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OPEN NEW CHAPTER IN OUR ALLIANCE, RICE IN PARIS URGES EUROPE

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice appealed to Europe February 8 to set aside past disagreements with the United States, and open a new chapter in the transatlantic alliance based on the unprecedented opportunity to achieve "historic global advances for justice and prosperity, for liberty and for peace."

"It is time to turn away from the disagreements of the past," Rice said in a speech at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques-Sciences Politiques de Paris. "It is time to open a new chapter in our relationship, and a new chapter in our alliance."

"America stands ready to work with Europe on our common agenda -- and Europe must stand ready to work with America," said Rice in the major policy speech of her weeklong trip to Europe and the Middle East.

Calling the present "a time of unprecedented opportunity for the transatlantic Alliance," she said that if Europeans and Americans "make the pursuit of global freedom the organizing principle of the 21st century, we will achieve historic global advances for justice and prosperity, for liberty and for peace."

Rice began her speech by recalling that the founders of both the French and American republics were inspired by the very same values. Citing examples of men and women who have launched revolutions for freedom ranging from American civil rights champion Rosa Parks to those who brought down the Berlin Wall in 1989, she likened their courage to those of Afghans and Iraqis who have voted for freedom.

Rice said the purpose of her trip is to talk with Europeans about how America and Europe can work together to advance common ideals worldwide; President Bush will continue the conversation on his February 21-25 trip to Europe. "We on the right side of freedom's divide have an obligation to help those unlucky enough to have been born on the wrong side of that divide," she said.

Describing in more detail the new chapter she envisions in a U.S.-European partnership based on common opportunities rather than common threats, Rice spoke of supporting democratic reform in the Middle East in general, and in Afghanistan and Iraq in particular.

She cited efforts to encourage political pluralism, economic openness and the growth of civil society through the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative.

Rice acknowledged that, as President Bush has said, the spread of freedom is the work of generations, but "spreading freedom in the Arab and Muslim worlds is also urgent work that cannot be deferred."

In Iraq, she said, "the transatlantic partnership must rise to the challenge that the Iraqi people have set for us."

"We must support them as they form their political institutions. We must help them with economic reconstruction and development. And we must stay by their side to provide security until Iraqis themselves can take full ownership of that job," she said.

Rice also called for Europe to join with the United States in supporting a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In addition to what the Israelis and Palestinians must do, there is a "need for all of us to make clear that Iran and Syria must stop supporting terrorists who seek to destroy every chance for peace," she said.

"This is the best chance for peace that we are likely to see for some years to come; and we are acting to help Israelis and Palestinians seize this chance. President Bush is committed. I am personally committed. We must all be committed to seizing this chance," Rice said.

"Development, transparency and democracy reinforce each other," she said in closing. "That is why the spread of freedom under the rule of law is our best hope for progress."

Rice said America has everything to gain from having a stronger Europe as a partner in building a safer and better world. "So let each of us bring to the table our ideas and our experience and our resources; and let us discuss and decide, together, how best to employ them

for democratic change."

After concluding her speech, Rice took questions from the audience on subjects ranging from the development of Iraqi democracy to biological weapons.

Following is the State Department transcript of the secretary's speech and the question-and-answer session that followed:

U.S. Department of State
Office of the Spokesman
February 8, 2005

REMARKS
SECRETARY OF STATE CONDOLEEZZA RICE
AT THE INSTITUT D'ETUDES POLITIQUES - SCIENCES POLITIQUES PARIS
February 8, 2005

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you very, very much. Thank you for those warm and welcoming words. And let me also thank the people of France for being such perfect hosts. I've just arrived. I wish I could stay longer. But it's such a wonderful city; it's wonderful to be here. I look forward to my discussions here with President Chirac, with Foreign Minister Barnier and with others. And -- as a pianist -- tomorrow I look forward to visiting one of your fine music schools.

It is a real special pleasure for me to be here at Sciences Po. For more than 130 years, this fine institution has trained thinkers and leaders. As a political scientist myself, I appreciate very much the important work that you do.

The history of the United States and that of France are intertwined. Our history is a history of shared values, of shared sacrifice and of shared successes. So, too, will be our shared future.

I remember well my first visit to Paris -- here -- my visit to Paris here in 1989, when I had the honor of accompanying President George Herbert Walker Bush to the bicentennial celebration of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Americans celebrated our own bicentennial in that same year, the 200th anniversary of our nation's Constitution and our Bill of Rights.

Those shared celebrations were more than mere coincidence. The founders of both the French and American republics were inspired by the very same values, and by each other. They shared the universal values of freedom and democracy and human dignity that have inspired men and women across the globe for centuries.

Standing up for liberty is as old as our country. It was our very first Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, who said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." Now the American founders realized that they, like all human beings, are flawed creatures, and that any government established by man would be imperfect. Even the great authors of our liberty sometimes fell short of liberty's promise -- even Jefferson, himself, a slave owner.

So we are fortunate that our founders established a democratic system of, by, and for the people that contained within it a way for citizens -- especially for impatient patriots -- to correct even its most serious flaws. Human imperfections do not discredit democratic ideals; they make them more precious, and they make impatient patriots of our own time work harder to achieve them.

Men and women, both great and humble, have shown us the power of human agency in this work. In my own experience, a black woman named Rosa Parks was just tired one day of being told to sit in the back of a bus, so she refused to move. And she touched off a revolution of freedom across the American South.

In Poland, Lech Walesa had had enough of the lies and the exploitation, so he climbed a wall and he joined a strike for his rights; and Poland was transformed.

In Afghanistan just a few months ago, men and women, once oppressed by the Taliban, walked miles, forded streams and stood hours in the snow, just to cast a ballot for their first vote as a free people.

And just a few days ago in Iraq, millions of Iraqi men and women defied the terrorist threats and delivered a clarion call for freedom. Individual Iraqis risked their lives. One policeman threw his body on a suicide bomber to preserve the right of his fellow citizens to vote. They cast their free votes, and they began their nation's new history.

These examples demonstrate a basic truth -- the truth that human dignity is embodied in the free choice of individuals.

We witnessed the power of that truth in that remarkable year of 1989 when the Berlin Wall was brought down by ordinary men and women in East Germany. Yet, that day of freedom in November 1989 could never have happened without the full support of the free nations of the West.

Time and again in our shared history, Americans and Europeans have enjoyed our greatest successes, for ourselves and for others, when we refused to accept an unacceptable status quo -- but instead, put our values to work in the service of freedom.

And we have achieved much together. Today, a democratic Germany is unified within NATO, and tyranny no longer stalks the heart of Europe. NATO and the European Union have since welcomed Europe's newest democracies into our ranks; and we have used our growing strength for peace. And just a decade ago, Southeastern Europe was aflame. Today, we are working toward lasting reconciliation in the Balkans, and to fully integrate the Balkans into the European mainstream.

These achievements have only been possible because America and Europe have stood firm in the belief that the fundamental character of regimes cannot be separated from their external behavior. Borders between countries cannot be peaceful if tyrants destroy the peace of their societies from within. States where corruption, and chaos and cruelty reign invariably pose threats to their neighbors, threats to their regions, and potential threats to the entire international community.

Our work together has only begun. In our time we have an historic opportunity to shape a global balance of power that favors freedom -- and that will therefore deepen and extend the peace. And I use the word "power" broadly, because even more important than military and indeed economic power is the power of ideas, the power of compassion, and the power of hope.

I am here in Europe so that we can talk about how America and Europe can use the power of our partnership to advance our ideals worldwide. President Bush will continue our conversation when he arrives in Europe on February 21st. He is determined to strengthen transatlantic ties. As the President said in his recent Inaugural Address: "All that we seek to achieve in the world requires that America and Europe remain close partners."

I believe that our greatest achievements are yet to come. The challenges of a post-September 11 world are no less daunting than those challenges that we faced and that our forebears faced in the Cold War. The same bold vision, moral courage and determined leadership will be required if we are again to prevail over repression and intimidation and intolerance.

Our charge is clear: We on the right side of freedom's divide have an obligation to help those unlucky enough to have been born on the wrong side of that divide.

This obligation requires us to adapt to new circumstances -- and we are doing that. NATO has enlarged not only its membership, but its vision. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe now operates not only on a continent whole, free and at peace, but beyond Europe, as well. The agenda of U.S.-EU cooperation is wider than ever, and still growing, along with the European Union itself.

We agree on the interwoven threats we face today: Terrorism, and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and regional conflicts, and failed states and organized crime.

We have not always seen eye to eye, however, on how to address these threats. We have had our disagreements. But it is time to turn away from the disagreements of the past. It is time to open a new chapter in our relationship, and a new chapter in our alliance.

America stands ready to work with Europe on our common agenda -- and Europe must stand ready to work with America. After all, history will surely judge us not by our old disagreements, but by our new achievements.

The key to our future success lies in getting beyond a partnership based on common threats, and building an even stronger partnership based on common opportunities, even those beyond the transatlantic community.

We can be confident of our success in this because the fair wind of freedom is at our back. Freedom is spreading: From the villages of Afghanistan to the squares in Ukraine, from the streets in the Palestinian territories to the streets of Georgia, to the polling stations of Iraq.

Freedom defines our opportunity and our challenge. It is a challenge that we are determined to meet.

First, we are joining together to encourage political pluralism, economic openness and the growth of civil society through the broader Middle East initiative.

The flagship of that initiative is the Forum for the Future -- a partnership of progress between the democratic world and nearly two-dozen nations, extending from Morocco to Pakistan. The Forum's mission is to support and accelerate political, economic and educational reform. Its first meeting in Rabat last December was a great success.

Beyond this bold initiative for reform, in which America and European efforts are fused, we also work in parallel. The European Union has a decade-long experience with advancing modernization through the Barcelona Process.

Individual EU member-states have also been working for years to nurture the attitudes and institutions of liberal democracy in the Arab and Muslim worlds.

And it is not just our governments that are promoting freedom. American- and European-based non-governmental organizations devote huge efforts to the reform process.

