its people and abundant resources, it can achieve the greatness that is currently defined solely by the reach of its weapons. Russia has the potential to be a great power and should be treated as such. With Russia, the United States needs patience, consistency, and a principled reliance on democratic forces.

America's own national security is the first order of business with Russia. The United States and Russia share critical common interests. Both Russia and the United States confront the legacy of a dead ideological rivalry — thousands of nuclear weapons, which, in the case of Russia, may not be entirely secure. And together we also face an emerging threat — from rogue nations, nuclear theft, and accidental launch. For its own sake and ours, Russia must stop encouraging the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

The development of a democratic and stable Russia is in the interest of the United States and all of Europe. But the battle for democracy is a fight that must be won by Russians. We must avoid misguided attempts to remake Russia from the outside. The current administration's quixotic efforts have only propped up corrupt elites, identified America with discredited factions and failed policies, and encouraged anti-

Americanism.

The United States should show its concern about Russia's future by focusing on the structures, spirit, and reality of democracy in Russia, embodied by the rule of law. We will do this by directing our aid and attention to help the Russian people, not enriching the bank accounts of corrupt officials.

The rule of law is not consistent with state-sponsored brutality. When the Russian government attacks civilians in Chechnya — killing innocents without discrimination or accountability, neglecting orphans and refugees — it can no longer expect aid from international lending institutions. Moscow needs to operate with civilized self-restraint.

Russia should also display such self-restraint in its shipments of sensitive nuclear and military technology to Iran. As long as Iran remains an international outlaw, preventing such transfers must be a priority for U.S. policy. Americans stand ready to cooperate with Russia in sharing technology for missile defense that can promote a more stable world, but Russia must also choose lasting stability over transitory profit and support the effort against proliferation.

Republicans welcome the historic reconciliation in Northern Ireland that is slowly bringing peace and a representative local assembly to this beautiful land that means so much to Americans. We congratulate the people of Northern Ireland for their approval of the Good Friday Agreement, and we call for the full and fastest possible implementation of its terms. In the spirit of that healing document, we call for a review of issues of deportation and extradition arising prior to the accord. We applaud the work of the Patten Commission to reform the police authorities in Northern Ireland and urge complete implementation of the Commission's recommendations. The sufferings of the people on the island of Ireland have been our sorrow too, and the new hope for peace

and reconciliation is the answer to America's prayers. We continue to support this progress toward peace with justice and, accordingly, we encourage private U.S. investment in the North, with care to ensure fair employment and better opportunities for all. Though the burdens of history weigh heavily upon this land, we cheer its people for taking the lead in building for themselves and for their children a future of peace and understanding. The next president will use the prestige and influence of the United States to help the parties achieve a lasting peace. If necessary, he will appoint a special envoy to help facilitate the search for lasting peace, justice, and reconciliation.

We likewise encourage a peaceful settlement for Cyprus and respect by all parties for the wishes of the Cypriot people. A fair and lasting Cyprus settlement will benefit the people of Cyprus, as well as serve the interests of America and our allies, Greece and Turkey.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: Foreign Policy – Latin America***

Latin America and Canada have helped shape the United States and its people. The countries of the Western Hemisphere are our neighbors. For tens of millions of Americans these neighbors are also our relatives. Latin America buys more than one-fifth of U.S. exports while Canada is America's largest trading partner. These purchases by our Latin American neighbors are rising at a rate almost twice as fast as the rate for the rest of the world. In the next decade, U.S. trade and investment in the Western Hemisphere are projected to exceed our trade and investment with either Europe or Japan. Future prospects for America's neighborhood are extraordinarily bright.

Secure in its strength and its principles, the United States wants strong, healthy neighbors. The next American century should include all of the Americas. Democracy and free markets are again under siege from narcotics traffickers, guerrillas, economic uncertainty, and demographic upheaval. Poverty, inadequate education, rampant crime and corruption all tear at the fabric of several of these societies. In Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and other countries, democracy is faltering or under serious attack.

The next Republican president will pay serious and sustained attention to the American neighborhood. In concert with the Congress, he will work with key democracies like Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and — above all — Mexico. His administration will be guided by the principles of respect for sovereignty, private initiative, multilateral action, free politics and markets, the rule of law, and regard for the variety of peoples and

cultures that make up the Western Hemisphere.

With Mexico, whose historic recent election we salute, the United States should continue to reduce barriers to trade and investment, including the implementation of existing commitments where the current administration has backtracked. Yet a true North American community should have a wider agenda that also includes the development of civil society. Our two countries can share ideas for improving education and public services on both sides of the border and using the federal system in both countries to promote governmental cooperation between honest officials who are close to their people.

A new Republican government committed to NAFTA can enlarge it into a vision for hemispheric free trade, drawing nations closer in business, common commercial standards, dispute resolution, and education. Republicans do not want to create new trading blocs to battle rivals. They mean to encourage general political and economic reform, starting with the American neighborhood.

In Cuba, Fidel Castro continues to impose communist economic controls and absolute political repression of 11 million Cubans. His regime harasses and jails dissidents, restricts economic activity, and forces Cubans into the sea in a desperate bid for freedom. He gives refuge to fugitives from American justice, hosts a sophisticated Russian espionage facility that intercepts U.S. government and private communications, and has ordered his air force to shoot down two unarmed U.S. civilian airplanes thereby killing American citizens.

U.S. policy toward Cuba should be based upon sound, clear principles. Our economic and political relations will change when the Cuban regime frees all prisoners of conscience, legalizes peaceful protest, allows opposition political activity, permits free expression, and commits to democratic elections. This policy will be strengthened by active

American support for Cuban dissidents. Under no circumstances should Republicans support any subsidy of Castro's Cuba or any other terrorist state.

Republicans also support a continued effort to promote freedom and democracy by communicating objective and uncensored news and information to the Cuban people via U.S. broadcasts to the captive island. Finally, Republicans believe that the United States should adhere to the principles established by the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act, which recognizes the rights of Cuban refugees fleeing communist tyranny.



## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: Foreign Policy - The Middle East and Persian Gulf***

In the Middle East, the advancement of U.S. national interests requires clear and consistent priorities as well as close cooperation with America's friends and allies. We have four priorities for the Middle East. First, we seek to promote and maintain peace throughout the region. Second, we must ensure that Israel remains safe and secure. Third, we must protect our economic interests and ensure the reliable flow of oil from the Persian Gulf. And fourth, we must reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction in the region. Because America cannot achieve these objectives by acting alone, U.S. policy must rest on leadership that can build strong coalitions of like-minded states and hold them together to achieve common aims.

As American influence declined during the current administration, the OPEC cartel drove up the price of oil. Anti-Americanism among the Arab people redoubled. Iran continued to sponsor international terrorism, oppose the Arab-Israeli peace process, and pursue nuclear, biological, chemical, and missile capabilities with extensive foreign assistance. America's closest allies expanded their political and economic relations with Iran. A Republican president will work to reverse these damaging trends.

It is important for the United States to support and honor Israel, the only true democracy in the Middle East. We will ensure that Israel maintains a qualitative edge in defensive technology over any potential adversaries. We will not pick sides in Israeli elections. The United States has a moral and legal obligation to maintain its Embassy and

Ambassador in Jerusalem. Immediately upon taking office, the next Republican president will begin the process of moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Israel's capital, Jerusalem.

The United States seeks a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. America can use its prestige to encourage discussions and negotiations. But peace must be negotiated between the parties themselves. We will not impose our view or an artificial timetable. At the heart of the peace process is the commitment to resolve all issues through negotiation. A unilateral declaration of independence by the Palestinians would be a violation of that commitment. A new Republican administration would oppose any such declaration. It will also do everything possible to promote the conclusion of a genuine peace in the Middle East. While we have hopes for the peace process, our commitment to the security of Israel is an overriding moral and strategic concern.

Perhaps nowhere has the inheritance of Republican governance been squandered so fatefully as with respect to Iraq. The anti-Iraq coalition assembled to oppose Saddam Hussein has disintegrated. The administration has pretended to support the removal of Saddam Hussein from power, but did nothing when Saddam Hussein's army smashed the democratic opposition in northern Iraq in August 1996. The administration also surrendered the diplomatic initiative to Iraq and Iraq's friends, and failed to champion the international inspectors charged with erasing Iraq's nuclear, biological, chemical, and ballistic missile programs. When, in late 1998, the administration decided to take military action, it did too little, too late. Because of the administration's failures there is no coalition, no peace, and no effective inspection regime to prevent Saddam's development of weapons of mass destruction.

A new Republican administration will patiently rebuild an international coalition opposed to Saddam Hussein and committed to

joint action. We will insist that Iraq comply fully with its disarmament commitments. We will maintain the sanctions on the Iraqi regime while seeking to alleviate the suffering of innocent Iraqi people. We will react forcefully and unequivocally to any evidence of reconstituted Iraqi capabilities for producing weapons of mass destruction. In 1998, Congress passed and the president signed the Iraq Liberation Act, the clear purpose of which is to assist the opposition to Saddam Hussein. The administration has used an arsenal of dilatory tactics to block any serious support to the Iraqi National Congress, an umbrella organization reflecting a broad and representative group of Iraqis who wish to free their country from the scourge of Saddam Hussein's regime. We support the full implementation of the Iraq Liberation Act, which should be regarded as a starting point in a comprehensive plan for the removal of Saddam Hussein and the restoration of international inspections in collaboration with his successor. Republicans recognize that peace and stability in the Persian Gulf is impossible as long as Saddam Hussein rules Iraq.

All Americans hope that a new generation of Iranian leaders will rise to power seeking friendlier relations with the United States and a less threatening posture in the region. But Iran's record of supporting terrorism, opposing the Middle East peace process, developing weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles, and its denial of human rights, most recently demonstrated in the trial and conviction of Iranian Jews on unfounded espionage charges, demonstrates that Tehran remains a dangerous threat to the United States and our interests in the region. The next Republican administration will form its policy toward Iran based on Iranian actions, not words. It will stop making unilateral gestures toward the Iranian government which, to date, have failed to result in a change in Iranian behavior. We will work to convince our

friends and allies, most importantly the Europeans, to join us in a firm, common approach toward Iran.

Republicans endorse continued assistance and support for countries that have made peace with Israel — led by Egypt and Jordan. We appreciate the significant contributions by Jordan to our common struggle against terrorism, and will take steps to bolster relations with Amman including negotiating a U.S.-Jordan Free Trade Agreement.

The United States and its allies depend on oil from the Middle East. Republicans prefer an America that is far less dependent on foreign crude oil. A Republican president will not be so tolerant if OPEC colludes to drive up the world price of oil, as it has done this past year. Yet influence also comes from friendship. The United States should restore its underlying good and cooperative relations with the oil-exporting nations, most importantly Saudi Arabia, as well as with other moderate Arab governments.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: U.S. World Leadership***

The Twenty-First Century opens with unique promise for the United States. Democratic values are celebrated on every continent. The productivity and ingenuity of American business are the envy of the world. American innovation is leading the way in the information age. New technology speeds an exchange of ideas that often bear the mark of American inspiration. No other great power challenges American international preeminence. There is every reason for Americans to be extraordinarily optimistic about their future.

