The Bush (I) Administration
1989-1992
The Setting: 1989

- Soviet Union Overextended
  - Economy “shrinking”
    - Technology lag with West growing
  - Overseas adventures
    - Drain political and economic resources
  - Soviet Leaders implement “Kissinger strategy”
    - Disengagement
    - Accommodation
    - Arms Control
Events

- Eastern Europe Unrest (1989)
  - Poland
    - Solidarity movement
  - East Germany
    - East German government collapses
    - Destruction of the Berlin Wall (11/89)
- Warsaw Pact Dissolves (6/91)
- Soviet Union Dissolves (12/91)
Bush National Security Orientation

- Less Aggressive than Reagan
  - USSR & E. Europe political and economic capacity in decline
  - New Soviet leadership cooperative
- Is the Cold War ending?
  - How can we manage the possible end of the Warsaw Pact (& USSR?) to a “soft landing?”
- Solidify gain viz USSR
  - Reduce risk of a reversal
- Reduce US Defense Burden
  - “peace dividend” for domestic economy
    - recession
National Security Policy Implementation

- Arms Control
  - START I
  - START II
  - Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE)
- Diplomacy & Economic Aid to USSR
- Operation “Just Cause” (1991)
- Persian Gulf War (1991)
Gulf War Background

- Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988)
  - Each side loses 300,000-400,000 troops
  - Iraq spends $500 billion
    - 40% of annual GDP
    - $30 billion reserves → $80 billion debt
  - Price of oil drops $21/barrel → $13/barrel
    - Kuwait & Saudi Arabia hold price down
      - Aid U.S. economy
  - Iraq blames Kuwait for its financial problems
    - Also want Kuwaiti oil to rebuild its treasury
Gulf War Background

- **U.S. Deterrence Failure**
  - Iraq threatens Kuwait
  - US Mixed Signaling as Iraq mobilizes against Kuwait
    - *"...We do not have any defense treaties with Kuwait, and there are no special defense or security agreements with Kuwait."* US State Dept.
    - *meetings with US ambassador & Sadam give same message*
    - *"US. defense commitment [since Iran-Iraq War] to Kuwait has not changed"* Pentagon
  - Naval deployments to Gulf to signal concern are then disavowed by U.S. Navy
Desert Shield

- Iraq Invades Kuwait (8/2/90)
  - 120,000 troops
  - 2,000 tanks

- Four Month U.S. Buildup in the Theater
  - 500,000 US troops massed in M.E.
  - US gets other states to pay ½ bill (Japan, Saudi Arabia)
  - Much debate in Congress
    - narrowly passes resolution supporting transition to war
Desert Storm

- 43 Day campaign
  - 23 Nations in UN Coalition

- Casualties
  - 100,000 Iraqi troops killed
  - <200 coalition casualties

- Saddam left in Power
  - U.S. fears a power vacuum viz Iran
## Air Campaign – Bomb Tonnage

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Tons</th>
<th>Duration (months)</th>
<th>1000 tons/month</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WW II</strong></td>
<td>2,150,000</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td><strong>Korea</strong></td>
<td>454,000</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td><strong>Vietnam</strong></td>
<td>6,162,000</td>
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<td><strong>Gulf War</strong></td>
<td>60,624</td>
<td>1.5</td>
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END
START I (1989)

- Offensive Weapons
  - 1600 SNDV limit
  - 6000 RV limit (30% reduction)
    - Ballistic missile RVs <4900
    - MIRVed missile RVs =50% reduction

- Defensive Weapons
  - U.S. “gives up” SDI
    - Pledging adherence to ABM Treaty
START II

- Implementation
  - Signed by Bush: Jan. 3, 1993
  - Ratified by U.S. Senate: 1996
  - Ratified by Russian Duma: 2000
- Strategic RV limit of 3000-3500 by 2003
  - Amended in 1997 to extend date to 2007
- Eliminates MIRVed ICBMS & Heavy ICBMs
- Limits SLBMS to 1700-1750
  - May be MIRVed
CFE (1990)

- Grew out of MBFR talks (1973)
  - Scale of effort: withdrawal by each side of ~30,000 troops & equipment
- 1986 Soviets Propose New Approach → CFE
  - 1988 Soviets announce unilateral reductions of 500,000 troops
- CFE Agreement [in wake of WTO dissolution]
- 195,000 Troop limit in guidelines area
  - Limits on forces, deployments, exercises in specific areas
  - Equipment Limits
    - 20,000 Tanks
    - 20,000 artillery pieces
    - 30,000 armored combat vehicles
    - 6800 combat aircraft
    - 2000 attack helicopters
CFE

- CFE Agreement (cont.)
  - Sets country-specific limits within the above caps
  - All equipment above the limits to be destroyed within 40 months

- Intrusive verification
  - On-site inspections
  - Challenge inspections
  - Monitoring of equipment disposal
Gulf War (1991)