Our people exemplify the values of free society as they work in their private capacities. Our societies, not just our governments, are advancing women's rights and minority rights.

Our societies, not just our governments, are making space for free media, for independent judiciaries, for the right of labor to organize. The full vitality of our free societies is infusing the process of reform, and that is a reason for optimism.

Just as our own democratic paths have not always been smooth, we realize that democratic reform in the Middle East will be difficult and uneven. Different societies will advance in their own way. Freedom, by its very nature, must be homegrown. It must be chosen. It cannot be given; and it certainly cannot be imposed. That is why, as the President has said, the spread of freedom is the work of generations. But spreading freedom in the Arab and Muslim worlds is also urgent work that cannot be deferred.

Second, we must build on recent successes by stabilizing and advancing democratic progress in Afghanistan and in Iraq. Last October, the people of Afghanistan voted to set their country on a democratic course. And just nine days ago, the people of Iraq voted not just for a government, but for a democratic future.

All of us were impressed by the high voter turnout in Iraq. Each ink-stained finger belonged to a man or a woman who defied suicide bombers, mortar attacks, and threats of beheading, to exercise a basic right as a citizen.

There comes a time in the life of every nation where its people refuse to accept a status quo that demeans their basic humanity. There comes a time when people take control of their own lives. For the Iraqi people, that time has come. There is much more to do to create a democratic and unified Iraq; and the Iraqis themselves must lead the way. But we in the transatlantic partnership must rise to the challenge that the Iraqi people have set for us.

They have shown extraordinary bravery and determination. We must show them solidarity and generosity in equal measure.

We must support them as they form their political institutions. We must help them with economic reconstruction and development. And we must stay by their side to provide security until Iraqis themselves can take full ownership of that job.

Third, we are working to achieve new successes, particularly in the Arab-Israeli diplomacy. America and Europe both support a two-state solution: An independent and democratic Palestinian state living side by side in peace with the Jewish State of Israel.

And we all support the process of reform in the Palestinian Authority, because democratic reform will enlarge the basis for a genuine peace. That is why we were supportive of the Palestinian people in their historic election on January 9.

And Europe and America support the Israeli Government's determination to withdraw from Gaza and parts of the West Bank. We both see that withdrawal as an opportunity to move ahead -- first to the roadmap, and ultimately, to our own -- to our clear destination: a genuine and real peace.

We are acting to transform opportunity into achievement. I have just come from meetings with Prime Minister Sharon and President Abbas. I was impressed with the fact that they said the same thing: This is a time of opportunity and we must not lose it. I urged them to build on this momentum, to seize this chance. And today's meeting of the Palestinian and Egyptian Presidents, the Israeli Prime Minister, and Jordan's King was clearly an important step forward.

The United States and the parties have no illusions about the difficulties ahead. There are deep divisions to overcome. I emphasized to both sides the need to end terrorism; the need to build new and democratic Palestinian economic, political, and security institutions; the need for Israel to meet its own obligations and make the difficult choices before it; and, the need for all of us -- in America, in Europe, in the region -- to make clear to Iran and Syria that they must stop supporting the terrorists who would seek to destroy the peace that we seek.

Success is not assured, but America is resolute. This is the best chance for peace that we are likely to see for some years to come; and we are acting to help Israelis and Palestinians seize this chance. President Bush is committed. I am personally committed. We must all be committed to seizing this chance.

Next month in London, Prime Minister Tony Blair will convene an important conference to help the Palestinian people advance democratic reform and build their institutions. All of us support that effort.

And we will continue to share burdens that will one day soon, we hope, enable us to share in the blessings of peace between Israelis and Palestinians, between Israelis and all their Arab neighbors.

A G8-Arab League meeting will also convene in Cairo next month. This meeting has the potential to broaden the base of support for Middle East peace and democracy. The Tunis Declaration of this past May's Arab Summit declared the "firm resolve" of the Arab states to "keep pace with the accelerated world changes through the consolidation of democratic practice, the broadening of participation in political

life and public life, and the reinforcement of all components of civil society."

If that resolve forms the basis of Arab participation in this meeting, only good can come from it.

Our efforts in Lebanon also show that the transatlantic partnership means what it says in supporting freedom. The United States and France, together, sponsored UN Security Council Resolution 1559. We have done this to accelerate international efforts to restore full sovereignty to the Lebanese people, and to make possible the complete return of what was once vibrant political life in that country.

The next step in that process should be the fourth free democratic election in the region -- fair and competitive parliamentary elections this spring, without foreign interference.

In Lebanon and in the Palestinian territories, in Afghanistan and in Iraq, and throughout all of the broader Middle East and North Africa, the nature of the political conversation is changing. Ordinary citizens are expressing thoughts and acting together in ways that they have not done before. These citizens want a future of tolerance, opportunity, and peace -- not of repression.

Wise leaders are opening their arms to embrace reform. And we must stand with them and their societies as they search for a democratic future.

Reforms and peacemakers will prevail in the Middle East for the same reason the West won the Cold War: Because liberty is ultimately stronger than repression and freedom is stronger than tyranny.

Today's radical Islamists are swimming against the tide of the human spirit. They grab the headlines with their ruthless brutality, and they can be brutal. But they are dwelling on the outer fringes of a great world religion; and they are radicals of a special sort. They are in revolt against the future. The face of terrorism in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, called democracy "an evil principle." To our enemies, *Liberte*, *Egalite* and *Fraternite* are also evil principles. They want to dominate others, not to liberate them. They demand conformity, not equality. They still regard difference as a license to kill.

But they are wrong. Human freedom will march ahead, and we must help smooth its way. We can do that by helping societies to find their own way to fulfill the promise of freedom.

We can help aspiring societies to reduce poverty and grow economically through sound development strategies and free trade. We must be aggressive and compassionate in fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other infectious diseases that tear families apart, destroy individuals and make development of whole continents impossible.

Ultimately, we must learn how to put developing states on the path to self-sustained growth and stability. After all, it is one thing to fix a sanitation plant or to repair a schoolhouse; it is another to establish the essential components of a decent society: A free press, an independent judiciary, a sound financial system, political parties, and genuine representative government.

Development, transparency and democracy reinforce each other. That is why the spread of freedom under the rule of law is our best hope for progress. Freedom unlocks the creativity and drive that produces genuine wealth. Freedom is the key to incorruptible institutions. Freedom is the key to responsive governments.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a time of unprecedented opportunity for the transatlantic Alliance. If we make the pursuit of global freedom the organizing principle of the 21st century, we will achieve historic global advances for justice and prosperity, for liberty and for peace. But a global agenda requires a global partnership. So let us multiply our common effort.

That is why the United States, above all, welcomes the growing unity of Europe. America has everything to gain from having a stronger Europe as a partner in building a safer and better world. So let each of us bring to the table our ideas and our experience and our resources; and let us discuss and decide, together, how best to employ them for democratic change.

We know we have to deal with the world as it is. But, we do not have to accept the world as it is. Imagine where we would be today if the brave founders of French liberty or of American liberty had simply been content with the world as it was.

They knew that history does not just happen; it is made. History is made by men and women of conviction, of commitment and of courage, who will not let their dreams be denied.

Our transatlantic partnership will not just endure in this struggle; it will flourish because our ties are unbreakable. We care deeply about one another. We respect each other. We are strong, but we are strongest when we put our values to work for those whose aspirations of freedom and prosperity have yet to be met.

Great opportunities await us. Let us seize them, now, together, for freedom's sake.

Thank you for your attention.

(Applause.)

QUESTION: I'm Benjamin Barnier (ph), a student in journalism here. My question is very simple. Iraq Shiites want Islam to be the only source of legislation. Do you think it's a positive thing? And if not, what do you think the coalition can do in order to keep a separation between the states and religion?

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you very much for the excellent question. I believe that the Iraqi people will now engage in an intensely political process. They have elected new leaders, the government will be appointed, and then they will have to use this opportunity to find institutions and means to bring all of the elements of Iraqi society together, that is Shia, and Kurds, and Sunnis, and Turkoman and other minorities as well.

The democratic process is a process of overcoming differences peacefully. And I believe that everything that we're reading from the Shia, who are the majority in the country and who have probably done extremely well in these elections, is that they understand their responsibility not to do to their fellow Iraqis what was done to them by those who had them live in tyranny and fear. They have talked about reaching out to the Sunnis. They have talked about reaching out to the Kurds.

I think that you will see them come to terms with the fact that there are different religious traditions, different political traditions, different ethnic groups in Iraq, that all now will have to be in a unified Iraq.

I was heartened by some of the statements of some of the Shia that they understand that a theocratic government, or a clerical government, would be unacceptable to the vast majority of the Iraqi people. And so they will find a proper role for Islam in their future. Many societies have done that and have done it still with democratic institutions in place.

What we must understand is there is no inherent conflict between Islam and democracy. These two can exist side by side, as they do, for instance, in Turkey. And I am quite sure that whatever role Islam comes to play will be one that is tolerant of other religious traditions; that recognizes that there are many other groups in Iraq who do not wish to see anything approaching a theocratic state. The Iraqis have no tradition of it, and I expect that they will come to a conclusion that will surprise us all in how well they do it.

It will be hard. And let me assure you, there will come a time when they are negotiating and discussing when we're going to wonder if it's all going to break down and will they get there? That's just the political process. After all, there were times in our own political process in 1789 that a few of our founders threatened to walk out of the Constitutional Convention. So I think the Iraqis will get past this period and they will create a democratic and unified Iraq.

MODERATOR: Thank you. Another question from a student.

QUESTION: Good afternoon, Madame Secretary. My name is Ann Gavaeneau (ph) and I'm a fifth-year student in the Master of Public Affairs. And my question is the following: What is the American position on the form multilateralism should adopt in the future? For instance, do the United States consider it more appropriate to act through regional or ad hoc coalition such as the Caucus of Democracy Madeleine Albright launch in Poland, then to use the United Nations means of actions?

Thank you.