Few nations in history have been granted such a singular opportunity to shape the future. Even after World War II the United States had to reckon with a divided world and terrible dangers. Now America can help mold international ideals and institutions for decades to come. Handed the torch by generations that won great battles, our generation of Americans with its allies and friends can build a different and better world, promoting U.S. interests and principles, avoiding the economic convulsions and perilous conflicts that so scarred the century just past. Through a distinctly American internationalism, a new Republican president will build public support for a new strategy that can lead the United States of America toward a more peaceful and prosperous world for us, our children, and future generations.

Almost all Americans know they cannot prosper alone in the world. They know that America is safest when more and more countries share a profound belief in political and economic liberty, human dignity, and the rule of law, when more and more nations join the United States in an

emerging fellowship of freedom.

That is what happened during the twelve years of Republican presidential leadership from 1981 to 1992. The Cold War ended with the triumph of freedom. The Soviet Empire collapsed, and the USSR followed it into history. The proud Atlantic community welcomed a united Germany and new friends in Central and Eastern Europe. Iraq tried the law of the jungle and was routed, its aggressive power broken. The Arab-Israeli peace process was revived. Alliances and friendships in Asia were robust and successful. Mexico joined with the United States in an unprecedented new economic partnership as peace and democracy spread through Latin America. Around the globe, the word, the ideals and the power of the United States commanded respect. The American presidency showed bright and purposeful.

In the last eight years the administration has squandered the opportunity granted to the United States by the courage and sacrifice of previous generations:

The administration has run America's defenses down over the decade through inadequate resources, promiscuous commitments, and the absence of a forward-looking military strategy.

The ballistic missile threat to the United States has been persistently dismissed, delaying for years the day when America will have the capability to defend itself against this growing danger.

The arrogance, inconsistency, and unreliability of the administration's diplomacy have undermined American alliances, alienated friends, and emboldened our adversaries.

World trade talks in Seattle that the current administration had sponsored collapsed in spectacular failure. Authority to negotiate new fast-track trade agreements was slapped down by the administration's own party in the Congress. An initiative to establish free trade

throughout the Americas has stalled because of this lack of Presidential leadership.

The problems of Mexico have been ignored, as our indispensable neighbor to the south struggled with too little American help to deal with its formidable challenges.

The tide of democracy in Latin America has begun to ebb with a sharp rise in corruption and narco-trafficking.

A misguided policy toward China was exemplified by President Clinton's trip to Beijing that produced an embarrassing presidential kowtow and a public insult to our longstanding ally, Japan.

With weak and wavering policies toward Russia, the administration has diverted its gaze from corruption at the top of the Russian government, the slaughter of thousands of innocent civilians in Chechnya, and the export of dangerous Russian technologies to Iran and elsewhere.

A chorus of empty threats destroyed America's credibility in the Balkans, so that promised safe havens became killing fields.

The administration prolonged the war in Kosovo by publicly limiting America's military options — something no Commander-in-Chief should ever do.

A generation of American efforts to slow proliferation of weapons of mass destruction has unraveled as first India and Pakistan set off their nuclear bombs, then Iraq defied the international community. Token air strikes against Iraq could not long mask the collapse of an inspection regime that had — until then — at least kept an ambitious, murderous tyrant from acquiring additional nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

A humanitarian intervention in Somalia was escalated thoughtlessly into nation-building at the cost of the lives of courageous Americans.

A military intervention in Haiti displayed administration indecision and incoherence and, after billions of dollars had been spent, accomplished nothing of lasting value

Reacting belatedly to inevitable crises, the administration constantly enlarges the reach of its rhetoric — most recently in Vice President Gore's "new security agenda" that adds disease, climate, and all the world's ethnic or religious conflicts to an undiminished set of existing American responsibilities. If there is some limit to candidate Gore's new agenda for America as global social worker, he has yet to define it.

It is time for America to regain its focus. Winston Churchill, after he had lived through other years that the "locust hath eaten," declared: "The era of procrastination, of half-measures, of soothing and baffling expedients, of delays, is coming to a close. In its place we are entering a period of consequences." As idle indulgence gives way to a new Republican president in the coming new "period of consequences," the United States can again regain the hope it lost eight years ago. We can restore our country's sense of international purpose and national honor.

A Republican president will identify and pursue vital American national interests. He will set priorities and he will stick to them. Under his leadership, the United States will build and secure the peace. Republicans know what it takes to accomplish this: robust military forces, strong alliances, expanding trade, and resolute diplomacy.

Yet this new realism must be inspired by what we stand for as a nation. Republicans know that the American commitment to freedom is the true source of our nation's strength. That is why, for one example, Congressional Republicans have made political and religious liberty a cornerstone of their approach to international affairs. That commitment is the glue that binds our great alliances. It is strong precisely because it is not just an American ideal. We propose our principles; we must not



impose our culture. Yet the basic values of human freedom and dignity are universal.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: The United Nations***

International organizations can serve the cause of peace, but they can never serve as a substitute for, or exercise a veto over, principled American leadership. The United Nations was not designed to summon or lead armies in the field and, as a matter of U.S. sovereignty, American troops must never serve under United Nations command. Nor will they be subject to the jurisdiction of an International Criminal Court. The United Nations can provide a valuable forum for nations to peacefully resolve their differences, and it can help monitor international agreements and organize international humanitarian assistance. The United States will pay a fair, not disproportionate, share of dues to the United Nations once it has reformed its management and taken steps to eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse. All funds that the U.S. contributes for operations, conferences, and peacekeeping should count against these dues.

The next Republican administration will use its diplomatic influence to put an end to a pattern of discrimination that persists at the United Nations in denying committee assignments to Israel. It will do the likewise at the International Red Cross which refuses to accredit the symbol of Magen David Adom, Israel's equivalent of the Red Cross. Moreover, Republicans oppose the ideological campaign against participation by the Vatican in U.N. conferences and other activities. The United Nations was created to benefit all peoples and nations, not to promote a radical agenda of social engineering. Any effort to address global social problems must be firmly placed into a context of respect for

the fundamental social institutions of marriage and family. We reject any treaty or convention that would contradict these values. For that reason, we will protect the rights of families in international programs and will not fund organizations involved in abortion. This approach to foreign assistance will unify people, respect their diverse beliefs, and uphold basic human rights. It will enable us, in cooperation with other free societies around the world, to more effectively oppose religious persecution and the sex trafficking that ruins the lives of women and children.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: Principled American Leadership***

Republicans have a strategy. It is a strategy that recalls traditional truths about power and ideals and applies them to networked marketplaces, modern diplomacy and the high-tech battlefield. A Republican administration will use power wisely, set priorities, craft needed institutions of openness and freedom, and invest in the future. A Republican president and a Republican Congress can achieve the unity of national governance that has so long been absent. We see a confident America united in the fellowship of freedom with friends and allies throughout the world. We envision the restoration of a respected American leadership firmly grounded in a distinctly American internationalism.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: International Assistance***

The promotion of freedom and democracy is a critical national interest. President Reagan was a champion of this idea, establishing the National Endowment for Democracy in 1983 as an instrument of U.S. public diplomacy. The National Endowment for Democracy, and other American public diplomacy institutions, continues today to advance and protect American ideals and interests abroad.

The United States must commit itself to doing more to assist refugees and displaced persons. A Republican administration will improve America's longstanding practice of aiding the innocent victims of political repression, conflict, famine, and natural disasters, and we will lead other countries in responding similarly.

Republicans fully recognize that the spread of AIDS is a terrible humanitarian disaster and will continue to emphasize action over rhetoric. In particular, we commend the Republican Congress for recently approving legislation to assist the victims of this disease in Africa.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: America's Role***

"The duties of our day are different. But the values of our nation do not change. Let us reject the blinders of isolationism, just as we refuse the crown of empire. Let us not dominate others with our power — or betray them with our indifference. And let us have an American foreign policy that reflects American character. The modesty of true strength. The humility of real greatness. This is the strong heart of America. And this will be the spirit of my administration."

- Governor George W. Bush

Americans have good reason to be optimistic about our role in world. Few nations in history have been afforded the range of possibilities to shape the future that has been presented to this generation of Americans. After the wavering and ambivalence of the current administration, Americans have a fresh chance to build on the enormous opportunities of this new era and new century. Earlier generations defended America through great trials. This generation can adapt America to thrive amid great change — change in economies, societies, technologies, and weapons.

## **Foreign Policy - Gore**

### **Al Gore**

A Luncheon in Honor of Prime Minister Vajpayee of India

Department of State

Washington, D.C.

September 15, 2000

### ***US-India Relations***

Prime Minister Vajpayee. Members of the Indian delegation.  
Members of Congress. Distinguished guests. Ladies and gentlemen.

Welcome. It is a true privilege and pleasure for me to host you, Mr. Prime Minister, for today's luncheon.

In today's world, it is rare to find a leader who combines the qualities of idealism and pragmatism, confidence and humility. In you, Mr. Prime Minister, we find such a leader.

As a poet, you have inspired the imagination of your people with your eloquence. As Prime Minister, you have challenged your people to act on their imagination, to create a shared vision for a united, democratic, prosperous and peaceful India, and then to make that vision a reality. You are truly a leader in both word and deed.

President John Kennedy once said, in our country, "If more politicians knew poetry, and more poets knew politics, I am convinced the world would be a little better place to live." I cannot translate that into Hindi, but Mr. Prime Minister, you embody President Kennedy's words. You know both poetry and politics, and through your inspired leadership, you are indeed making the world a better place to live.

In your poem Oonchai -- or "height" in English -- you speak of the importance of not losing touch with humanity as one rises in life. Your

poem ends with a stirring line, which I would like to quote: "Never let me climb so high that I cannot bend down to embrace another human." You have dedicated your life to this noble ambition.

I am confident that India is destined for great heights. One of the World's great civilizations, India has emerged, of course, as one of it's great democracies. India's history has been turbulent at times. But your nation is on the way to overcoming these challenges by embracing change, uniting all, and setting a course for the future.

The United States, Mr. Prime Minister, joins India as a partner on this journey. Our two nations share a special bond. As the world's oldest democracy and the world's largest democracy, we are, in your words, "natural allies." Our cultures and customs differ, but we share a strong commitment to democracy and equality for all. We are proof that diversity is strength, and that freedom is power.

The success of the Indian-American community testifies to the potential for our partnership. Many distinguished members of this Indian-American community join us here today. Indian-Americans have excelled in all fields of endeavor, from medicine to movies, science to airlines, and everything in between. And they have been at the forefront of the information revolution. Many Indian-Americans have found a home in Silicon Valley, leading some of the most successful internet companies. They have made an invaluable contribution to America's prosperity and democratic life.

As the world's two leading democracies, we bear a special responsibility to take the lead in meeting the challenges that all democracies face. We must work together to ensure democracy's promises are realized by all our people, that all benefit from freedom. Quality education, public health, a clean environment -- these are the goals we share and which together we can achieve. Threats that



undermine democracy -- such as terrorism and the proliferation of dangerous weapons technologies -- are concerns we also share, and will work together to address.

