



Palacio de La Moneda
16 de abril de 1992

Excelentísimo Señor
George Bush
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Excelentísimo Señor Presidente:

Nuestros Gobiernos han expresado en numerosas ocasiones, la imperiosa necesidad de restablecer un orden económico internacional fundado en el respeto por todos los estados de reglas multilaterales que aseguren la libertad de los intercambios, la integración de los mercados y la saludable práctica de la competencia a fin de alcanzar una eficiente asignación de recursos entre las naciones y la plena participación de todos los pueblos en las oportunidades de progreso.

Por primera vez en la historia estamos a las puertas de lograr un sistema verdaderamente universal. Sin embargo hay fuerzas que actúan para mantener todavía políticas nacionales que se apartan de ese propósito. Existe recurrencia a medidas proteccionistas, al otorgamiento de privilegios a través de la discriminación y el bilateralismo, lo cual crea un clima de incertidumbre, favorece la fragmentación del sistema multilateral y lleva a los países en desarrollo a una paulatina marginación. Ello significa un peligro para la paz y la estabilidad en un mundo donde nadie, ignorando al otro, puede estar exento de responsabilidades.

Nuestros países, han emprendido una profunda revisión de sus políticas nacionales, desregulando la economía, llevando a cabo ajustes fiscales, privatizando empresas, en fin, asumiendo grandes sacrificios para transformar nuestras sociedades y adecuarlas al mundo nuevo que se inaugura. Hemos reemplazado la sustitución de importaciones por una apuesta a la integración competitiva con el mundo; sin embargo esta hipótesis requiere el correspondiente compromiso, demasiado proclamado y poco cumplido, por parte de los principales países industriales, en un mundo cuya interdependencia es un hecho inexorable.



Cuando se inició en Punta del Este la Ronda Uruguay, todos los participantes tomamos el compromiso de reordenar el sistema de comercio internacional, revertir el proteccionismo, y reforzar las disciplinas del GATT con el objeto de cambiar el rumbo de esas inquietantes tendencias aún en plena vigencia.

Luego de complejas, largas y costosas negociaciones, los 108 participantes de la Rueda Uruguay tienen a su consideración desde el 20 de diciembre del año pasado un proyecto de Acta Final. Si bien dicho texto nos impone sacrificios y no contempla todos nuestros intereses ni aspiraciones, creemos que representa un equilibrio entre posiciones nacionales, cuya adopción permitirá reforzar las reglas de juego multilaterales e impulsar una economía mundial coherente con el objetivo de un desarrollo sostenido para todos los estados.

Lamentablemente el calendario fijado, con sucesivas postergaciones, no se ha cumplido y las negociaciones marchan a la deriva en una clima de incertidumbre.

Una de las más ambiciosas negociaciones multilaterales de la postguerra, ha sido capturada últimamente por tratativas bilaterales que suscitan serias dudas sobre la capacidad política para lograr un resultado efectivo en la Rueda.

Creemos, señor Presidente, que ha llegado el momento, vencidos los plazos y una prudente espera, de hacerle llegar nuestra posición conjunta en esta instancia de una negociación que no permite más dilaciones.

Confirmamos nuestro apoyo al proyecto de Acta final contenida en el Documento del 20 de diciembre de 1991 cuyo contenido consideramos que es la única base para concluir las negociaciones de la Ronda Uruguay.

Nuestros gobiernos quieren manifestar que no prestarán su conformidad a ninguna alteración sustantiva a dicho proyecto que afecte nuestros intereses fundamentales.

Nos preguntamos si tiene sentido continuar un ejercicio puramente ritual que afecta la credibilidad del proceso.



Estamos dispuestos a contribuir a toda solución constructiva que contemple los objetivos de un sistema multilateral abierto, sin exclusión de sectores del proceso de liberalización, y que tenga en cuenta las imperiosas urgencias de los países en desarrollo que son los más afectados por la situación actual. Ambicionamos sinceramente concluir la Ronda Uruguay porque no vemos otra solución para reordenar el sistema multilateral en un mundo que no acierta a poner fin a la pobreza extrema ni al sacrificio social de muchos pueblos.

Esperamos que pueda V.E. intervenir decisivamente para transmutar el imperio de los intereses sectoriales en un verdadero pacto de convivencia económica mundial.

Me es grato saludar a V.E. y reiterarle las seguridades de mi más alta consideración y estima.

Muy cordialmente

PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR

PRESIDENTIAL ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVE

-- The Gulf War has heightened international concerns over the global impact of instability in the Middle East and highlighted the need to move forward expeditiously to address one of the major underlying problems of regional instability: arms proliferation.

-- Against this background, today the President has proposed a major arms control initiative for the Middle East.

-- We recognize that the dangers of proliferation are global in nature, but the need to address the issue in a step-by-step fashion, combined with the unique dangers and opportunities in the Middle East today, have led us to focus initially on this region.

-- The initiative addresses the need for responsible behavior by both arms recipients and suppliers in an effort to prevent dangerous regional imbalances and promote stability.

Specifically, it prescribes:

- A. Guidelines for restraint on the transfer of conventional arms and weapons of mass destruction to the Middle East by the major suppliers of weapons to the region; ✓
- B. Proposals for regional states to engage in arms control aimed at eliminating the threat posed by the spread of surface-to-surface missiles and weapons of mass destruction; and ✓
- C. That the states of the Middle East join international chemical and biological weapons agreements (The Chemical Weapons Convention and Biological Weapons Convention). ✓

-- The initiative would apply to the entire Middle East, from the Maghreb East to include Iran.