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you very much. We have to use all the means at our disposal. The United States is a founding member of the United Nations. We want the United Nations to be strong and active and effective. And we have taken many issues to the United Nations. For instance, the United Nations was instrumental and incredibly important in providing the resolution that now allows us to bring attention to what is happening in Lebanon in terms of Syria.

The United Nations has been critical in providing the mandate for the coalition forces that are now in Iraq as a part of a multinational force there to support the Iraqi people. The United Nations, and I must say that Mr. Valenzuela and Mrs. Pirelli of the United Nations did a wonderful job in assisting the Iraqis in their election. They were very active in Afghanistan. So on and on and on, the United Nations is both an important decision-making body and an important means for carrying out those decisions.

There are also other important fora. Sometimes we can do things through NATO. Sometimes we can do things through the OSCE. And increasingly, it is a good thing when ad hoc coalitions of countries get together on a regional basis because they have some particular interest. I'll give you three quick examples.

One is, the United States and Russia, China, South Korea, Japan are engaged with North Korea in the six-party talks, because those are the regional neighbors who most want to be sure that there is not a nuclear-armed Korean Peninsula.

That's an example of an ad hoc arrangement for a regional problem. A problem, by the way, that could have very big international implications, but where the neighborhood is trying to manage it.

A second example is that at the very beginning of the tsunami -- when the tsunami hit, the United States, Japan, India and Australia, which had navies in the area, formed a core group so that we could use that naval -- those naval assets to make sure that, at the very beginning,

aid was getting to the affected areas of the tsunami.

And a third example is a very large coalition, ad hoc group, called the Proliferation Security Initiative, to which France belongs, which is an effort to interdict dangerous cargos related to weapons of mass destruction, using our international laws, using our national laws.

So we have great respect for and want to use the United Nations and the Security Council. But there are times when other mechanisms are equally important. I think we will need to be judged by how effective we are, not just by the forms that we use.

MODERATOR: Thank you. You can, of course, ask questions in French.

Sir.

QUESTION: (VIA MALE INTERPRETER)

Good afternoon, Madam Secretary. I am the president of the Council of Democratic Muslims in France. As a French citizen, originated from Bagram, I'd like to -- here we have a few people from left and right, who live democracy, and we know them, we love them because they speak sincerely. If you put yourselves in the position of an Arab -- French or American -- he lives in a Western country. He lives democracy. He lives his freedom.

Do you think for a single moment when going around the Arab world or Muslim world, is there one single country, one country, Madame Secretary, where freedom of expression or democracy is respected? When President Bush tells us, I am here to free the world from tyranny, theocracy, dictatorship, every Arab dreams, dreams of this feeling of finding himself again in a country that you want to build for them.

Unfortunately, and my question is: Is there a single Arab or Muslim country, which deserves to be defended by Bush and by America? Is there a single Arab country, which is making an effort? Please allow the Secretary to respond.

QUESTION: (VIA FEMALE INTERPRETER) Yes, good afternoon. I'm the President of the French Council of Muslims, and I'd like to understand, as a citizen myself of a democratic country. And here we have a lot of political people from the left and the right, political people, which, who I represent -- sorry -- whom I like and know because they speak the truth. Is there one single Arab country; is there one single Arab country in the world, which really deserves to be defended by the President Bush?

SECRETARY RICE: Well, it was somewhat longer than that, I believe, and I understand. Let's talk about the Arab people. The Arab people deserve a better future than is currently in front of them. This is a part of the world in which the status quo is not going to be acceptable.

You have large populations that are not receiving proper education. As the report to the United Nations by Arab intellectuals noted, you have 22 countries that have a GDP that is not the size of Spain. This is just not acceptable for a culture -- the Arab cultures -- that were, in many ways, part of the cradle of civilization. How can this be?

And so the freedom deficit, the absence of freedom, has had very dramatic, negative effects in this part of the world. And unfortunately, we in the West, for too long, turned a blind eye to that freedom deficit.

When the President spoke at Whitehall in London, he talked about 60 years of trying to buy stability at the expense of freedom, and getting neither. And what we have gotten instead, is a level of hopelessness that has produced an ideology of hatred so virulent, so thorough, that people flew airplanes into American buildings on a fine September morning; blew up a train station in Madrid; people in another part of the world from another tradition, but the same ideology of hatred, that took helpless children hostage in Russia. This can't be the future of the Middle East.

And so both our security and our moral conscience tell us that this is a part of the world that can no longer be isolated from the prosperity and human dignity that freedom brings. And so it is not what President Bush defends; and certainly, I want to be very clear.

As I said earlier, this is not an issue of military power. This is an issue of the power of ideas, of the power of being able to support people in those societies who are just tired of being denied their freedom.

And so this is a great goal, not just for the United States, but for all of us who are fortunate enough to live on the right side of freedom because in each and every case, for all of us, somebody cared enough about human dignity and human liberty to make a stand in our past. Our ancestors did.

And that's why we all enjoy the liberty and freedom that we do. And sometime in the past, others stood up for us so that we could defeat tyranny and we could live in freedom. And we simply have to do the same thing for the people of the Middle East who are seeking a different future.

MODERATOR: Thank you. We have a question on the right side.

QUESTION: (Inaudible) company and lecturer at this institute.

Madame Secretary, I would like to ask you a question about chemical and biological proliferation because we are lacking a multilateral system similar to the imperfect, but at least existing, system in the nuclear field with the IAEA and with the NPT.

And here, what steps do we intend to take to have multilateral verification systems on chemical and biological weapons? Knowing that all these efforts have been -- have stalled since the beginning of your Administration four years ago?

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you. In fact, we have been very active in trying to deal with the problems of chemical and biological weapons. But as you know, it's not easy.

You mentioned the problem of verification. The problem of verification is particularly severe and difficult with biological and chemical weapons because, very often, the very same means that one uses to make a biological weapon or a chemical weapon can be for completely innocent means, so-called dual-use projects -- products, so that, for instance, the chlorine that can be used to purify a swimming pool can also be the basis for a chemical weapon; the same laboratory that can be used to find a cure for cancer can be used to make biological weapons. And these are made in very small spaces that can be easily concealed.

It is especially difficult when you are dealing with very closed states that are making an effort to deceive and to prevent verification from taking place. I have no doubt that verification for most of the world, for European countries, for the United States, for many of our friends and allies around the world, is much less of a problem because, of course, these are open societies. And when they declare that they are not going to build something, there is Le Monde or the New York Times or somebody that is going to make certain that the information gets out about what is being done. The problem is with closed, dictatorial societies that are trying to deceive.

So we have been party to the conventions and we have been active in the conventions. We need to redouble our efforts to make certain that, for instance, when we find some evidence that we believe points to biological or chemical weapons programs that we are prepared to act to hold accountable those states in which it's found.

It's a very serious problem. It is also a serious problem for terrorism because biological weapons or chemical weapons would be much easier for a terrorist organization. We in the United States experienced what just a little anthrax could do. And so it is a very serious problem. It's a huge intelligence problem given the closed nature of some of these societies, but we do have the international conventions and we continue to work within them.

MODERATOR: As you may imagine, Secretary Rice has a very full schedule so we have time for only one last question. Please, one short last question.

QUESTION: My name is Francois (Inaudible). I am teaching economics here in Science Po.

MODERATOR: Louder, please.

QUESTION: Let me ask you why you have chosen this very country to deliver your highly interesting speech.

SECRETARY RICE: Oh, thank you. (Laughter.)

Well, first of all, France has a great tradition of debate, of intellectual ferment. This is a wonderful institution that fosters that debate. And it is no secret that the United States and France have sometimes disagreed in the past about how to proceed on a common agenda.

The good news is that while France and the United States have disagreed from time to time, and everybody has paid attention to that, the United States and France have continued to cooperate on a wide, wide range of efforts.

I sometimes say that U.S.-French relations are far better in practice than they are in theory, because if you look at what we do, we have done on Lebanon; if you look at our cooperation in Afghanistan; if you look at the Kosovo work that we've done earlier in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the Balkans more generally; if you look at the Proliferation Security Initiative -- I can go on and on and on -- the fight against terrorism, the intelligence and law enforcement work that we do together; this is a deep, broad, active relationship that is very effective on behalf of world peace.

When we disagreed, we still disagreed as friends. And as long as we remember that we have not just common values but a common future built on those values, I think we are going to see an even stronger relationship, if you will, a kind of rebirth of energy in the U.S.-French and the U.S.-European relationship because we have great things ahead of us.

If I could just close with a personal reflection in this regard, I was lucky enough in 1989, and by the way, I said in my speech at one point it was my first visit to Paris -- my first visit to Paris was actually in 1979 on my way to language training in Russia. And I love coming here.

But I was here in 1989 for the bicentennial; it was a remarkable year. And I was lucky enough to be the White House Soviet Specialist at the end of the Cold War, so I got to participate in the liberation of Eastern Europe, the unification of Germany, the beginnings of the peaceful breakup of the Soviet Union -- things that I never thought I would see, let alone have a chance to participate in.

Do you know, I realized that I was just lucky enough to be harvesting good decisions that had been taken in 1946 and in 1947 and in 1948 and in 1949, when those leaders, at the end of World War II, faced a dizzying array of threats -- strategic threats -- to the progress of freedom and liberty.

When you think about the fact that in 1946, much of Europe lay in ruins and there were real concerns about the importation of communism into Europe from the Soviet Union; if you think about, in 1947, there were civil wars in Greece and Turkey; in 1948, we experienced the Czechoslovak crisis and the collapse of that democratic government; in 1948, the Berlin crisis split Germany for what seemed to be permanently; in 1949, the Soviet Union exploded a nuclear weapon five years ahead of schedule and the Chinese communists won the civil war.

Now, how did they do it? How did they form NATO? How did they support a united Europe? How did they move forward on an agenda that 50 years later produced the circumstances in which Germany could be unified, the rest of Europe could be freed of tyranny, and we could be talking about a NATO that includes not just France and Germany and the United States, but Poland and the Czech Republic and Slovakia and the Baltic States? How did they do it?