When you were sworn-in as India's sixteenth Prime Minister two years ago, you said that you "have a pledge to redeem and a promise to fulfill." On behalf of all Americans, I pledge to you America's continued support, and promise you our lasting friendship.

Please join me now in raising our glasses in honor of Prime Minister Vajpayee and to the friendship between our two great nations.

## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: World Leadership***

#### *Peace*

Eight years ago, Americans found themselves between two worlds. After half a century in which we stood up for peace and security all over the globe - taking on the forces of tyranny and terror that imperiled our interests and assaulted our values - the Cold War was over and a new Global Age was beginning. We needed new ideas and new leadership.

Democrats have provided them. Under the leadership of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the first light of the 21st Century finds America at peace. More of the world's citizens live in freedom than ever before, and our people and our values are protected by the greatest military force the world has ever known.

Democratic leadership has brought peace and security to Americans and to millions of freedom-loving people around the globe. We achieved victory and ended ethnic cleansing in Kosovo - allowing hundreds of thousands of refugees to return to their homes in safety. We helped achieve historic breakthroughs in the Middle East peace process. We led the efforts that produced the Good Friday Accord in Northern Ireland - offering the best hope yet of ending decades of bloodshed. We are working to build a self-sustaining peace in Bosnia through the implementation of the Dayton Peace accords. We have ended the military dictatorship and given democracy a chance in Haiti. We have made Americans safer by reducing Russian nuclear arsenals. We strengthened and expanded NATO for a new century.

But now is not the time to sound the trumpets of triumph. In the

wake of the Cold War, America has entered a new Global Age that is altering our security challenges and creating entirely new issues. Globalization is transforming the international order that defined the 20th century. Today, for both good and ill, our destiny and the destinies of billions of people around the world are increasingly intertwined, and our domestic and international challenges are bound together as never before.

The Democratic Party recognizes that globalization will continue shaping our future. We also believe that the United States has the means and the responsibility to shape globalization so that it reflects the needs and the values of the American people.

Al Gore and the Democratic Party know that we must be able to meet any military challenge from a position of dominance. But Al Gore and the Democratic Party also recognize that there is a new security agenda - threats that affect the entire world and transcend political borders.

During the past century, we have learned that if we wish to avoid war, we must be strong enough to deter aggression, but also farsighted enough to invest in peace. Now it is time to apply this lesson to the new global challenges we face - to shape a new strategy of Forward Engagement to guide our conduct around the world.

Forward Engagement means addressing problems early in their development before they become crises, addressing them as close to the source of the problem as possible, and having the forces and resources to deal with these threats as soon after their emergence as possible.

While we must always stand prepared to use our military power when all other options fail, Forward Engagement also means addressing societal and political problems before they evolve into threats to our national security and values - before armed conflict becomes the only way to achieve our goals. And Forward Engagement means drawing on

all three main sources of American power - military strength, a vibrant, growing economy, and a free and democratic political system - to advance our objectives around the world.

The Democratic Party believes that America's peace and security depend on our unflagging leadership and engagement in global affairs - and that Forward Engagement is the strategy that must guide us. We must maintain America's economic and military strength. We must also form partnerships to help solve global problems and take advantage of new global opportunities. That means we must deepen our key alliances, develop more constructive relationships with former enemies, and bring together diverse coalitions of nations to deal with new problems. America has a responsibility to lead - and should lead from within the international community.

At a time when new conditions require new thinking, the Republican Party offers little more than outdated positions and a narrow worldview that lets international problems fester.

Some Republicans believe America should turn away from the world. They oppose using our armed forces as part of international solutions, even when regional conflicts threaten our interests and our values.

Other Republicans want America to act unilaterally. They attack the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty - even at the risk of precipitating a new nuclear arms race. They voted down the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, threatening both our security and our global leadership. They have attempted to sabotage the Clinton-Gore administration's efforts to negotiate with other nations by declaring that any arms control agreement - regardless of content - would be "dead on arrival."

Mired in the past, the Republican Party fails to realize that ensuring peace and security for Americans today does not just mean guarding against armies on the march. It means investing in building the global

peace. It means addressing the fact that more than 1 billion of the Earth's inhabitants live on less than \$1 a day - inviting social dislocation, violence, and war. It means meeting new challenges such as international crime and terrorism, environmental degradation, and pandemic diseases head-on. And it means that Forward Engagement must be the new pole-star of our global strategy.

*Closing the Gates of War*

In areas where conflict has raged, comprehensive peace agreements are the foundation for lasting security. Bill Clinton and Al Gore have actively pursued peaceful resolutions to conflicts across the world and have been prepared to go the extra mile on behalf of negotiators seeking peace. Al Gore and the Democratic Party are fundamentally committed to the security of our ally, Israel, and the creation of a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors. We helped broker the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty, the Wye River accords, and the Sharm el-Sheik Memorandum, and will continue to work with all parties to make progress towards peace. Our special relationship with Israel is based on the unshakable foundation of shared values and a mutual commitment to democracy, and we will ensure that under all circumstances, Israel retains the qualitative military edge for its national security. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and should remain an undivided city accessible to people of all faiths. In view of the government of Israel's courageous decision to withdraw from Lebanon, we believe special responsibility now resides with Syria to make a contribution toward peace. The recently-held Camp David summit, while failing to bridge all the gaps between Israel and the Palestinians, demonstrated President Clinton's resolve to do all the United States could do to bring an end to that long conflict. Al Gore, as president, will demonstrate the same resolve. We call on both parties to avoid unilateral actions, such as a unilateral declaration of

Palestinian statehood, that will prejudice the outcome of negotiations, and we urge the parties to adhere to their joint pledge to resolve all differences only by good faith negotiations.

In Northern Ireland, we helped facilitate multi-party talks and played an instrumental role in brokering the historic Good Friday Accord, which has greatly enhanced the prospect for peace. We will continue to work toward implementation of the Accord and provide continued political and economic support for the new institutions involving Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Great Britain. Our goal is not merely the laying down of arms, but the joining together of hands in a new political relationship that enables former rivals to govern and thrive together.

We have worked hard and successfully to calm dangerous tensions between our allies Greece and Turkey over issues of sovereignty in the Aegean, and we have never ceased our efforts to facilitate a resolution of tensions between the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus. This work must continue.

In the Balkans, the Clinton-Gore Administration ended ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo by the resolute use of military power and vigorous diplomacy. The Republican Party, having first opposed the Administration's efforts to restore peace in the region, now tries to impede the Administration's efforts to rebuild these shattered societies. We look forward to the day when Serbia will be free from the grip of Slobodan Milosevic, and we will work to make that happen. America did right in the Balkans, and now we must finish the job.

Remembering the historic suffering of the people of Armenia, and recognizing the need of the modern Armenian state for security and economic growth, Al Gore and the Democratic Party are committed to continuing our efforts to bring a permanent end to tensions between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, along with the

restoration of diplomatic, commercial, and economic ties between Armenia and her neighbors, including Turkey. Al Gore helped bring about a special task force to intensify economic cooperation between the United States and Armenia.

We have helped close the gates of war in other parts of the world as well, and our work continues. We helped settle the Peru-Ecuador border dispute and end the civil war in Guatemala. We have worked for peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, and on the Ethiopia-Eritrea border. And we helped end the violence and protect democracy in East Timor by leading diplomatic efforts and supporting an international peacekeeping mission.

We helped facilitate the dialogue between North and South Korea, without which the recent summit could not have occurred. We continue to work with China and Taiwan to resolve their differences by peaceful means. And we continue our work with India and Pakistan to dampen down a nuclear arms race on the sub-continent and continue to urge them to deal with their differences over their conflict in Kashmir with peaceful means. President Clinton's historic trip to India and Pakistan has created new possibilities for dialogue with these countries, and under a Gore Administration these will be continued vigorously.

*Neutralizing the Forces that Cause Chaos and Instability*

The questions of war and peace among sovereign states are as important to our security as ever. But today America also faces a new set of international issues. Technology's unprecedented power means that lawlessness, diseases, and ecological disruptions - which once were localized - now land on America's doorstep even as they also threaten the stability and security of nations all over the world.

*Promoting Democracy, Human Rights, Rule of Law, and Civil Society*

American values and freedoms are a beacon unto nations, and we

should use the power of our ideals to foster democracy, human rights, rule of law, and civil society throughout the world. The Democratic Party believes that America must continue to work closely with other nations, as well as non-governmental organizations to promote these goals. We aim to rededicate ourselves to the defense of democracy in the Americas at a moment when it is being brought into question in Peru and absent on the island of Cuba. We will continue to work with Haiti to deepen the roots of democracy that we helped replant. We will continue to press for human rights, the rule of law, and political freedom. We will continue to support the spread of democracy across Africa, Asia, and the Middle East and the development of judiciary, legal systems, media and civil society organizations.

To accomplish this, we need the right tools. Al Gore and the Democratic Party support continued funding for the National Endowment for Democracy, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Asia, Radio Marti, and other efforts to promote democracy and the free flow of ideas. We will build on our successful Reinventing Government program, led by Al Gore, to help other nations make their governments more responsive, more open, and more effective. We strongly support international educational exchanges. The students who come to America to study here - at the best academic institutions in the world - learn about our democratic values and institutions, our entrepreneurial skills, and our culture. They learn that Americans are noble dreamers remaining ever inclusive.



## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: Global Epidemics***

Global epidemics constitute another major security threat. Malaria is running out of control in Africa, and antibiotic-resistant strains of tuberculosis are ravaging Russia and other countries.

But the most severe global epidemic is HIV/AIDS. It is more than a health tragedy, it is a threat to global security. AIDS now grips 20 million Africans. Fourteen million have already died, a quarter of them children. Each day, 11,000 more men, women, and children become infected. Diseases like AIDS threaten not just individual citizens, but the very institutions that define and defend the character of society. The Democratic Party believes we can and must do more to prevent transmission, care for those who are ill, and lead in knitting together the scores of AIDS-fighting initiatives into a global campaign to defeat this threat.

## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: Engaging Former Enemies***

Democrats understand that we must engage former enemies. This Administration's efforts to design new relationships with the Russian Federation and China have been continuously subjected to every form of harassment and attack by the Republicans - but they have been in America's national interest and they have been the right thing to do.

We recognize that Russia's historic transition to a market democracy is difficult - all the more reason we must continue to engage Russia. We recognize that Russian democracy is challenged by corruption that deeply penetrates her society - all the more reason to engage Russia on behalf of reform. We recognize that Russia has her own self-interest and concerns that can and do run contrary to ours - all the more reason to search for constructive forms of cooperation. We deeply disagree with what Russia is doing in Chechnya and remain concerned about signs of Russian efforts to intimidate the press - all the more reason to step up our discussions with them on those issues. The Democratic Party is prepared to pursue American objectives as needed even at the cost of friction with Russia. But it is also of tremendous potential benefit to us if we can nurture a sense of common purpose and trust. Al Gore and the Democratic Party will continue that effort.