Objective

-- By involving both weapons suppliers and recipients the initiative should:

- A. Enhance regional security, reduce the chance of conflict, and contribute to larger regional peace efforts;
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B. Respond to the proliferation concerns of the international community and regional states regarding weapons of mass destruction and excessive conventional arms sales;

C. Allow states to maintain a level of conventional armaments sufficient to meet their legitimate defensive needs; and

D. Serve as a possible framework for expansion and linkage to confidence-building measures in the region.

The Initiative

- . The maintenance of current UN Iraq-specific measures;
- . A verifiable regional ban on the production and importation of weapons-usable nuclear material and reiteration of our call for NPT adherence and IAEA safeguards on all regional nuclear facilities;
- . A freeze on the acquisition, production, and testing of surface-to-surface missiles leading ultimately to the elimination of missiles from the arsenals of states in the region;
- . Early adoption of Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) provisions by regional states as confidence-building measures and a commitment to become original parties to the CWC when it is completed;
- . Enhancement of the Global Biological Weapons (BW) Convention;
- . Supplier restraint agreed to by the U.S., USSR, UK, France and China on the transfer of conventional arms, weapons of mass destruction and missiles.

UN Iraq Specific Measures

-- With respect to Iraq, the goal is to eliminate Iraqi weapons of mass destruction capability through implementation of UN Resolution 687 and the actions of the UN Special Commission, and to prevent the reconstitution of Iraqi offensive military power. This would involve:

- A. Continuation of the United Nations embargo on arms transfers to Iraq; and

B. Full and active support for the special commission on the UN-supervised destruction of Iraqi missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

Nuclear Weapons

-- The initiative will focus on nuclear activities directly related to weapons capability. It will:

A. Reiterate our support for International Atomic Energy agency safeguards on all regional nuclear facilities;

B. Call for adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty;

C. Express our continuing support for the creation of a regional nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East.

-- As a first step, we propose a verifiable regional ban on the production or importation of weapons-usable nuclear material and on acquisition of the means to produce such material.

-- The proposal for control of surface-to-surface missiles incorporates measures to be taken by suppliers and recipients.

-- For example, the initiative proposes export controls on the transfer of equipment, technology and services that could be used to manufacture surface-to-surface missiles.

-- In addition, it calls on suppliers to require that the end-use of any permitted exports of missile related technology or services be for non-military purposes only.

-- The initiative calls on regional states to freeze the acquisition, production, and testing of surface-to-surface missiles as a first step toward a regional agreement to eliminate surface-to-surface missiles from the inventories of regional states.

Chemical Weapons

-- We call on all Middle East nations to declare their intent to become original parties to the CWC when it is completed.

-- Our initiative also calls for regional states to institute confidence building measures by engaging in early implementation of appropriate Chemical Weapons Convention provisions.

-- We think that most regional states will agree with the concept of a global approach to CW, and some may agree to trial inspections of some facilities.

-- The initiative will build on the President's recent CWC initiative, to facilitate early completion of the global Chemical Weapons Convention. The President's CWC initiative includes the following points:

A. A call for the resolution of all major outstanding issues related to the CWC by the end of 1991 and completion of the Convention within twelve months;

B. A commitment by the CWC negotiating committee to remain in continuous session until negotiations are successfully concluded;

C. A declaration by the U.S. to become an original party to the CWC, and a revision of the U.S. negotiating position that drops our claim for a right of retaliation and maintenance of a stockpile until all CW-capable states have joined the Convention.

Biological Weapons

-- The initiative calls for the enhancement of the existing Global Biological Weapons Treaty and propose full implementation of Existing Biological Weapons Convention provisions.

-- The U.S. has also announced its intention to propose an improved mechanism for information exchange at the September BWC review conference.

Supplier Restraint

-- Let me conclude with a discussion of supplier restraint since the mechanism we propose is relevant to conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction controls.

-- We propose that the U.S., USSR, UK, France, and China, the five major suppliers of arms to the region, enter into discussions to establish guidelines for restraint on the transfer of conventional arms, weapons of mass destruction and associated technology to the Middle East.

-- This could take the form of a joint declaration which would commit participants to avoid destabilizing transfers, but permit transfers which meet the legitimate defensive needs of countries in the region.

-- Participants would commit to operate effective domestic export controls on the end-use of arms they have transferred, to prevent unauthorized retransfer or conversion to weapons of mass destruction.

-- They would agree to notify each other in advance of certain arms sales, to consult as a group twice a year on transfers and on an ad hoc basis if a supplier believed guidelines were not being observed. Finally, they would agree to provide each other with a confidential annual report on all transfers.

-- We propose beginning discussions among the U.S., UK, USSR, France and China because they are the largest suppliers of conventional arms to the region. Discussions will quickly be broadened to include other major suppliers.

-- Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs, Reginald Bartholomew, will head the U.S. delegation.

Conclusion

We would like to receive your public support for the President's proposal. ✓

-- The aftermath of the war offers an opportunity to make progress on destabilizing transfers of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction. ✓

-- This is a global problem, but in light of recent events it seems fitting to focus initially on the Middle East. ✓

-- We have seen all too well the results of unchecked proliferation. In the past decade, one outlaw state has been able to arm itself beyond all requirements of self defense and has twice made war against its neighbors.

-- Our post-war efforts should encourage responsible behavior by both arms recipients and their suppliers in an effort to prevent dangerous regional imbalances and to promote stability.

-- At the same time, these efforts should take into account the legitimate defensive needs of countries in the region and should recognize that their ability to deter aggression is also an important stabilizing factor.

-- Your support and ideas will help us to move forward. ✓