They did it because they remained united as an alliance of values. And I know it looks really hard to talk about the spread of freedom and liberty into places where it has never been. I know it looks really hard when we see the pictures from Iraq of the suicide bombers to think that the Iraqi people are going to build a free and stable democratic state. I know it looks hard when we look at Afghanistan and how far it has to go. But this last month or so, little more than that, has been something else.

How could you not be impressed with the Rose Revolution in Georgia and the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, and the Palestinian people going to elect a leader who says that it is time to give up the armed Intifadah and live in peace with Israel? And how could you not be impressed by the Afghans, really, in a very underdeveloped society standing along dusty roads to vote where women who used to hide their faces and couldn't even have medical care without a male relative; and now they stand and they vote and they run for office? And how could you not be impressed with the Iraqi people and their facing down fear?

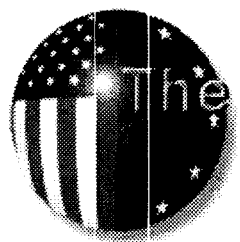
So much is changing in our world. So much is changing in the Middle East. And if we, in this great alliance, put our values and our efforts and our resources to work on behalf of this great cause, we've only just begun to see what freedom can achieve.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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The United States Mission to the European Union

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Brussels, Belgium



Transcript

Press Availability

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice,

European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso

and European Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner



After Their Meeting

February 9, 2005

Berlaymount Building, Brussels, Belgium

PRESIDENT BARROSO: Good afternoon. Today I and Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner had the pleasure of receiving the United States Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, as part of the preparation for President Bush's visit to the European Union on February 22nd.

We had a very substantial dialogue based on shared values and very many common interests which underpin our relationship. I also invited Secretary Rice to a meeting with External Relations Commissioners to discuss how Europe can best work with the United States to tackle the global challenge we both face. The meeting counted with the participation of the Commissioner for External Relations, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, but also the Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, Enlargement, Development, and Justice, Freedom and Security as a true reflection of the diversity of fields that make up the trans-Atlantic relationship.

We agreed, too, that today, it is more vital than ever that Europe and United States, two longstanding allies sharing in essence the same values, work together to promote democracy, freedom, stability and prosperity throughout the world. The opportunities for making progress are before us, whether it be the Middle East, Afghanistan or the Balkans. We will succeed if we act together.

I'm also very much looking forward to the visit of President Bush here later this month to the heart of a united Europe made up of 25 member-states, 450 million citizens. This visit will symbolize the strong and enduring bonds of transatlantic cooperation that are stronger by far than any difference that may have existed between us. The President will find European Commission fully engaged in fulfilling its global responsibilities and ready to work with the United States to achieve our common goals.

More than ever, Europe needs United States, United States needs Europe. We must seize this opportunity with both hands. Today's international problems are too complex to go it alone and the joint attention of European and United States is needed immediately.

Yesterday, in the Middle East we saw real (inaudible) of hope for a new opening for peace between Israel and Palestinians. I strongly welcome the truce declared by Israeli Prime Minister Sharon and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. It is my hope that this will lead to a definitive end to years of violence in the Middle East and put us back on the path towards a lasting peace.

Let me now give the floor to Secretary Rice, and after that to Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner. Both have just returned from the Middle East and will surely have more to say on this and on

other topics of our very constructive and friendly meeting.

Secretary Rice.

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you. I'm very pleased to be here at the European Commission. Thank you very much, President Barroso. Thank you very much, Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner.

We also had a chance to meet in Washington not very long ago to begin the preparations for the President's trip here to the European Union in February -- at the end of February -- and we look very much forward to that trip.

We did have very good discussions. We began by affirming our history, which is a history of shared values; which is a history that goes back to the end of World War II, when the United States was one of the strongest supporters of the idea of European integration and European unity, believing that if Europe could be unified around democratic values that the chances for war in what was, at that time, a war-torn Europe, would be diminished and, indeed, eliminated. And I think that this great European Commission and the European Union are a testament to the wisdom of that vision.

We look forward to continuing to work with a strong and united Europe. We talked about the importance of the United States and Europe taking on, now, the agenda of the common challenges before us: the importance of a Europe that is the -- one of the two pillars of a strong transatlantic relationship, NATO, where I was earlier, and the European Union; and the work that we have done together to, after the end of the Cold War, bring together a Europe that is whole, free and at peace. We still have a great deal of work to do in that regard, but this has been a remarkable period of the last 15-or-so years since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

We then talked about the many issues on the European...EU-U.S. agenda: the fact that the President will have an opportunity to talk about Afghanistan, about Iraq and about the broader Middle East. And we spent a good deal of time talking about the challenges and the opportunities in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

And Benita was saying that I think we were literally tracing each other's steps through the Middle East over the last day. And that just shows that the European Union and the United States are going to be very strong partners as we try and realize the opportunities before us in the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

We were remarking at how impressed we were with the fact that both Prime Minister Sharon and President Abbas seemed to understand the historic opportunity before them, that this is a moment for optimism in what has been a longstanding and long-simmering conflict, but recognizing that we have not been able and the parties have not been able in the past to seize opportunities that have been before them.

We have pledged to work to redouble our efforts this time to see if we can bring about the conditions that will allow this to succeed. That includes the work that we will do at the London conference, at which the EU will be represented at that conference to help the Palestinians build the institutions of democracy, build the security institutions that can be a reliable security force for the Palestinian Authority, and, of course, work on the reconstruction of the Palestinian territories, most especially, first, Gaza, but also the West Bank, and to do that in a way that helps to ensure a peaceful and effective withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza and the four settlements in the West Bank, as the Israelis have, in their historic decision, decided to do.

We look forward to a meeting of the Quartet very soon, most likely at the time of the London meetings, where we -- the EU, the United Nations and the Russians are the members of the Quartet -- so that we can look at the task ahead of us and begin the process of getting back onto the Road Map, which is, after all, the reliable guide to President Bush's vision, but really our common vision of two states living together in peace, Israel and a Palestinian state living side by side in peace.

Thank you very much.

COMMISSIONER FERRERO-WALDNER: May I say, good to see you here, Condi; good to see you here as the Secretary of State. After Washington, it's really a pleasure to have you here.

Like you, I'm just coming back from the Middle East, as you said, and there we did really see the most positive developments since many years. The EU and U.S. -- and I agree with you -- share a commitment to peace in the region based on the two-state solution. And as members of the Quartet, each of us will play our parts in making this goal a reality. Israel and Palestine have both -- we have to say that -- taken great risks for peace.

Now, what we have to do is to help them to stay the course and to see off those who resist change or who trust guns more than words. President Abbas needs to help to demonstrate that choosing peace brings tangible improvement in living conditions. On the other hand, the Israelis must make their contribution by allowing greater freedom of movement for the Palestinians and their goods. And the Palestinian leadership must rebuild confidence by consolidating the security measures already taken: destroying terminals, collecting illegal weapons, and so on.

So, let's be clear. Yesterday's declaration is only a beginning. It must lead us, as you very rightly said, to the longer process to implement the Road Map. We very much welcome the clear indications that United States intends to engage fully in this process. We, in the European Commission, will continue to offer also political and financial support, as we have done for over a decade. So for instance, only for the year 2005, we have allocated 250 million euros to support the next steps in the peace process.

The EU and the U.S. share the objective of bringing stability and prosperity not only in Israel and Palestine, but also across the wider, broader Middle East. That is why we have done quite a lot to support the elections in Iraq and we'll continue also to support the political transition this year.

I know that journalists don't like to let facts get in the way of a good story, but the truth is EU-U.S. differences are routinely exaggerated and our common objectives stay on the plate. So I, for one, am looking forward to working as an effective partner of the United States and of you, dear, Condoleezza Rice. Thanks.

QUESTION: In the search of some facts for the elusive true story -- (laughter) -- maybe I could ask all of you about the EU arms embargo.

Madam Secretary, earlier you said that Europe has done some listening and has heard your concerns. Has it done enough so that the United States can now drop its objections to Europe's plans to lift the arms embargo? And on the European side, do you think that this dispute is now over?

SECRETARY RICE: This has been a period in which we have been able to make our views very clear about the arms embargo. We continue to believe that the human rights concerns need to be taken into consideration in any decision that was tied to Tiananmen and now would be reversed when, in fact, the elements of Tiananmen have not been resolved: the 2,000 prisoners

Also, we have made clear our concerns about the military balance, the fact that there are still American forces in that region, and about the need to be concerned about the transfer of technology that might endanger in some way that very delicate military balance.

I do believe that the Europeans are listening to our concerns. As I understand it, a decision has not yet been taken, but we will continue to work with our European allies and we will see where we come out. All that we can ask is that the European Union is aware of our concerns, understands them fully and takes them fully into consideration in any decision that is made.

PRESIDENT BARROSO: Yes, we are continuing discussions with the United States on this issue. As you know, the European Union is moving to lift the arms embargo. We understand the United States sensitivities in this regard. The European Union cannot be accused of rushing into this.

We agree with the United States that none of us has any interest in substantially increasing the quantity or the quality of the weaponry in Southeast Asia. We are working to ensure that the code of conduct is designed to take account of this.

QUESTION: It's about Ukraine. Madam Rice has just said in NATO that the things that were unimaginable 15 years ago one can imagine today and that the doors to NATO are open to all European democracies. I would like to ask you, Mr. Barroso, can you say the same about European Union? Are the doors open for Ukraine if it fulfills all the reforms necessary? And to Madam Rice and Madam Ferrero-Waldner, on this issue, can Europe and United States put a plan together to bring Ukraine closer to the Western world? Thank you.

PRESIDENT BARROSO: I'll start and afterwards I'll give the floor to both of you.

About Ukraine, I was receiving President Yushchenko. You know I supported him very much. Even before when he was in a position, I received him in another capacity. And we have a great, great admiration for his role and we fully support democratic Ukraine.

So I said, and I believe that the future of Ukraine is in Europe, but now the journey is not for European Union membership. We have the European Union's Neighbor policy. It's a very ambitious program, very ambitious program, that includes the liberalization, trade liberalization, assistance, political cooperation, harmonization of standards in all issues.