Similarly, we must continue to engage China - a nation with 1.3 billion people, a nuclear arsenal, and a role in the 21st Century that is destined to be one of the basic facts of international life. We must search out ways to cooperate across a broad range of issues, such as the environment and trade, while at the same time, insisting on adherence to

international standards on human rights, freedom, the persecution of religions, the suppression of Tibet, and bellicose threats directed at Taiwan. China cannot be ignored, and these issues cannot - and must not - be marginalized. A deterioration of the U.S.-China relationship would harm, not help, American national security interests and the promotion of our values. A Gore Administration will fulfill its responsibilities under the Taiwan Relations Act. A Gore Administration will also remain committed to a "One China" policy. We support a resolution of cross-Straits issues that is both peaceful and consistent with the wishes of the people of Taiwan.

## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: International Assistance***

#### *International Assistance*

Forward Engagement requires investment. But while international assistance and government aid are important - we should do more. There is no way to donate enough money to the parts of the world that are most deeply affected by war, lawlessness, disease, or disorder. What applies to us, applies to them: the only way for them to make real progress is to encourage investment by promoting growth that is sustainable and broadly shared.

Latin America and the Caribbean must continue to be a focal point of our efforts. We believe that increased cooperation and trade with our partners in this hemisphere can reduce poverty and the reliance on the drug trade, and ultimately lead to economic development, stability, and prosperity. We have made great strides by helping avert a financial crisis in Mexico. Mexico's ongoing shift to a mature democracy, as demonstrated by her recent election, makes it increasingly possible for us to visualize even stronger relations and more effective relationships between ourselves, Mexico, and Canada, building on our growing economic ties to address environmental and social issues of common concern. A Gore Administration will build on this possibility in order to assure ourselves and the people of the Americas a future of democracy, prosperity, and security built on mutual trust and respect. At the same time, we should continue to safeguard environmental standards, food safety, and worker protections by refusing to allow cross-border trucking and bus operations until appropriate safety and worker fairness

standards have been met.

Prosperity and peace in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa will only be possible when those regions are fully integrated into the global economy. In Asia, we are working to promote fair trade with Japan and China. In the Middle East, we are promoting regional trade, particularly among Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. We must continue our work to reach out to moderate Arab states and we must intensify our effort to foster closer ties to the Islamic World.

With respect to sub-Saharan Africa, the Democratic Party believes in supporting what South African President Thabo Mbeki has called "an African renaissance." Notwithstanding this region's many problems, we see the example of South Africa as a great beacon of hope. We are encouraged by the restoration of democracy in Nigeria, the long-term continuation of a stable democratic system in Botswana, and Mozambique's courageous efforts of recovery after years of civil war. Even in the midst of her continuing problems, we see in Zimbabwe's recent election hope for the survival of the ideal of a multi-ethnic society. We regard the recently enacted African Growth and Opportunity Act as a major contribution toward the future.

We believe that the United Nations can play an integral role in our policy of Forward Engagement. We understand that the institution needs both resources and reform if it is to play that role, and we pledge to take the lead on both fronts.

### *Prosperity Abroad*

Globalization must be a tide that lifts all boats, not a wave that overwhelms the most vulnerable among us. We support increasing our investment in the International Labor Organization and expanding the use of trade preferences that are tied to improvement in core labor standards. We also want to reverse the widening gap between rich and

poor and nations, which is why Al Gore and the Democratic Party back debt forgiveness for the world's poorest nations.

We must seek to reform international institutions such as the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank so that core labor standards, human rights, and protections of the environment are integral to their policies and practices. These institutions must also improve their transparency, accountability, and level of consultation with civil society so that citizens around the world can both understand the basis for their decisions and contribute to them. We should use our influence in multilateral development institutions to not only provide emergency assistance for stabilizing economies and to create social safety nets, including unemployment insurance and health care, but also to give people the skills, education, and training they need to compete in the New Economy.

We must make a special effort to help women and children in societies that are devastated by war, disease and poverty. Women are traditionally the backbone of the family. We must also make a special effort to hear women when they rise up courageously to resist or end war in their communities. They are in a sense the front lines - the first affected - by the horrors of war and the misery of disease and poverty. We demand the United States Congress pass the Convention to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination Against Women which has been consistently blocked by the Republican Senate. And children represent the future. When we lose our children, we lose the promise of a future. Our investment programs must be more targeted toward women. And we must end the scourge of child labor by helping societies create educational opportunities for children and, more importantly, economic alternatives to employing the young.

## **National Defense - Bush**

**George W. Bush**

Ohio

July 31, 2000

### ***Building a Strong Military***

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I want you to know I'm running to keep the peace. Dick Cheney and I will do what it takes to make the world more peaceful. I'm a realist when it comes to the world. I see the world the way it is, not the way we hope it is. And even though the Evil Empire may have passed, evil still remains. People who can't stand what America stands for. They resent our successes. They resent our freedoms. There's a world of uncertainty that we'll be facing.

But what I am certain about is, under this administration, morale in the United States military is dangerously low. And what I am certain about, in order to keep the peace, we must rebuild the military power of the United States. And I'll do so. I'll do so to keep the peace.

**George W. Bush**

Bartlett, Tennessee

August 18, 2000

***Rebuilding the Military Power of the US***

...

I want to thank you all for bringing your sons and daughters. I know how great it feels to be looking at the youth of America when we stand up here. I want you all to know that we're running to keep the peace; that a mission of this administration will be to make the world more peaceful. But we'll be realists when it comes to seeing the world, we'll be realists when it comes to building alliances, we'll be realists when it comes to the state of readiness of today's United States military.

I want you all -- oh, I heard the words about how supposedly prepared we are. But that's not what the facts say. We're having trouble meeting recruiting goals, we're having trouble retaining Captains in the United States military. But don't ask me, as your friends and neighbors what morale is like in the United States military, who may be wearing the uniform. Ask the people who wear today's United States -- wear the uniform of the military. Morale is dangerously low. In order to keep the peace, this administration will rebuild the military power of the United States of America!

Help is on the way!

Now, this is an agenda worthy of your times, but there is a greater agenda as well, and that's to lift the spirit of this nation; to set our sights higher, to call upon the greatness of America. The greatness of America lies not in the halls of our governments, the greatness of America lies in the hearts and souls of our citizenry; people who have heard the call what can I do to help a neighbor in need; people who have heard the



universal call that we find in our churches and synagogues and mosques to love a neighbor just like you'd like to be loved yourself.

No, my great faith in the future of our country lies in my faith of the American people; my true belief that this nation, when it sets its mind to it, can accomplish anything, can accomplish any objective, can reach any goal, can make sure no child is left behind, can surround people with love. The goal of government -- the goal of government is justice in law. The goal of our religious institutions and charities is love. We must rally love in America. We must call upon the great strength of this country in order to make sure the great American Dream touches every willing heart. It starts, though, with having leadership that understands the responsibilities of the offices to which we have been elected in order to change the culture from one that says to our young, "You need to be responsible for the decisions you make." It requires responsible leadership.

And so let me conclude by, one, thanking you for coming. Telling you how this huge crowd not only warms our body but warms our soul. Telling you that Tennessee is going to be Bush country!

But let me also conclude by telling you, should this huge honor befall Dick and me, should we win, should it be the judgment of the American people that we're ready for the task, and we're ready for the task, that when I put my hand on the Bible that day -- and he does the same -- but when I put my hand on the Bible, overlooking the majestic Mall, in January of 2001, I will swear to not only uphold the laws of this great land, I will swear to uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I have been elected, so help me God!

**George W. Bush**

Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

August 21, 2000

***Increased Investment in National Security &  
Improved Benefits for Military Personnel***

...

And there's another great goal -- and there's another great goal and an urgent goal as president. Should I become the president, I will rebuild the military power of the United States of America. And in this -- and in this important goal, I will have a fantastic partner, a man who today I call my running mate, a man who was one of the greatest secretaries of Defense this nation has ever known, a steady man, a man of judgment, and that man is Dick Cheney.

The facts are stark and the facts are real. The current administration inherited a military ready for the dangers and challenges facing our nation. The next president will inherit a military in decline. Our military is still without peer, it's still without equal in the world, but it is not without serious problems that must be addressed immediately.

I have great faith in those who serve our nation, in the temper of their will and in the quality of their spirit. Our men and women in uniform love their country more than their comfort. They have never failed us, and we must not fail them. But the best intentions and the highest morale are undermined by back-to-back deployments, poor pay, shortages of spare parts and equipment, and rapidly declining readiness.

As a percentage of the Gross National Product, our investment in national security is at the lowest point it has been since Pearl Harbor. Overall in the armed services, commitments around the world have

tripled, while our forces have been reduced by nearly 40 percent. Earlier this month, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs said we're doing much more than we were doing 10 years ago, and we're doing it with much less.

At the start of this administration, 85 percent of the all-combat units in the Air Force were fully ready for their mission. At the start of this year, only 65 percent of those units were ready.

We were reminded of readiness problems last May when the USS Decatur was forced to return to port a month earlier than planned for lack of funds. Think of it. A guided missile destroyer of the United States Navy turning back because there was not enough money for fuel. In the Pacific Fleet, training exercises have been cut back for the same reason. They've had to wait until the next fiscal year for training. In the Atlantic Fleet, 21 warships need maintenance that's been delayed, or the maintenance has been cancelled. In both the Navy and Air Force, there are shortages of one of our most effective weapons, the cruise missile.

The Navy is not only short on money, maintenance and weapons, it's short on sailors. The Navy entered this new century with a shortage of nearly 10,000 enlisted personnel at sea. In 1998 and 1999, for the first time, the United States Army fell short of its recruiting goals for the all-volunteer force. And the Air Force missed its recruiting goals for the first time since 1979.

Over the last several years, the services have found it more and more difficult to retain the best people. Our men and women in uniform and their families are the foundation of America's military readiness, yet in a survey last year of more than a thousand officers and enlisted personnel, more than half said they were dissatisfied and intended to leave the service when their current term of enlistment was up.

I don't care what's said in a political campaign; these are signs of a military in decline, and we must do something about it. The reasons are

clear. Lack of equipment and material. Undermanning of units. Overdeployment. Not enough time for family. Soldiers who are on food stamps and soldiers who are poorly housed.

Dick Cheney and I have a simple message today for our men and women in uniform, their parents, their loved ones, their supporters: Help is on the way. We are going to restore morale in the United States military and treat American soldiers and sailors and airmen and Marines with the respect that they have earned. American soldiers must have confidence that if asked to serve and sacrifice, the cause will be worthy and our support for them total.

First, we will give our armed forces better pay, better treatment and better training. Recently, after long neglect, a pay raise was finally passed. But I don't think it was enough. In my first budget, I will ask the congress to further the pay raise by a billion dollars a year to make sure our men and women in uniform are properly paid for their duty to America.

Too much of our military housing is substandard. I will make renovations a priority and increase housing allowances, to improve living conditions for our military families.

More than 700,000 children of servicemen and -women are taught in schools owned and funded by the Department of Defense and the Department of Education. Yet after years of underfunding, many of these schools are run-down and in need of repair. I will ask Congress for \$310 million needed to repair and construct schools that will educate the children of the men and women who wear our nation's uniforms.