So there is a lot of work to do under this Neighbor policy of European Union, and I said that very clearly to President Yushchenko. So, I believe that it's the best way to ensure stabilization and consolidation of democratic institutions of Ukraine. And President Yushchenko and all democratic forces in Ukraine can count fully on our support.

I want to recall your attention, call your attention to the fact that we, during the crisis, we were very active. In fact, we were very much following the same line. The United States and European Union were very much following the same line in the message that we were giving to the Ukrainian authorities. And at that time, we adopted an action plan proposed by Benita Ferrero-Waldner, but we made the implementation of the action plan conditional to a true democracy in Ukraine, and after that there is a set of points made by Benita Ferrero-Waldner and Javier Solana about the role of the European Union in supporting Ukraine. So, this is the right framework to support fully the new democratic institutions of Ukraine.

SECRETARY RICE: We'll certainly be in close consultation, and already have. As President Barroso said, at the time that the Ukrainians were trying to resolve this difficult problem, of course, the EU had a representative there. We were in discussion with that EU representative, both through our ambassador on the ground, and indeed, at one point, through contact between Colin Powell and his colleagues.

We understand the steps that Ukraine needs to take to now support the democratic decision that the Ukrainian people have taken. The hard work is still ahead, although the hard decision for democracy was taken. And so I'm quite certain that the action plan that the EU has, the steps that we are designing in the United States Government, that we will want to work together so that we don't have duplication of effort but so that we take account of all of the needs of the Ukraine in institution-building, in economic reform.

I said earlier that the Ukrainians have in front of them an action plan concerning NATO and we need to take now practical steps so that Ukraine continues to move toward the European mainstream. Everybody admires the difficult decision that Ukraine has taken for a democratic future. Now, we have to make certain that that difficult decision that the Ukrainians took is going to be supported by institutions and by prosperity and progress so that the Ukrainian people and their new government can succeed.

COMMISSIONER FERRERO-WALDNER: Let me add that our decision to make the action plan was not to have Ukraine far away, but, on the contrary, to bring Ukraine closer to the European Union. And there is still a lot to be done on the partnership and cooperation agreement but also on the actual action plan plus the Ten Points Plan that we hope Ukraine and us will decide upon on the 21st of February, and that, of course, we will be working very closely with them. I prepare a visit to go to Ukraine in the next few days, and so I think we will have a lot to discuss and then to sustain this positive development.

MR. BOUCHER: Okay. We'll go to the front row, *The Chicago Tribune*. Cam.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, you came to Europe about a week ago with a message that was believed by the Bush Administration to be vitally important to be delivered here. You're now one country, about an hour away, from your last stop, and I know you're tired. Twenty-four hours from your speech at Sciences Po, do you feel like the message has gotten through? Was there a moment, maybe today or earlier, where you felt like the message was coming through?

And I'd like to ask President Barroso, we heard many times from Colin Powell many similar things about the transatlantic relationship. What's the difference now for Europe?

SECRETARY RICE: In fact, the interesting thing to me is that I actually think that the message was getting through before I got here and it was doing so because this is an alliance that understands that its future is one that is common. The times are different now than they were a

year ago or two years ago when we did have our differences, not with everyone, but with a number of states, and when we didn't have, while we still had common interests and common values I don't think we had a common agenda for a while on what was really before us – at least in regards to Iraq. But of course we had continued to cooperate on a whole range of issues – Afghanistan, we were cooperating; the war on terrorism we were cooperating; everything from security issues like the Proliferation Security Initiative all the way out to issues of poverty alleviation and development and fighting the scourge of AIDS. So we were always cooperating, but we did have on Iraq not a common agenda.

We do now have a common agenda, and that is now that the war or the major military operations are behind us, now that we are facing the fact of an Iraqi people who are taking risks of their own for their democratic future, it's very clear what is ahead of us.

I do appreciate very much the openness and the responsiveness of each and every government that I have met here, of the Commission, of NATO. It's been a really great conversation. I feel very good about what we've done here and the conversation that we've had and the promise to continue that dialogue and conversation when President Bush comes. But I also feel good about the concrete steps that have been shown here. The concrete steps that both we and the European Union have made to demonstrate our support for the Palestinian/Israeli rapprochement, whether it is the 250 million euros that Benita just talked about, or the 350 million dollars the President talked about in his State of the Union, or the Security Coordinator, the fact that we're going to have a Quartet meeting. The concrete measures that people are taking on Iraq to support the political evolution in Iraq, and indeed some of the contributions that people talked about making when we were at NATO today.

So I do feel that it's been a good trip. I enjoyed being at Sciences Po. I believe very strongly that even when we have differences or disagreements that we have to be able to debate them and discuss them in an open and honest way. After all democracy itself, which is our most common value, is the process of debate and discussion and overcoming differences and so it shouldn't be surprising that democracies in their international relations have to do the same things. I think we've made considerable steps forward over the last, is it seven days, did you say? You've lost track, okay. The last six days. And I think we're going to continue that when President Bush comes.

PRESIDENT BARROSO: First of all let me say that Dr. Rice doesn't seem to me at all tired. She was very energetic, and I think that energy, that enthusiasm is very good for the future of our relations.

As Dr. Rice said, there may be some points on which we do not agree. That's quite obvious. We should not dramatize. We should not be saying that we agree on every issue. But I believe now there is a perception that we should work together. Let's look at history. As Dr. Rice said, from the beginning the United States was supporting European integration. The founders of the European project after the 2nd World War like Jean Monnet and others were enthusiasts of a close relationship with the United States and the great statesmen of the United States were supporting the first steps of European integration. Let's not forget, if I may say, like history that the United States itself is a creation, were born out of the great tradition of English liberalism and the French Revolution. Those were the ideals of democracy, of justice, of solidarity, of freedom. Those were the ideals of the French Revolution and the ideals of the British liberalism that were at the beginning the genesis of the United States. So let's look at history.

But let's look also at what's going today. Very recently we had a catastrophe in Southeast Asia. I was there with the President of the Council, Prime Minister Junker, the predecessor of Dr. Rice was there, Colin Powell, representing the United States. Does anyone really think that the United States alone or Europe alone can meet the global challenges? It's impossible. We cannot. European Union, alone we cannot do it. And I believe the Americans alone they cannot do it. So let's work together, because the basic values are the same.

So that is the very good message that Dr. Rice has been conveying and that we fully support. And that's the message I hope that when President Bush comes we will reinforce.

QUESTION: Ms. Rice, you say and many –all– of the American officials say that Europe and the United States should now put behind them their divisions on Iraq. That's very good. But there are still very profound divisions on other topics such as China and Iran. So what is the difference? Europe and the United States were divided on Iraq, now they are divided on China and Iran. Where is this new chapter you talked about in Paris? Or to put it differently, what lessons did you take, if any, from the Iraqi crisis as far as a transatlantic relationship is concerned?

SECRETARY RICE: I take the point that there were differences in the past and there may be differences in the future, but I have to say I don't think we have a difference on China. I think we both – the United States and Europe – want to see the transition that is going on in China, which is a remarkable transition, a transition that is proceeding with incredible pace in terms of its economic growth. We want to see a China that as it rises as an influence and a factor in international politics rises as a positive factor in international politics and in the international economy. It is why, for instance, we were both supportive of Chinese accession to the WTO, because we recognized that this enormous economy had to be integrated into the international economy in a rules-based way, and the European Union has been clear in its messages to China that China must live up to the obligations that it undertook at accession including, for instance, on intellectual property rights.

We are not in disagreement about China that China should try much, much harder to take the lesson that has been there for so many, that economic liberalization and political liberalization need to go hand in hand. That is why human rights is a concern not just for the United States but for the European Union. Religious freedom is a concern not just for the United States but for the European Union.

So on the big issues about China the United States and the European Union could not be clearer in our agreement about where this is going. We've both engaged China, we have both worked with China, we both have good relations with China.

If there is an issue about the EU arms embargo with China, it too is understood in the context of a strategy that tries to get to a place where China is a positive influence in international politics.

As to Iran, we have unity of purpose about Iran where there are concerns worldwide – and here it's not just the United States and the EU but many others in the IAEA that Iran's efforts to, under cover of civilian nuclear power build components that could be used for the development of nuclear weapon, that that is in contravention of Iran's obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

We have complete agreement that the funding and support of terrorism, particularly at a time when the Israelis and the Palestinians are trying to come to some rapprochement is not acceptable from any state, whether it be Iran or Syria. We all fight against these terrorist rejectionist groups. We are concerned about the human rights situation in Iran.

So again, I think it's easy to say, well you disagree on some element here or there, but when it comes to the issues that really matter, what is going to be the future of a fast-growing influential China in the international community of states? What are we going to do about the dangers that the Iranian regime poses in not living up to its international obligations? We have unity of purpose. We have unity of message. And we are working to find the right means, the right methods to deal with both of those quite fundamental situations.

Thank you.

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2005-02-09

RICE CALLS FOR UNITY IN CONFRONTING IRAN'S NUCLEAR AMBITIONS

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice believes that diplomatic efforts can persuade Iran to abandon ambitions of obtaining a nuclear weapon, but she says that the international community must speak with a forceful and unified voice on the subject.

In a February 9 interview with Fox News, Rice observed that Iran has extensive business ties with countries around the world and said that the Iranian leadership "would be taking a great risk to actually end up in a situation in which Iran was completely isolated from the international community."

She said that the international community must make it clear to Tehran "that it is not going to be acceptable for Iran to build a nuclear weapon under cover of civilian nuclear power."

She added that if Iran is not willing to comply with the expectations of the international community, the situation should be referred to the Security Council.

Turning to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Rice praised the performance of the newly elected Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, calling his statements and actions both remarkable and brave.

Rice also outlined the responsibilities of General William Ward in his capacity as security coordinator for the Palestinian territories.

"When I was talking to President Abbas, one of his strongest points to me was that the security forces in the Palestinian territories are variable in their quality, that they need to be turned into a professional force that will be capable of really fighting terrorism and of keeping the peace," she said. "And so that is General Ward's number one task."

She said Abbas is laying the foundation for a Palestinian state. "[H]e wants to appoint a government that is responsible, that will deal with reconstruction, a government that is not corrupt, a government that has the confidence of the Palestinian people," she said.

In response to a question about Iraq, Rice said now that democracy is beginning to emerge there, "accountability to the Iraqi people is really going to be the most important element" of government.

Regarding the North Korean nuclear issue, Rice said, "what we have to do is convince the North Korean leadership that their interests are in a non-nuclear Korean Peninsula because the neighborhood and the rest of the international community will not accept a Korean Peninsula that is nuclearized."

Following is the transcript of Rice's interview with Fox News:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman
(Brussels, Belgium)
February 9, 2005

INTERVIEW

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice
With James Rosen of Fox News

February 9, 2005
Paris, France

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thank you for your time.

SECRETARY RICE: Nice to be with you.

QUESTION: Do you enjoy being called "Madam Secretary?" It seems a bit arch as titles go.

SECRETARY RICE: Well I did the first week spend a lot of time looking around to see who that might be, [laughter] but I'm starting to get used to it.

QUESTION: Thank you for your time today. You've done an awful lot of interviews on this trip and, interestingly, you have been asked very little about Iraq. You remarked the other day, I think yesterday, that the Shiite political parties that are expected soon to be declared the winners of the recent elections in Iraq know that it would be unacceptable to the people of Iraq for them to form any kind of exclusionary or clerical government. What assurances has the United States received in that regard, and from whom?

SECRETARY RICE: I'm simply looking at the statements that the Shiite leadership is actually making to the Iraqi people. And it's interesting, we are now in a period where, because democracy is beginning to emerge, accountability to the Iraqi people is really going to be the most important element. I was listening to the Finance Minister, who is one of the leading Shiia leaders, Mr. Al-Mehdi, and he was saying that they intend to invite even those who didn't vote to be a part of the formation of the government, to have positions, because they wanted to be one Iraq.

I also believe that the Iraqi people don't have a tradition of clerical or theocratic government. This is not Iran. And so, I really do believe that they will come to an arrangement that has a proper role of course for Islam but one that recognizes that there are other religious and ethnic traditions in Iraq as well.

QUESTION: Certain pains were taken to make sure that women would be represented in whatever national assemble is formed, is there a female leadership class in Iraq that will be equipped even to fulfill those positions?

SECRETARY RICE: Well there are women leaders in Iraq and some of them have been very important in this early stage of Iraqi political development. But there needs to be more development of a leadership class that includes women. One of the things that the United States was very active in in Afghanistan was something called the Afghan Women's Council, which really did seek through civil society groups and women's groups to help prepare women leaders in Afghanistan. And should the Iraqis desire, we're prepared to do more of that. We've been doing some of that through our educational and cultural exchange programs. But it is an important task, and it's something that, by the way, Europeans could be involved in too because the development of leadership classes takes time.

QUESTION: Is it fair to say that in six months they will be running the place?

SECRETARY RICE: Well, maybe, I wouldn't count them out [laughter]. But it's really a great thing to see women taking their rightful place in leadership in the Middle East.

QUESTION: Let's move to proliferation issues if we may. I don't think you've explained or perhaps undertaken to explain, as much as you've been asked about Iran on this trip. I don't think that you've undertaken to explain exactly why it is that you believe that diplomacy does in fact have a chance with a group that you called the un-elected few, with a loathsome human rights record, that has been playing games. Why is it that you have any confidence that diplomacy really can work with the Iranians?

SECRETARY RICE: Well the Iranian regime is not like some other regimes in the world. I don't think that it can afford to be completely isolated from the international community because the Iranian people, who go back and forth in the world, who are very much a part of the international community. You see business people, particularly from Europe, going to Iran. It is a society that does have some permeability. And the un-elected few would be taking a great risk to actually end up in a situation in which Iran was completely isolated from the international community.

On the other hand, the international community has got to be certain to speak with one very tough voice to the Iranians that it is not going to be acceptable for Iran to build a nuclear weapon under cover of civilian nuclear power. I'm really quite confident that if we can get that unity of purpose and that unity of message, and if the Mullahs think that they have no other option but to give up their aspirations for a nuclear weapon and provide and allow for verification, then we'll have a very good chance of success.

QUESTION: Do you not yet have that unity of message?

SECRETARY RICE: We have unity of purpose and we have unity of message, but, for instance, the Iranians need to hear that if they are unwilling to take the deal, really, that the Europeans are giving them, if they're unwilling to live with the verification measures, to sign the additional protocol to allow the IAEA in completely, then the Security Council referral looms. I don't know that anyone has said that as clearly as they should to the Iranians. We've believed all along that Iran ought to be referred to the Security Council, and then a variety of steps are available to the international community. But they need to hear that the discussions that they're in with the Europeans are not going to be a kind of way station where they're allowed to continue their activities, that there's going to be an end to this, and that they're going to end up in the Security Council.

QUESTION: Speaking of other regimes that are perhaps more isolated than Iran, you have been and President Bush, you and President Bush, both have repeatedly stated on the record, explicitly, that the United States has no plans to invade or attack North Korea with regard

to negotiations over its nuclear programs. Are you unwilling to make the same explicit statement on the record regards Iran? This is an opportunity right now to do so.

SECRETARY RICE: Well, the history's very different on the Korean Peninsula and there we have a very strong deterrent of more than 30,000 American forces. We're going to reduce those forces by about 12,000, but we're increasing the technological capability of our forces there. And we have a South Korean partner with whom we have a very powerful alliance, very strong military alliance. And so the security condition is different on the Korean Peninsula. But with the Iranians, the question just isn't on the agenda right now. There is time for diplomacy. The President never takes any of his options off the table.

QUESTION: Do you have faith that Kim Jong-Il is sane and can be dealt with?

SECRETARY RICE: Well I have never met the man of course and we have no contact with him. The South Koreans and the Chinese believe that this is a leader who understands what he's doing and can live up to obligations if he chooses to do so. I think we have to go with that assessment. And the North Koreans have always demonstrated that they're pretty good at carrying out their interests; when they signed the 1994 agreement, within a few years, were looking for another route to a nuclear weapon. They were pursuing the highly enriched uranium route. This looks like a leadership that's quite capable of knowing where its interests are and pursuing them. So what we have to do is convince the North Korean leadership that their interests are in a non-nuclear Korean Peninsula because the neighborhood and the rest of the international community will not accept a Korean Peninsula that is nuclearized.

QUESTION: Off to the Israeli Palestinian subject. General Ward, what kind of staff will he have?

SECRETARY RICE: We'll talk. General Ward will come back to Washington, and we'll discuss what he needs. I suspect that he can use a lot of the existing infrastructure; after all, we have missions in the Middle East, in Israel and a consulate in Jerusalem that deals with Palestinian issues. But the most important thing is that he is going to be actively involved, not just with the Palestinians, but with the Europeans, with the Egyptians, with the Jordanians who are going to be involved in helping to train and equip the Palestinian security forces. Yes, it will be important to help in security coordination whenever possible or whenever needed. And it will be important to help in terms of monitoring. But the focus, really, of General Ward's activities will be to finally get the Palestinian security forces to a place that they can really perform. When I was talking to President Abbas, one of his strongest points to me was that the security forces in the Palestinian territories are variable in their quality, that they need to be turned into a professional force that will be capable of really fighting terrorism and of keeping the peace. And so that is General Ward's number one task.

QUESTION: If, heaven forbid, something were to happen to Mahmoud Abbas, would this whole process and the progress we're currently seeing be down the tubes? Should we worry about that?

SECRETARY RICE: Well we certainly hope that nothing happens to him. What he is doing is quite remarkable -- his statements about the end of the armed intifada -- really very, very brave. And also he is laying a foundation for new institutions that will be the foundation for a Palestinian state that should be about ultimately more than one man. He has made that point himself -- that he wants to appoint a government that is responsible, that will deal with reconstruction, a government that is not corrupt, a government that has the confidence of the Palestinian people. And the very fact that he stood for elections on that basis gives him and those that he brings into the government a firm foundation for governing.

QUESTION: Emily Miller is telling me that we're out of time, and I know how ferocious she can be in these instances. But I want very quickly, one last minute, sixty seconds of your time, if I may, to ask you some off the chart questions here [laughter].

When was the last time you just blew your stack, I mean lost it? Shouted?

SECRETARY RICE: [Laughter] You'll never know, James.

QUESTION: At least not this interview. What will be the first thing you do when you get back to the Watergate? Your bags are back, and you're finally alone after this whirlwind trip. What will be the first thing you do?

SECRETARY RICE: Well it depends on what time we get back, but if I can I'd love to watch that tape of the Super bowl again because I only got to see a little bit on and off on the plane, so I think I'll probably watch the Super bowl tape Friday night.

QUESTION: Who is the living person you most admire?

SECRETARY RICE: The living person that I most admire? Well, I admire a number of people who are living. I admire the President who, I think, has a remarkable, remarkable grasp of what it is we need to do.

But probably the person that I admire most is my aunt who is the person who holds our family together. She is the person who's always there when anybody needs her....

QUESTION: ...her name is?

SECRETARY RICE: Her name is Genoa McPhatter. If somebody's sick, she's there to take care of them. It's what every family needs. And since my own parents are deceased, she's the person that I'm probably closest to.

QUESTION: No relation to Clyde McPhatter?

SECRETARY RICE: Not that I know of.

QUESTION: Lead singer of the Drifters...

SECRETARY RICE: ...the Drifters, I doubt it [laughter].

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thank you for your time today.

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you very much.

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2005-02-09

U.S., EUROPE HAVE UNITY OF PURPOSE AND MESSAGE, RICE SAYS

The United States and Europe have unity of purpose and message and are working now to find the right means of dealing with such issues as Iran and the lifting of the EU arms embargo on China, according to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

Briefing the press after their meeting in Brussels, Belgium, February 9, Rice, European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso, and European Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner said Europe and the United States need each other to accomplish a common agenda based on shared values.