These steps will go a long way toward improving morale in the Armed Forces and their families, but it's only a start. As commander-in-chief, I will give our military a clear sense of mission. America will be involved in the world, but that doesn't mean our military is the answer to every

difficult foreign policy situation. It does not mean our military is a substitute for clear strategy. A generation shaped by Vietnam must remember the lessons of Vietnam. When America uses force in the world, the cause must be just, the goal must be clear, and the victory must be overwhelming.

I will order an immediate review of our overseas commitments in dozens of countries. I will keep our pledges to defend our friends against aggression, but I will replace uncertain missions with well- defined objectives. And I understand this -- nothing could be better for morale than clarity and focus of the commander-in-chief. Should I be fortunate enough to earn this high office, the mission of the military will be able to fight and win war, and therefore, prevent war from happening in the first place.

Third, we must be prepared for the challenges of the future, using this window of opportunity to create the military of the future. We won't just spend more, we will spend it wisely. Our forces in the next century must be more agile, harder to find, easier to move, readily deployable, and lethal in action.

The Cold War is over, but our defense policy is trapped in Cold War thinking. I propose a new policy on nuclear weapons. Future threats will come not from a superpower conflict, but from rogue nations and terrorists. Even though the "Evil Empire" has passed, evil still remains. People resent our successes, resent our freedoms, resent the great land called America, and as a result, America needs a missile defense system, and I intend to deploy one at the earliest possible date. Now is the time not to defend outdated treaties, but to defend the American people.

And at the same time, we can minimize danger by removing many nuclear weapons as possible from high alert and high-trigger status. We should not keep weapons that our military planners say we do not need.

America must seize the opportunity to build a safer world, both to defend against nuclear threats and to reduce nuclear tensions.

I will also end the confusion and chaos in handling top-secret nuclear information and our nation's other most vital secrets. My administration will make our National Labs secure again, our vital information will be sealed again, and our nuclear secrets will be secret again.

Fourthly, to build morale in today's United States military, we must keep faith with those who have worn the uniform in the past. We must keep faith with America's veterans. This means doing everything in our power to obtain the fullest possible accounting for those who have not returned, those still missing in action in America's Pacific wars. When we send Americans into danger, they will never be abandoned.

...

**George W. Bush**

American Legion 82nd Annual National Convention

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

September 6, 2000

***Building a Stronger Military & Better Treatment of the Armed  
Forces***

...

You and I share a commitment to the veterans who wrote America's proud record of defending freedom. And we share a commitment to our nation's symbol, our flag. I will work with the American Legion to protect our nation's symbol.

We also share a commitment to the veterans of the future – those serving now and in the years to come.

I said it two weeks ago in this city, and I say it again today: The current Administration inherited a military ready for the dangers and challenges facing our nation. The next president will inherit a military in decline.

Legionnaires understand this problem, and Legionnaires have spoken out. And this Legionnaire is here to make a pledge: Should I become president, I will rebuild the military power of the United States of America.

And I will have an able partner – a man who led the Pentagon with distinction and honor, my running mate, Dick Cheney.

No one questions that our military is strongest in the world – confident, proud, and willing to carry out every mission we give them. They have never failed us, and we must not fail them. But the best intentions and the highest morale are undermined by back-to-back deployments, poor pay, shortages of spare parts and equipment, and

rapidly declining readiness.

As a percentage of the GNP, our investment in national security is at the lowest point it has been since Pearl Harbor. Overall, in the armed services, commitments around the world have tripled, while our forces have been reduced by nearly 40 percent.

The administration's own chairman of the Joint Chiefs recently said, "We are doing much more than we were doing 10 years ago, and we are doing it with much less."

The military has begun to feel the strain. Last Tuesday, it was reported that more than half of our Army's training centers are at the lowest level of readiness.

Also last week, we learned that the Marines were forced to suspend flight operations for three different aircraft, partly because of defective rotor blades.

At the start of this administration, 85 percent of all combat units in the Air Force were fully ready for their mission. At the start of this year, only 65 percent of those units were fully ready.

We were reminded of readiness problems last May, when a guided missile destroyer, the USS Decatur, returned to port a month earlier than planned, because there was not enough money for fuel.

In the Pacific Fleet, training exercises have been cut back for the same reason. They have had to wait until the next fiscal year for training.

In the Atlantic Fleet, maintenance has been delayed or cancelled for 21 warships.

Over the last several years, the services have found it more and more difficult to retain the best people. Our men and women in uniform and their families are the foundation of America's military readiness. Yet in a survey last year of more than a thousand officers and enlisted personnel, more than half said they were dissatisfied – and intended to leave the



service when their current term of enlistment was up.

Others have suggested that the problems I've described simply do not exist. They make no effort to dispute the facts you've just heard.

Instead, they just say it's something we shouldn't talk about. As Mr. Gore puts it, to point out these challenges is to "run down the military."

Let's get something straight. These are not criticisms of the military. These are criticisms of a president and a vice president, and their OWN failure of leadership.

Leaders have a responsibility to speak out when the armed services are short on support and short on resources. We have a responsibility to take their side when too much is asked of them, and too little given them in return. We have a responsibility to act – and Dick Cheney and I are going to act.

We will act to restore morale in the United States military, and treat American soldiers, sailors, and air men and marines with the respect that they have earned. American soldiers must have confidence that if asked to serve and sacrifice, the cause will be worthy and our support for them total. We will act to give our armed forces better pay, better treatment, and better training.

We will act to increase housing allowances to improve living conditions for our military families, and improve the schools their children attend.

These steps will go a long way toward improving morale in the armed forces and their families, but it is only a start.

As commander-in-chief, I will give our military a clear sense of mission. America will be involved in the world. But that doesn't mean our military is the answer to every difficult foreign policy situation.

I will order an immediate review of our overseas commitments in dozens of countries. I will keep our pledges to defend our longstanding

friends and allies against aggression. But I will replace uncertain missions with well-defined objectives. The mission of the military is to fight and win wars; therefore war from happening in the first place.

An administration that has not adequately cared for our military is not well suited to prepare it for the challenges of the new century. Should I become president, I will use this window of opportunity to create the military of the future.

Today our military is still organized more for Cold War threats than for the challenges of a new century – for industrial age operations, rather than for information age battles. There is almost no relationship between our budget priorities and a strategic vision.

Now we must shape the future with new concepts, new strategies, new resolve. As president, I will begin an immediate, comprehensive review of our military – the structure of its forces, the state of its strategy, the priorities of its procurement – conducted by a leadership team under the secretary of defense.

We will challenge the status quo and envision a new architecture of American defense for decades to come. Our forces must be able to project power over great distances, and do it quickly.

They must be agile, harder to find, easy to move, and lethal in action. They must have the technology to dominate information, and own the skies and seas.

And whenever America uses force in the world, the cause must be just, the goal must be clear, and the victory must be overwhelming.

I will also end the confusion and chaos in handling top-secret nuclear information and our nation's other most vital secrets. In our administration, America's nuclear labs will be secure again.

This nation has been blessed by those who have been willing serve a cause greater than self. At the entry of the American Cemetery

overlooking Omaha Beach stands a memorial inscribed with these words:  
“These endured all and gave all that justice among nations might prevail  
and that mankind might enjoy freedom and inherit peace.”

To all of you, your fellow citizens have the privilege of saying thank  
you. There is something extraordinary about every person who went out  
and put everything on the line for America. That’s what you did, when it  
counted most. And it is always an honor to be in your company. Our  
veterans represent the best of America – men and women willing to  
sacrifice for freedom.

**George W. Bush**

VFW Post 3323

Westland, Michigan

September 7, 2000

***A Strategic Plan to Strengthen the US Military***

...

But there's another moment that we must seize, and that is to plan for the military of the future.

This great country has the opportunity to redefine how war is fought and won in the future. And therefore, we have the opportunity to redefine how the peace is kept.

We can use our vast technologies. If properly focused, we can use technologies to make our military harder to find, easier to move, more lethal in its capacities.

No, our great country has got an opportunity, a great opportunity to say loud and clear to the world, "We're a peaceful nation, but we'll be ready to keep the peace."

One of the first things I will do, should I become the president, is to say to the secretary of defense, "I expect you to call together a task force of military planners and report as quickly as possible with a strategic plan as to what the military ought to look like in the years coming."

How should the military be configured? What's needed is a strategic plan with a strategic vision as to how to keep the long-term peace. There's a lot of concern, and I share the concern of the haphazard nature of defense spending. The general knows what I'm talking about. Oftentimes, projects are spent because it happens to enhance the standing of a particular congressman or elected official.

What we need is a strategic plan that says that spending will be

dovetailed into what's best for the military and best for America, not best for short-term political gain for elected officials.

What we need is additional long-term research and development spending targeted towards a strategic plan. There is no telling what the military of the future will look like. We know it's not going to look like the great American moment of Desert Storm and Desert Shield. The military of the future is not going to be that heavy. It's not going to be that hard to move. It's not going to be that cumbersome, relatively speaking.

The militaries of the future more resemble what may have -- what happened in Kosovo, where an airplane took off out of Missouri unloading its ordnances, and the pilot was home for dinner. It's going to be a harder-to-find military, lethal when it strikes.

No, we have a great opportunity. And it's the same opportunity I'll seize when it comes to protecting ourselves and our allies from the new threats in the world: the accidental launches of a nuclear weapon, or the blackmail of a leader of a rogue nation that's trying to hold America or our friends hostage.

I intend to use the vast capacities of America, our research and development capabilities, to develop an effective anti- ballistic missile system that will help us keep the peace.

Proper planning, a proper vision, requires leadership, and I'm ready to lead the country.

I'm ready to lead the country. I'm ready to lead with a noble goal of keeping the peace. And the cornerstone of that goal will be a proud and strong and ready United States military.

One of the things a leader does...

Not only does the leader have a strategic vision and a focus and a discipline, but a leader must call upon the best, must call upon the best of our nation to serve. Our military has got some of the best men and

women of our country in uniform. I will call upon them to serve. And at the same time, I might call upon some other fine Americans to serve as well.

**George W. Bush**

Wright State University

Dayton, Ohio

September 7, 2000

***Strategic Vision for Rebuilding the Military***

...

The mission of the United States military is not to try to solve all the difficult diplomatic questions that this country faces. We must be peacemakers, not peacekeepers. We cannot be all things to all people.

And finally, our military must understand that not only will we be well-prepared today, but should I become the commander in chief, I will seize the moment to prepare our military for the future. We have a fantastic opportunity to redefine how war is fought and won, and, therefore, have an opportunity to redefine how the peace is kept.

Our military for the future must be easier to move, harder to find, more lethal; must be able to strike long distances in short times; must use the new communications of the 21st century in order to keep the peace.

I will ask the secretary of defense to immediately begin to review our commitments for the future. I will have a culture of innovation and change within the Defense Department. I will reward officers who are willing to think about how best to spend our resources to redefine how war is fought and won.

I will seize this moment. We will have a strategic plan that will not only keep the peace for the immediate days ahead, but to keep the peace for the future. It will be a blueprint for thinking within the Pentagon. It will become a blueprint for spending in the halls of the United States Congress.