Nearing the end of a week-long trip to Europe and the Middle East, Rice said that even on Iraq, the United States and Europe understand each other. "We do now have a common agenda," she said, adding that "now that we are facing the fact of an Iraqi people who are taking risks of their own for their democratic future, it's very clear what is ahead of us."

Ferrero-Waldner said the European Union and the United States "share the objective of bringing stability and prosperity not only in Israel and Palestine, but also across the wider, broader Middle East. That is why we have done quite a lot to support the elections in Iraq and we'll continue also to support the political transition this year."

Rice denied that the United States and Europe are divided on Iran, saying, "we have unity of purpose about Iran ... that Iran's efforts to, under cover of civilian nuclear power, build components that could be used for the development of nuclear weapons, that is in contravention of Iran's obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty."

"We have complete agreement that the funding and support of terrorism, particularly at a time when the Israelis and the Palestinians are trying to come to some rapprochement, is not acceptable from any state, whether it be Iran or Syria," she added.

Concerning the EU and China, Rice said that both the United States and the EU "want to see a China that as it rises as an influence and a factor in international politics rises as a positive factor in international politics and in the international economy."

If there is an issue concerning the lifting of the EU arms embargo with China, it should be "understood in the context of a strategy that tries to get to a place where China is a positive influence in international politics."

The United States and the EU imposed an arms embargo in response to the Chinese government's brutal repression of protestors calling for democratic and political reform in June of 1989. The EU is considering lifting the embargo and instead applying a code of conduct on arms deals with China, a subject Rice has said she has been discussing at each stop on the European leg of her tour.

Rice said she believes her European colleagues have been listening to U.S. concerns about the potential effect on the military balance in East Asia and the message sent on human rights should the arms embargo be lifted. "All that we can ask is that the European Union is aware of our concerns, understands them fully and takes them fully into consideration in any decision that is made," she said.

In her opening remarks, Rice said she spent a good deal of her time with Barroso and Ferrero-Waldner discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. "We have pledged to work to redouble our efforts this time to see if we can bring about the conditions that will allow this [the peace process] to succeed," she said.

On her first trip as secretary of state since succeeding Colin Powell, Rice has thus far visited the United Kingdom, Germany, Poland, Israel and the West Bank, Italy and France. After leaving Brussels, she is scheduled to go on to Luxembourg before returning to Washington February 10.

Following is the State Department transcript:

U.S. Department of State

Office of the Spokesman

(Luxembourg, Luxembourg)

February 9, 2005

PRESS AVAILABILITY

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice,

European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso

And European Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner

After Their Meeting

February 9, 2005

Berlaymount Building

Brussels, Belgium

PRESIDENT BARROSO: Good afternoon. Today I and Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner had the pleasure of receiving the United States Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, as part of the preparation for President Bush's visit to the European Union on February 22nd.

We had a very substantial dialogue based on shared values and very many common interests which underpin our relationship. I also invited Secretary Rice to a meeting with External Relations Commissioners to discuss how Europe can best work with the United States to tackle the global challenge we both face. The meeting counted with the participation of the Commissioner for External Relations, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, but also the Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, Enlargement, Development, and Justice, Freedom and Security as a true reflection of the diversity of fields that make up the trans-Atlantic relationship.

We agreed, too, that today, it is more vital than ever that Europe and United States, two longstanding allies sharing in essence the same values, work together to promote democracy, freedom, stability and prosperity throughout the world. The opportunities for making progress are before us, whether it be the Middle East, Afghanistan or the Balkans. We will succeed if we act together.

I'm also very much looking forward to the visit of President Bush here later this month to the heart of a united Europe made up of 25 member-states, 450 million citizens. This visit will symbolize the strong and enduring bonds of transatlantic cooperation that are stronger by far than any difference that may have existed between us. The President will find European Commission fully engaged in fulfilling its global responsibilities and ready to work with the United States to achieve our common goals.

More than ever, Europe needs United States, United States needs Europe. We must seize this opportunity with both hands. Today's international problems are too complex to go it alone and the joint attention of European and United States is needed immediately.

Yesterday, in the Middle East we saw real (inaudible) of hope for a new opening for peace between Israel and Palestinians. I strongly welcome the truce declared by Israeli Prime Minister Sharon and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. It is my hope that this will lead to a definitive end to years of violence in the Middle East and put us back on the path towards a lasting peace.

Let me now give the floor to Secretary Rice, and after that to Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner. Both have just returned from the Middle East and will surely have more to say on this and on other topics of our very constructive and friendly meeting.

Secretary Rice.

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you. I'm very pleased to be here at the European Commission. Thank you very much, President Barroso. Thank you very much, Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner.

We also had a chance to meet in Washington not very long ago to begin the preparations for the President's trip here to the European Union in February -- at the end of February -- and we look very much forward to that trip.

We did have very good discussions. We began by affirming our history, which is a history of shared values; which is a history that goes back to the end of World War II, when the United States was one of the strongest supporters of the idea of European integration and European unity, believing that if Europe could be unified around democratic values that the chances for war in what was, at that time, a war-torn Europe, would be diminished and, indeed, eliminated. And I think that this great European Commission and the European Union are a testament to the wisdom of that vision.

We look forward to continuing to work with a strong and united Europe. We talked about the importance of the United States and Europe taking on, now, the agenda of the common challenges before us: the importance of a Europe that is the -- one of the two pillars of a strong transatlantic relationship, NATO, where I was earlier, and the European Union; and the work that we have done together to, after the end of the Cold War, bring together a Europe that is whole, free and at peace. We still have a great deal of work to do in that regard, but this has been a remarkable period of the last 15-or-so years since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

We then talked about the many issues on the European...EU-U.S. agenda: the fact that the President will have an opportunity to talk about Afghanistan, about Iraq and about the broader Middle East. And we spent a good deal of time talking about the challenges and the opportunities in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

And Benita was saying that I think we were literally tracing each other's steps through the Middle East over the last day. And that just shows that the European Union and the United States are going to be very strong partners as we try and realize the opportunities before us in the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

We were remarking at how impressed we were with the fact that both Prime Minister Sharon and President Abbas seemed to understand the historic opportunity before them, that this is a moment for optimism in what has been a longstanding and long-simmering conflict, but recognizing that we have not been able and the parties have not been able in the past to seize opportunities that have been before them.

We have pledged to work to redouble our efforts this time to see if we can bring about the conditions that will allow this to succeed. That includes the work that we will do at the London conference, at which the EU will be represented at that conference to help the Palestinians build the institutions of democracy, build the security institutions that can be a reliable security force for the Palestinian Authority, and, of course, work on the reconstruction of the Palestinian territories, most especially, first, Gaza, but also the West Bank, and to do that in a way that helps to ensure a peaceful and effective withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza and the four settlements in the West Bank, as the Israelis have, in their historic decision, decided to do.

We look forward to a meeting of the Quartet very soon, most likely at the time of the London meetings, where we -- the EU, the United Nations and the Russians are the members of the Quartet -- so that we can look at the task ahead of us and begin the process of getting back onto the Road Map, which is, after all, the reliable guide to President Bush's vision, but really our common vision of two states living together in peace, Israel and a Palestinian state living side by side in peace.

Thank you very much.

COMMISSIONER FERRERO-WALDNER: May I say, good to see you here, Condi; good to see you here as the Secretary of State. After Washington, it's really a pleasure to have you here.

Like you, I'm just coming back from the Middle East, as you said, and there we did really see the most positive developments since many years. The EU and U.S. -- and I agree with you -- share a commitment to peace in the region based on the two-state solution. And as members of the Quartet, each of us will play our parts in making this goal a reality. Israel and Palestine have both -- we have to say that -- taken great risks for peace.

Now, what we have to do is to help them to stay the course and to see off those who resist change or who trust guns more than words. President Abbas needs to help to demonstrate that choosing peace brings tangible improvement in living conditions. On the other hand, the Israelis must make their contribution by allowing greater freedom of movement for the Palestinians and their goods. And the Palestinian leadership must rebuild confidence by consolidating the security measures already taken: destroying terminals, collecting illegal weapons, and so on.

So, let's be clear. Yesterday's declaration is only a beginning. It must lead us, as you very rightly said, to the longer process to implement the Road Map. We very much welcome the clear indications that United States intends to engage fully in this process. We, in the European Commission, will continue to offer also political and financial support, as we have done for over a decade. So, for instance, only for the year 2005, we have allocated 250 million euros to support the next steps in the peace process.

The EU and the U.S. share the objective of bringing stability and prosperity not only in Israel and Palestine, but also across the wider, broader Middle East. That is why we have done quite a lot to support the elections in Iraq and we'll continue also to support the political transition this year.

I know that journalists don't like to let facts get in the way of a good story, but the truth is EU-U.S. differences are routinely exaggerated and our common objectives stay on the plate. So I, for one, am looking forward to working as an effective partner of the United States and of you, dear, Condoleezza Rice. Thanks.

QUESTION: In the search of some facts for the elusive true story -- (laughter) -- maybe I could ask all of you about the EU arms embargo.

Madam Secretary, earlier you said that Europe has done some listening and has heard your concerns. Has it done enough so that the United States can now drop its objections to Europe's plans to lift the arms embargo? And on the European side, do you think that this dispute is now over?

SECRETARY RICE: This has been a period in which we have been able to make our views very clear about the arms embargo. We continue to believe that the human rights concerns need to be taken into consideration in any decision that was tied to Tiananmen and now would be reversed when, in fact, the elements of Tiananmen have not been resolved: the 2,000 prisoners.

Also, we have made clear our concerns about the military balance, the fact that there are still American forces in that region, and about the need to be concerned about the transfer of technology that might endanger in some way that very delicate military balance.

I do believe that the Europeans are listening to our concerns. As I understand it, a decision has not yet been taken, but we will continue to work with our European allies and we will see where we come out. All that we can ask is that the European Union is aware of our concerns, understands them fully and takes them fully into consideration in any decision that is made.

PRESIDENT BARROSO: Yes, we are continuing discussions with the United States on this issue. As you know, the European Union is moving to lift the arms embargo. We understand the United States sensitivities in this regard. The European Union cannot be accused of rushing into this.