It is so important to have a leader who understands how to project a strategic vision and to say to those who hold the purse strings of our taxpayers, "We expect the expenditures of U.S. taxpayers to be done in a focused way. Not in a political way, but in a focused way that will make the United States military of the future the best it can be possibly be." That is what we owe the people of the United States, and that is what we owe those brave souls who wear the uniform of the United States of America.

That's my vision.



**George W. Bush**

VFW Post 3323

Westland, Michigan

September 7, 2000

***Ensuring Quality Benefits for Veterans & Military Personnel***

Yesterday, I spoke to the American Legion. I said loud and clear, a promise made to our veterans will be a promise kept, should I become the president of the United States.

We will not have our veterans standing in line waiting for benefits that they've been promised. We'll have a VA run by somebody who is a veteran, who understands.

The general talked about the state of readiness today. This campaign will let the facts speak for themselves. There is no question in my mind that today's military is the best in the world. But the function of a leader is to think down the road. It's not to accept the status quo, particularly for political purposes. The function of a leader is to say how do we stand today, but how will we look tomorrow? Will we be a military of high standing and high moral, not only this moment, but moments coming?

There's some troubling signs, as the general pointed out. We can't meet recruiting goals; our troops aren't ready.

Incredibly enough, we're short on equipment. USS Decatur moved out to sea and had to come back because of a lack of fuel.

There are troubling signs and leadership does not ignore troubling signs. A leader is somebody who acts and acts decisively with purpose in mind, and purpose is to keep the peace.

So, should I be fortunate enough to become the commander in chief, the first order of the day will be to restore morale and make sure those who wear our uniform are well-treated, well-housed and well-paid, well-

equipped with a clear mission.

...

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: A Military for the Twenty-First Century***

Republicans are the party of peace through strength. A strong and well-trained American military is the world's best guarantee of peace. It is the shield of this republic's liberty, security, and prosperity. Only a President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, can ensure that our military stands ready to defend America and triumph against new challenges.

A Republican president and a Republican Congress will transform America's defense capabilities for the information age, ensuring that U.S. armed forces remain paramount against emerging dangers.

They will restore the health of a defense industry weakened by a combination of neglect and misguided policies. To do all this, the United States must align its military power with the strengths of American society: our skilled people, our advanced technology, and our proficiency at integrating fast-paced systems into potent networks. While we are on the crest of a new age in military technology, we will not forget that the strength of our military lies with the combat soldier, sailor, airman, and Marine.

Americans are justly proud of their armed forces. But today, only nine years after the tremendous victory in the Persian Gulf War, the U.S. military faces growing problems in readiness, morale, and its ability to prepare for the threats of the future. The administration has cut defense spending to its lowest percentage of gross domestic product since before Pearl Harbor. At the same time, the current administration has casually sent American armed forces on dozens of missions without clear goals,

realizable objectives, favorable rules of engagement, or defined exit strategies.

Over the past seven years, a shrunken American military has been run ragged by a deployment tempo that has eroded its military readiness. Many units have seen their operational requirements increased four-fold, wearing out both people and equipment. Only last fall the Army certified two of its premier combat divisions as unready for war because of underfunding, mismanagement, and over-commitment to peacekeeping missions around the globe. More Army units and the other armed services report similar problems. It is a national scandal that almost one quarter of our Army's active combat strength is unfit for wartime duty.

When presidents fail to make hard choices, those who serve must make them instead. Soldiers must choose whether to stay with their families or to stay in the armed forces at all. Sending our military on vague, aimless, and endless missions rapidly saps morale. Even the highest morale is eventually undermined by back-to-back deployments, poor pay, shortages of spare parts and equipment, inadequate training, and rapidly declining readiness. When it comes to military health, the administration is not providing an adequate military health care system for active-duty service members and their families and for retired service members and their dependents. The nation is failing to fulfill its ethical, and legal health care obligations to those that are serving or have honorably served in the Armed Forces of the United States.

It is no surprise that the all-volunteer force — the pride of America — is struggling to recruit and retain soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines. As recruiting lags, well-trained personnel are leaving in record numbers. Those dedicated military personnel that stay in the force face a pay gap of some, 13 percent relative to their civilian counterparts. Thousands of military families are forced to rely on food stamps. The

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has said that two-thirds of the nation's military housing is substandard. The calculated indifference of the administration to national defense has forced thousands of our most experienced and patriotic warriors to leave the military. We will once again make wearing the uniform the object of national pride.

The new Republican government will renew the bond of trust between the Commander-in-Chief, the American military, and the American people. The military is not a civilian police force or a political referee. We believe the military must no longer be the object of social experiments. We affirm traditional military culture. We affirm that homosexuality is incompatible with military service.

The U.S. military under the leadership of a Republican President and a Republican Congress will focus on its most demanding task — fighting and winning in combat. Readiness prevents wars. Also, by being prepared for this most exacting mission with an uncommon sense of urgency, our military will know, unlike today, that its loyalty and self-sacrifice have meaning and purpose.

In a time of fluid change and uncertainty, intelligence is truly America's first line of defense. The current administration has weakened that defense by allowing a series of shocking security breaches, from blatant espionage and its virtual abandonment of national security-related export controls, to sheer sloppiness at the highest levels of government. This must stop, immediately. Nor should the intelligence community be made the scapegoat for political misjudgments. A Republican administration working with the Congress will respect the needs and quiet sacrifices of these public servants as it strengthens America's intelligence and counter-intelligence capabilities and reorients them toward the dangers of the future.

A Republican president will challenge America's military leaders to

envision a new architecture of American defense for decades to come. Our next president will balance the need to prepare for information age battles while keeping our conventional fighting skills second to none. To pay for profligate deployments, the administration's defense budgets have been eating their seed corn — slashing spending on modernization to levels not seen since before the Korean War, undermining the health of our defense industry and producing what one administration official admitted was a "death spiral" for the U.S. defense capability of the future. Even our elite combat units are scraping the bottom of the barrel to find funds for basic training.

A Republican president, working in partnership with a Republican Congress, will push beyond marginal improvements and incorporate new technologies and new strategies — spending more and investing wisely to transform our military into a true twenty-first century force. A Republican government will use this time of relative American strength in the world to prepare for a different kind of future. In the twenty-first century U.S. forces must be agile, lethal, readily deployable, and require a minimum of logistical support. They must also be fully prepared for possible enemy use of weapons of mass destruction.

To build such U.S. military forces will require foresight and steadfast commitment. We must be willing to act now to give the next generation of Americans what they will need to protect our country. This will also require a new spirit of innovation. Republicans believe that our military leaders will welcome and meet these challenges. Moments of national opportunity are either seized or lost. America's opportunity beckons: to demonstrate that a new approach to U.S. defense can shape the future with new concepts, new strategies, and new resolve.

The men and women of the National Guard and Reserve are an important part of the nation's military readiness, and we will maintain

their strength in the States. Their role as citizen soldiers must continue to be a proud tradition that links every community in the country with the cause of national security. The Republican party created the all-volunteer force and opposes reinstatement of the draft, whether directly or through compulsory national service. We support the advancement of women in the military, support their exemption from ground combat units, and call for implementation of the recommendations of the Kassebaum Commission, which unanimously recommended that co-ed basic training be ended. We support restoration of sound priorities in the making of personnel policies, and candid analysis of the consequences of unprecedented social changes in the military. We will put renewed emphasis on encouraging the best and brightest of our young people to join our armed forces.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: Protecting the World from Weapons of Mass Destruction***

The new century will bring new threats, but America — properly led — can master them. Just as the generations of World War II and the Cold War were quick to seize the high frontier of science and craft the national defense America needed, so our country can build on its strengths and defend against unprecedented perils once again.

Ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction threaten the world's future. America is currently without defense against these threats. The administration's failure to guard America's nuclear secrets is allowing China to modernize its ballistic missile force, thereby increasing the threat to our country and to our allies. The theft of vital nuclear secrets by China represents one of the greatest security defeats in the history of the United States. The next Republican president will protect our nuclear secrets and aggressively implement a sweeping reorganization of our nuclear weapons program.

Over two dozen countries have ballistic missiles today. A number of them, including North Korea, will be capable of striking the United States within a few years, and with little warning. America is now unable to counter the rampant proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and their missile delivery systems around the world.

The response of the current administration has been anachronistic and politicized. Stuck in the mindset and agreements of the Cold War and immune to fresh ideas, the administration has not developed a sensible strategy that responds to the emerging missile threat. They have



no adequate plan for how they will defend America and its allies. Visionary leadership, not the present delay and prevarication, is urgently needed for America to be ready for the future. The new Republican president will deploy a national missile defense for reasons of national security; but he will also do so because there is a moral imperative involved: The American people deserve to be protected. It is the president's constitutional obligation.

America must deploy effective missile defenses, based on an evaluation of the best available options, including sea-based, at the earliest possible date. These defenses must be designed to protect all 50 states, America's deployed forces overseas, and our friends and allies in the fellowship of freedom against missile attacks by outlaw states or accidental launches.

The current administration at first denied the need for a national missile defense system. Then it endlessly delayed, despite constant concern expressed by the Republican Congress. Now the administration has become hopelessly entangled in its commitment to an obsolete treaty signed in 1972 with a Soviet Union that no longer exists while it is constrained by its failure to explore vigorously the technological possibilities. In order to avoid the need for any significant revisions to the ABM Treaty, the administration supports an inadequate national missile defense design based on a single site, instead of a system based on the most effective means available. Their approach does not defend America's allies, who must be consulted as U.S. plans are developed. Their concept is a symbolic political solution designed on a cynical political timetable. It will not protect America.

We will seek a negotiated change in the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty that will allow the United States to use all technologies and experiments required to deploy robust missile defenses. Republicans

believe that the administration should not negotiate inadequate modifications to the ABM Treaty that would leave us with a flawed agreement that ties the hands of the next president and prevents America from defending itself. The United States must be able to select the systems that will work best, not those that answer political expediency, and we must aggressively reinvigorate the ballistic missile defense technology base necessary to ensure that these systems succeed. There are today more positive, practical ways to reassure Russia that missile defenses are a search for common security, not for unilateral advantage. If Russia refuses to make the necessary changes, a Republican president will give prompt notice that the United States will exercise the right guaranteed to us in the treaty to withdraw after six months. The president has a solemn obligation to protect the American people and our allies, not to protect arms control agreements signed almost 30 years ago.

Clear thinking about defensive systems must be accompanied by a fresh strategy for offensive ones too. The Cold War logic that led to the creation of massive stockpiles of nuclear weapons on both sides is now outdated and actually enhances the danger of weapons or nuclear material falling into the hands of America's adversaries. Russia is not the great enemy. The age of vast hostile armies in the heart of Europe deterred by the threat of U.S. nuclear response is also past. American security need no longer depend on the old nuclear balance of terror. It is time to defend against the threats of today and tomorrow, not yesterday.

It is past time that the United States should reexamine the requirements of nuclear deterrence. Working with U.S. military leaders and with the Congress, a Republican president will reevaluate America's nuclear force posture and pursue the lowest possible number consistent with our national security. We can safely eliminate thousands more of

these horrific weapons. We should do so. In the Cold War the United States rightfully worried about the danger of a conventional war in Europe and needed the nuclear counterweight. That made sense then. It does not make sense now.

The premises of Cold War targeting should no longer dictate the size of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. The current administration seems not to realize that this notion, too, is old-think of the worst order. In addition, the United States should work with other nuclear nations to remove as many weapons as possible from high-alert, hair-trigger status — another unnecessary vestige of Cold War confrontation — to reduce the risks of accidental or unauthorized launch.

In 1991, the United States invited the Soviet Union to join it in removing tactical nuclear weapons from their arsenals. Huge reductions were achieved in a matter of months, quickly making the world much safer. Under a Republican president, Russia will again be invited to do the same with respect to strategic nuclear weapons. America should be prepared to lead by example, because it is in our best interest and the best interest of the world. These measures can begin a new global era of nuclear security and safety.

Republicans recognize new threats but also new opportunities. With Republican leadership, the United States has an opportunity to create a safer world, both to defend against nuclear threats and to reduce nuclear arsenals and tensions. America can build a robust missile defense, make dramatic reductions in its nuclear weapons, and defuse confrontation with Russia. A Republican President will do all these things.

A comprehensive strategy for combating the new dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction must include a variety of other measures to contain and prevent the spread of such weapons. We need the cooperation of friends and allies — and should seek the cooperation of

Russia and China — in developing realistic strategies using political, economic, and military instruments to deter and defeat the proliferation efforts of others. We need to address threats from both rogue states and terrorist group — whether delivered by missile, aircraft, shipping container, or suitcase.

In this context, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is another anachronism of obsolete strategic thinking. This treaty is not verifiable, not enforceable, and would not enable the United States to ensure the reliability of the U.S. nuclear deterrent. It also does not deal with the real dangers of nuclear proliferation, which are rogue regimes — such as Iran, Iraq, and North Korea — that seek to hide their dangerous weapons programs behind weak international treaties. We can fight the spread of nuclear weapons, but we cannot wish them away with unwise agreements. Republicans in the Senate reacted accordingly and responsibly in rejecting the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

A new Republican president will renew America's faltering fight against the contagious spread of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, as well as their means of delivery. The weak leadership and neglect of the administration have allowed America's intelligence capabilities, including space based systems, to atrophy, resulting in repeated proliferation surprises such as Iraq's renewed chemical and biological weapons programs, India's nuclear weapon test, and North Korea's test of a three-stage ballistic missile. Again in a partnership with the Congress, a new Republican administration will give the intelligence community the leadership, resources, and operational latitude it requires.

## **George W. Bush**

Republican National Convention 2000

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### ***Party Platform: Terrorism, International Crime, and Cyber Threats***

America faces a new and rapidly evolving threat from terrorism and international crime. Meeting this threat requires not just new measures, but also consistent policies and determination from America's leaders.

Many established terrorist groups faded away in the 1990s after the Cold War ended. But the decade also witnessed a series of enormously destructive attacks against America. Increasingly, terrorists seem to be motivated by amorphous religious causes or simple hatred of America rather than by specific political aims. Terrorism crosses borders easily and frequently, including U.S. borders, and cannot easily be categorized as either domestic or international.

Republicans support a response to terrorism that is resolute but not impulsive. The most likely highly destructive terrorist attack remains a large bomb hidden in a car or truck. Yet, as with the rest of our defense posture, we must prepare for the most dangerous threats as well as the most likely ones. Therefore the United States must be extremely vigilant about the possibility that future terrorists might use weapons of mass destruction, which are increasingly available and present an unprecedented threat to America. In many instances the military will have to rethink its traditional doctrine and begin to focus on counterterrorism, human intelligence gathering, and unconventional warfare.

Republicans endorse the four principles of U.S. counterterrorism policy that were laid down originally by Vice President George Bush's Commission on Combating Terrorism in 1985. First, we will make no

concessions to terrorists. Giving in simply encourages future terrorist actions and debases America's power and moral authority. Second, we will isolate, pressure, and punish the state sponsors of terrorism. Third, we will bring individual terrorists to justice. Past and potential terrorists will know that America will never stop hunting them. Fourth, we will provide assistance to other governments combating terrorism. Fighting international terrorism requires international collaboration. Once again, allies matter.

Republicans in Congress have led the way in building the domestic preparedness programs to train and equip local, state, and federal response personnel to deal with terrorist dangers in America. The administration has not offered clear leadership over these programs. They remain scattered across many agencies, uncoordinated and poorly managed. We will streamline and improve the federal coordination of the domestic emergency preparedness programs.

We will ensure that federal law enforcement agencies have every lawful resource and authority they require to combat international organized crime. A Republican administration will work to improve international cooperation against all forms of cross-border criminality, especially the burgeoning threat of cyber-crime that threatens the vitality of American industries as diverse as aerospace and entertainment.

Nowhere has the administration been more timid in protecting America's national interests than in cyberspace. Americans have recently glimpsed the full vulnerability of their information systems to penetration and massive disruption by amateurs. A sophisticated terrorist or adversary government could potentially cripple a critical U.S. infrastructure, such as the electrical grid or a military logistics system, in time of crisis. A new Republican government will work closely with our international partners and the private sector to conceive and implement

a viable strategy for reducing America's vulnerability to the spectrum of cyber threats, from the adolescent hacker launching a contagious computer virus to the most advanced threat of strategic information warfare.

## **National Defense - Gore**

**Al Gore**

Veterans Of Foreign Wars Convention

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

August 22, 2000

### ***Retaining a Strong Military in the New Global Age***

It's an honor to stand with so many who have served our country with great distinction - men and women who have risked everything to keep our country free.

This morning, I was reminded just how high the price of freedom can be. I had the chance to meet with Ellen Blissenbach of Madison, Wisconsin. Ellen's husband Joseph served as a Sergeant First Class in the Second Division Infantry in the Korean War. Fifty years ago -- on Christmas Eve, when Ellen was pregnant with their first child -- she received a telegram and learned that Joseph was missing in action. The Army soon determined that he had been captured on the front lines in North Korea - and had died on a death march, never receiving a proper burial. But it took Ellen more than four decades of searching and striving to learn that he had died from wounds of war.

This morning, I was proud to award Joseph Blissenbach the Purple Heart for his valor in Korea five decades ago. His courage in America's forgotten war is forgotten no more. I don't pretend that my own military experience matches in any way what others here have been through. When I enlisted, I became an Army reporter in Vietnam. I didn't do the most, or run the gravest danger. But I was proud to wear my country's uniform. And my own experiences gave me strong beliefs about America's obligation to keep our national defenses strong.



I've believed in a strong defense, and I've fought for it, for all my public service -- not just in an election year, but every year. I served on the House Intelligence Committee, and on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

As a Congressman, I took up the issue of nuclear arms control and nuclear weapons - because nothing is more fundamental than our national strength and security.

As a Senator, I supported the use of American forces to ensure freedom of the seas during the Iran-Iraq War. I broke with my party and voted to support the Gulf War when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait -- because I believed America's vital interests were at stake.

These past eight years, as a member of the National Security Council, I have worked to reverse the decline in defense spending - and I'm proud that we won the largest military pay increase in twenty years. And since the day I co-founded the Vietnam Era Veterans Caucus in Congress, I have never stopped fighting for an unshakeable national commitment to our veterans.

It's that year-after-year commitment to a strong American defense that makes me so concerned when others try to run down America's military for political advantage in an election year. That's not only wrong in fact - it's the wrong message to send our allies and adversaries across the world.

As the United States Army reported just this month, "all ten of its divisions are combat-ready, and able to answer the nation's call." Our Navy has more than twice as many surface ships as China, and more than three times as many as Russia. And our Air Force is by far the largest and most modern in the world. And if anyone doubts our strength, let them talk to our pilots patrolling the skies over Iraq. Let them meet the sailors who have kept the peace in the Taiwan Strait. And

let them remember our overwhelming victory in Kosovo - without a single American life lost in battle.

Our military is the strongest and the best in the entire world. If you entrust me with the Presidency, I pledge to keep it that way. I say to you today: I love this country - and I will make sure our military continues to be the best-trained, best-equipped, best-led fighting force in the world.

In this new global age, we need an even greater resolve. In the last century, this nation more than any other freed the world from fascism and communism. But a newly free world still has dangers and challenges, both old and new. We must always have the will to defend our enduring interests -- from Europe, to the Middle East, to Africa and Asia, and even in our own hemisphere.

Today, we are on the threshold of manufacturing and deploying the next generation of military weapons -- weapons that are critical to meeting new needs on new fields of battle. The next President must ensure that the new generation of weapons moves from the drawing board into the arsenals of our democracy.

We have to make sure our military personnel have the 21st Century training they require to remain the finest in the world. I will insist that we follow this simple rule: we must never send our service men and women to do what they are not equipped to do. And we must always equip them to do what we ask.

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## **Al Gore**

National Guard Association of the United States General Conference

Live via satellite

September 12, 2000

### ***Investing in National Defense***

You know, from the crossroads at Lexington and Concord, to the beaches of Normandy, to the streets of Kosovo -- the citizen-soldiers of our National Guard have been on the front-lines of our freedom, making and keeping the peace across our world.

From every part of our country and from all walks of life, you stand ready - on a moment's notice - to leave your daily lives and bear any burden to keep America secure.

To me, you embody the highest ideals of patriotism. You are always ready, and you are always there.

And on behalf of the people of the United States of America, before I say anything else I want to say to you and to your colleagues around our country from the bottom of my heart - thank you for your service to the United States of America.

Many of you know, as General Woods mentioned, that I was an Army reporter in Vietnam. I don't pretend that my service matches what so many others have done. But I was proud to wear my country's uniform.

And my own experiences gave me strong, unshakable beliefs about our obligation to keep our national defenses strong.

I've believed in a strong defense, and I've fought for it, for all my public service.

As a Congressman, as a member of the Intelligence Committee, I took up the issue of nuclear arms control and nuclear weapons - because nothing is more fundamental than our national strength and security.

And I've been willing to cross party lines. As a Senator, I broke with my party and voted to support the Gulf War when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait -- because I believed America's vital interests were at stake.

These past eight years, I've worked hard to reverse the decline in defense spending that began as the Cold War ended. We've done that, and I'm also proud that we won the largest military pay increase in twenty years - even though I believe it's not enough.

I served on the Senate Armed Services Committee and for the last eight years I served on the National Security Council.

And I know that some try to run down our military for political gain in an election year.

But today, a higher percentage of Army, Air Force, and Marine units report "most ready" than eight years ago. Our forces are more experienced and better educated. And with the National Guard ready to answer the nation's call, you'd better believe our military is the strongest and the best in the entire world.

Bar none. It's not even close.

But we need to keep it that way. And if you entrust me with the Presidency, I pledge to do whatever is necessary keep it that way.

I love this country with all my heart, and I will make certain that our military continues to be the best-trained, best-equipped, best-led fighting force in the world -- and that of course includes the National Guard as an integral part of our national security.

You know the changes that I've helped bring about during these last several years to recognize and act upon the tremendous national security resource represented by the National Guard. You know what has been done.

Because I believe a strong National Guard has to be central to a

strong national defense. And of course there are all kinds of diverse missions in this day and world - and incidentally, I'd like to express my thanks to the National Guard members who have recently been out there on the line fighting those fires in the West.

That's just one of many examples of how you protect our country in many and diverse and even dangerous ways at home.

These past eight years, we've worked to give the Guard the full respect that the Guard deserves. And I want you to know I am committed to keeping the National Guard strong and ready and integral to our national security.

In this new global age, we need an even greater resolve. In the last century, this nation more than any other freed the world from fascism and communism. But a newly free world still has dangers and challenges, both old and new. We must always have the will to defend our enduring interests and values -- from Europe, to the Middle East, to Africa and Asia, and in our own hemisphere.

That's why I will devote \$100 billion of our surplus to manufacturing and deploying the next generation of weapons; to transforming our forces to meet new challenges; to keeping our forces ready; and to improving the quality of life for every person who chooses to wear our country's uniform, and for their families.

We need to make sure that those who are training and those who are deploying have the best equipment and the latest equipment. And we need to recruit and retain the best and the brightest for our armed forces.

Because of our strong economy and the millions of new jobs we have, finding recruits is a challenge.

And that's why I will fight for another pay increase - and I will make sure we always provide the pay and benefits our servicemen and women

deserve.

They also deserve to serve in a military not just ready to meet the challenges of today, but also the challenges of tomorrow. We will transform our military into a more agile, more versatile, more jointly integrated force that takes full advantage of new technologies.

You and I know that America is just not like other nations. America is the best country ever created -- and still, as ever, the hope of humankind. And we're going to make sure we stay that way.

We must wage war when we have to -- but we must have the courage to wage peace, too. And as we stand up for our interests and values, we must plant the seeds of liberty and democracy around the world.

So I thank you again for the sacrifices you have made - and for those that lie ahead. You know as well as I do that when you stand ready, you give that commitment in your heart to whatever your country asks of you. And we can never thank you enough for that.

But part of the way I want to thank you is with this pledge -- to stand with you for a strong military, and for a safer, freer world for all our families.

## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: Maintaining Military Strength***

#### *Transforming Our Military*

A strong, flexible, and modern military force is the ultimate guarantor of our physical survival and the protection of our interests and values. Today, America's military is the best-trained, best-equipped, most capable, and most ready fighting force in the world. With Bill Clinton and Al Gore in the White House, Democrats reversed a decline in defense spending that began under President Bush, boosted pay and allowances, and provided the funding for a new generation of weapons.

The Democratic Party understands that, good as they are, the armed forces must continue to evolve. They must not only remain prepared for conventional military action, but must sharpen their ability to deal with new missions and new kinds of threats. They must become more agile, more versatile, and must more completely incorporate the revolutionary implications and advantages of American supremacy in information technology.

#### *Recruiting, Training, and Retaining Our Troops*

A high-tech fighting force must recruit, train, and retain a professional all-volunteer force of the highest caliber. The Democratic Party understands that in order to do this, military pay must continue to increase. We enacted the largest military pay increase in twenty years - and we must raise pay even more. We need to further reform the military retirement system and improve housing, health care, and childcare benefits to support the general competitiveness of military careers during a period of unprecedented prosperity in the civilian economy. While the

number of soldiers and families on food stamps is down by two-thirds over the past decade, it is unacceptable that any member of our armed forces should have to rely on food stamps. Al Gore is committed to equal treatment of all service members and believes all patriotic Americans be allowed to serve their country without discrimination, persecution, and violence.

The Democratic Party honors America's veterans for their selfless willingness to defend the United States and promote our values around the world. We must always remember the debt this nation owes its defenders. Al Gore will expand access to health care for all eligible veterans; pursue the causes of illness suffered by Vietnam and Gulf War veterans; press for more research on diseases caused by exposure to toxic battlefields and treat fairly veterans suffering from those ailments; back research efforts to screen and treat hepatitis C; and expand programs in the areas of mental health, spinal cord injury, and vision impairment. We will streamline the disability claims process to ensure that this nation continues to live up to its sacred commitment to the men and women who served in uniform. We support efforts of the Filipino American Veterans who fought in World War II to obtain equity.



## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: Ensuring Military Preparedness***

#### *Deploying America's Technological Edge*

It is imperative that aging weapons systems - which are now the backbone of our military - be replaced by the oncoming generation of advanced, high-tech weapons which are designed to make sure that our armed forces face any future conflict from a posture of dominance. Al Gore and the Democratic Party will make sure that the military has the most advanced weaponry, sophisticated intelligence, and information systems and, in addition, continues to invest in research and development for future supremacy. By contrast, George W. Bush has talked about "skipping" this generation of weapons - which could mean skipping our responsibility to give our fighting men and women the weapons they need. We must also ensure that investment in the infrastructure needed to support the military, including our maritime capability, is not ignored. And we must ensure a competitive workforce maintaining high-skilled workers and training programs that will ensure the capability to respond to national security emergencies and defense readiness.

#### *Protecting Our Interests and Securing Our Values*

The lessons of the past eight years show that the nation must be prepared to use force when American interests and values are truly at stake. We cannot be the world's policeman, and we must be discriminating in our approach. But where the stakes are high, when we can assure ourselves that nothing short of military engagement can secure our national interest, when we know that we have the military

forces available for the task, when we have made our best efforts to join with allies, and when the cost is proportionate to the objective, we must be ready to act.

## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: Enhancing Existing Alliances***

The security and stability of Europe is critical to America's national security interests. We will continue to partner with the European Union to address global issues that could benefit from our combined capabilities. Under a Gore Administration, the U.S. will continue to work with our transatlantic allies to make the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) even stronger, thereby enhancing stability, promoting prosperity, and fostering democracy throughout Europe. The Democratic Party strongly supported the accession of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary as a milestone in building a stronger NATO and a more democratic and unified Europe. We look forward to bringing in additional qualified members in the future who share our values and are willing to take on the responsibilities of membership. A Gore Administration will ensure that the issue of NATO's future enlargement is part of the Alliance's agenda at the next summit in 2002 and that no non-NATO member has a veto over NATO decisions in this regard.

We must strengthen our alliances and partnerships in Asia, with Japan and with South Korea. We must intensify our strategic cooperation with our ally Japan, building on our Joint Security Declaration, while finding more avenues to deal with Japan on a range of issues, from supporting democracy in Asia to promoting fair trade. And we remain committed to the defense of South Korea. The Democratic Party views our warm relationship with Australia as an anchor for our security interests in Southeast Asia, and we commend Australia for its leadership, and we applaud other nations for their participation with us

in the peacekeeping operation in East Timor.

We also are committed to enhancing our alliance with the countries of Latin America. We must build on the work that we began when we hosted the first Summit of the Americas, and we must accelerate implementation of the Plan of Action that will promote hemispheric cooperation on a full spectrum of political, economic, security and social issues.

## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: Defense against Conventional and Unconventional Weapons***

We must strengthen our defense against the proliferation of conventional and unconventional weapons that threaten America. Our first priority must be to continue the work we have begun in cutting stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, halting testing, and ensuring that weapons and weapons-grade material do not fall into the wrong hands. Working with the government of the Russian Federation, we have helped safeguard nuclear material against the danger of theft. We have made it possible for thousands of Russia's nuclear scientists and weapons experts to find peaceful pursuits. And we have helped deactivate nearly 5,000 nuclear warheads.

We are also equipping our military and continuously preparing our defenses for an unconventional attack. We have been an active player in international efforts to strengthen compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention. We renewed and made permanent the Non-Proliferation Treaty and ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention, but our effort to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was derailed by Senate Republicans. As President, Al Gore will promptly resubmit this treaty to the Senate with a demand from the American people for its ratification.

Al Gore and the Democratic Party recognize the possibility of change in Iran, but we remain focused on the realities. Even as elements in Iran press for reform, the country still supports international terrorism, strives to acquire weapons of mass destruction, and represses its

citizens, as evidenced by the immoral trial of 13 Jews in Shiraz.

Ultimately, we must judge Iran by its actions. Al Gore will make an all-out effort to halt Iran's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems.

In Iraq, we are committed to working with our international partners to keep Saddam Hussein boxed in, and we will work to see him out of power. Bill Clinton and Al Gore have stood up to Saddam Hussein time and time again. As President, Al Gore will not hesitate to use America's military might against Iraq when and where it is necessary.

In light of the possibility that U.S. Forces or our allies will have to contend with hostile tactical range ballistic missiles, we have been working rapidly to develop anti-tactical ballistic missile systems. We are working successfully with Israel on developing and deploying the Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile system and the Tactical High Energy Laser.

Our diplomacy has helped to halt North Korea's push for nuclear weapons. We got North Korea to stop testing long-range ballistic missiles and are also engaged in continuing negotiations regarding their testing and export of long-range ballistic missiles. The tight coordination between the United States, South Korea, and Japan is critical to our success, and we will maintain it as the two Koreas continue the dialogue began at the recent summit.

We reject Republican plans to endanger our security with massive unilateral cuts in our arsenal and to construct an unproven, expensive, and ill-conceived missile defense system that would plunge us into a new arms race. Al Gore and the Democratic Party support the development of the technology for a limited national missile defense system that will be able to defend the U.S. against a missile attack from a state that has acquired weapons of mass destruction despite our efforts to block their proliferation. A decision to deploy such a system should be made based

on four criteria: the nature of the threat, the feasibility of the technology, the cost, and the overall impact on our national security, including arms control. The Democratic Party places a high value on ensuring that any such system is compatible with the Antiballistic Missile Treaty. We also support continued work in significantly reducing strategic and other nuclear weapons, recognizing that the goal is strategic nuclear stability at progressively lower levels.

## **Al Gore**

Democratic National Convention 2000

Los Angeles, California

### ***Party Platform: Battling Terrorism***

Whether terrorism is sponsored by a foreign nation or inspired by a single fanatic individual, such as Osama Bin Laden, Forward Engagement requires trying to disrupt terrorist networks, even before they are ready to attack. We must improve coordination internationally and domestically to share intelligence and develop operational plans. We must continue the comprehensive approach that has resulted in the development of a national counter-terrorism strategy involving all arms and levels of our government. We must continue to target terrorist finances, break up support cells, and disrupt training. And we must close avenues of cyber-attack by improving the security of the Internet and the computers upon which our digital economy exists.

As President, Al Gore will tolerate no attack against American interests at home or abroad: terrorists must know that if they attack America, we will never forget. We will scour the world to hunt them down and bring them to justice.

While fighting terrorism, we will protect the civil liberties of all Americans. Our justice system must guarantee fairness with procedures that protect the rights of the accused, even under the unusual circumstances of the investigation of threats to our national security. We must avoid stereotyping, for it defeats the highest purposes of our country if citizens feel automatically suspect by virtue of their ethnic origin. The purpose of terrorism is not only to intimidate, but also to divide and fracture, and we cannot permit that to happen.