We agree with the United States that none of us has any interest in substantially increasing the quantity or the quality of the weaponry in Southeast Asia. We are working to ensure that the code of conduct is designed to take account of this.

QUEST ON: It's about Ukraine. Madam Rice has just said in NATO that the things that were unimaginable 15 years ago one can imagine today and that the doors to NATO are open to all European democracies. I would like to ask you, Mr. Barroso, can you say the same about European Union? Are the doors open for Ukraine if it fulfills all the reforms necessary? And to Madam Rice and Madam Ferrero-Waldner, on this issue, can Europe and United States put a plan together to bring Ukraine closer to the Western world? Thank you.

PRESIDENT BARROSO: I'll start and afterwards I'll give the floor to both of you.

About Ukraine, I was receiving President Yushchenko. You know I supported him very much. Even before when he was in a position, I received him in another capacity. And we have a great, great admiration for his role and we fully support democratic Ukraine.

So I said, and I believe that the future of Ukraine is in Europe, but now the journey is not for European Union membership. We have the European Union's Neighbor policy. It's a very ambitious program, very ambitious program, that includes the liberalization, trade liberalization, assistance, political cooperation, harmonization of standards in all issues.

So there is a lot of work to do under this Neighbor policy of European Union, and I said that very clearly to President Yushchenko. So, I believe that it's the best way to ensure stabilization and consolidation of democratic institutions of Ukraine. And President Yushchenko and all democratic forces in Ukraine can count fully on our support.

I want to recall your attention, call your attention to the fact that we, during the crisis, we were very active. In fact, we were very much following the same line. The United States and European Union were very much following the same line in the message that we were giving to the Ukrainian authorities. And at that time, we adopted an action plan proposed by Benita Ferrero-Waldner, but we made the implementation of the action plan conditional to a true democracy in Ukraine, and after that there is a set of points made by Benita Ferrero-Waldner and Javier Solana about the role of the European Union in supporting Ukraine. So, this is the right framework to support fully the new democratic institutions of Ukraine.

SECRETARY RICE: We'll certainly be in close consultation, and already have. As President Barroso said, at the time that the Ukrainians were trying to resolve this difficult problem, of course, the EU had a representative there. We were in discussion with that EU representative, both through our ambassador on the ground, and indeed, at one point, through contact between Colin Powell and his colleagues.

We understand the steps that Ukraine needs to take to now support the democratic decision that the Ukrainian people have taken. The hard work is still ahead, although the hard decision for democracy was taken. And so I'm quite certain that the action plan that the EU has, the steps that we are designing in the United States Government, that we will want to work together so that we don't have duplication of effort but so that we take account of all of the needs of the Ukraine in institution-building, in economic reform.

I said earlier that the Ukrainians have in front of them an action plan concerning NATO and we need to take now practical steps so that Ukraine continues to move toward the European mainstream. Everybody admires the difficult decision that Ukraine has taken for a democratic future. Now, we have to make certain that that difficult decision that the Ukrainians took is going to be supported by institutions and by prosperity and progress so that the Ukrainian people and their new government can succeed.

COMMISSIONER FERRERO-WALDNER: Let me add that our decision to make the action plan was not to have Ukraine far away, but, on the contrary, to bring Ukraine closer to the European Union. And there is still a lot to be done on the partnership and cooperation agreement but also on the actual action plan plus the Ten Points Plan that we hope Ukraine and us will decide upon on the 21st of February, and that, of course, we will be working very closely with them. I prepare a visit to go to Ukraine in the next few days, and so I think we will have a lot to discuss and then to sustain this positive development.

MR. BOJCHER: Okay. We'll go to the front row, The Chicago Tribune. Cam.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, you came to Europe about a week ago with a message that was believed by the Bush Administration to be vitally important to be delivered here. You're now one country, about an hour away, from your last stop, and I know you're tired. Twenty-four hours from your speech at Sciences Po, do you feel like the message has gotten through? Was there a moment, maybe today or earlier, where you felt like the message was coming through?

And I'd like to ask President Barroso, we heard many times from Colin Powell many similar things about the transatlantic relationship. What's the difference now for Europe?

SECRETARY RICE: In fact, the interesting thing to me is that I actually think that the message was getting through before I got here and it was doing so because this is an alliance that understands that its future is one that is common. The times are different now than they were a year ago or two years ago when we did have our differences, not with everyone, but with a number of states, and when we didn't have, while we still had common interests and common values I don't think we had a common agenda for a while on what was really before us - at least in regards to Iraq. But of course we had continued to cooperate on a whole range of issues - Afghanistan, we were cooperating; the war on terrorism we were cooperating; everything from security issues like the Proliferation Security Initiative all the way out to issues of poverty alleviation and development and fighting the scourge of AIDS. So we were always cooperating, but we did have on Iraq not a common agenda.

We do now have a common agenda, and that is now that the war or the major military operations are behind us, now that we are facing the fact of an Iraqi people who are taking risks of their own for their democratic future, it's very clear what is ahead of us.

I do appreciate very much the openness and the responsiveness of each and every government that I have met here, of the Commission, of NATO. It's been a really great conversation. I feel very good about what we've done here and the conversation that we've had and the promise to continue that dialogue and conversation when President Bush comes. But I also feel good about the concrete steps that have been shown here. The concrete steps that both we and the European Union have made to demonstrate our support for the Palestinian/Israeli rapprochement, whether it is the 250 million euros that Benita just talked about, or the 350 million dollars the President talked about in his State of the Union, or the Security Coordinator, the fact that we're going to have a Quartet meeting. The concrete measures that people are taking on Iraq to support the political evolution in Iraq, and indeed some of the contributions that people talked about making when we were at NATO today.

So I do feel that it's been a good trip. I enjoyed being at Sciences Po. I believe very strongly that even when we have differences or disagreements that we have to be able to debate them and discuss them in an open and honest way. After all democracy itself, which is our most common value, is the process of debate and discussion and overcoming differences and so it shouldn't be surprising that democracies in their international relations have to do the same things. I think we've made considerable steps forward over the last, is it seven days, did you say? You've lost track, okay. The last six days. And I think we're going to continue that when President Bush comes.

PRESIDENT BARROSO: First of all let me say that Dr. Rice doesn't seem to me at all tired. She was very energetic, and I think that energy, that enthusiasm is very good for the future of our relations.

As Dr. Rice said, there may be some points on which we do not agree. That's quite obvious. We should not dramatize. We should not be saying that we agree on every issue. But I believe now there is a perception that we should work together. Let's look at history. As Dr. Rice said, from the beginning the United States was supporting European integration. The founders of the European project after the 2nd World War like Jean Monnet and others were enthusiasts of a close relationship with the United States and the great statesmen of the United States were supporting the first steps of European integration. Let's not forget, if I may say, like history that the United States itself is a creation were born out of the great tradition of English liberalism and the French Revolution. Those were the ideals of democracy, of justice, of solidarity, of freedom. Those were the ideals of the French Revolution and the ideals of the British liberalism that were at the beginning the genesis of the United States. So let's look at history.

But let's look also at what's going today. Very recently we had a catastrophe in Southeast Asia. I was there with the President of the Council, Prime Minister Junker, the predecessor of Dr. Rice was there, Colin Powell, representing the United States. Does anyone really think that the United States alone or Europe alone can meet the global challenges? It's impossible. We cannot. European Union, alone we cannot do it. And I believe the Americans alone they cannot do it. So let's work together, because the basic values are the same.

So that is the very good message that Dr. Rice has been conveying and that we fully support. And that's the message I hope that when President Bush comes we will reinforce.

QUESTION: Ms. Rice, you say and many - all - of the American officials say that Europe and the United States should now put behind them their divisions on Iraq. That's very good. But there are still very profound divisions on other topics such as China and Iran. So what is the difference? Europe and the United States were divided on Iraq, now they are divided on China and Iran. Where is this new chapter you talked about in Paris? Or to put it differently, what lessons did you take, if any, from the Iraqi crisis as far as a transatlantic relationship is concerned?

SECRETARY RICE: I take the point that there were differences in the past and there may be differences in the future, but I have to say I don't think we have a difference on China. I think we both - the United States and Europe - want to see the transition that is going on in China, which is a remarkable transition, a transition that is proceeding with incredible pace in terms of its economic growth. We want to see a China that as it rises as an influence and a factor in international politics rises as a positive factor in international politics and in the international economy. It is why, for instance, we were both supportive of Chinese accession to the WTO, because we recognized that this

enormous economy had to be integrated into the international economy in a rules-based way, and the European Union has been clear in its messages to China that China must live up to the obligations that it undertook at accession including, for instance, on intellectual property rights.

We are not in disagreement about China that China should try much, much harder to take the lesson that has been there for so many, that economic liberalization and political liberalization need to go hand in hand. That is why human rights is a concern not just for the United States but for the European Union. Religious freedom is a concern not just for the United States but for the European Union.

So on the big issues about China the United States and the European Union could not be clearer in our agreement about where this is going. We've both engaged China, we have both worked with China, we both have good relations with China.

If there is an issue about the EU arms embargo with China, it too is understood in the context of a strategy that tries to get to a place where China is a positive influence in international politics.

As to Iran, we have unity of purpose about Iran where there are concerns worldwide - and here it's not just the United States and the EU but many others in the IAEA that Iran's efforts to, under cover of civilian nuclear power, build components that could be used for the development of nuclear weapon, that that is in contravention of Iran's obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

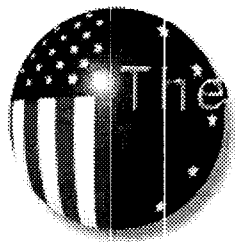
We have complete agreement that the funding and support of terrorism, particularly at a time when the Israelis and the Palestinians are trying to come to some rapprochement is not acceptable from any state, whether it be Iran or Syria. We all fight against these terrorist rejectionist groups. We are concerned about the human rights situation in Iran.

So again, I think it's easy to say, well you disagree on some element here or there, but when it comes to the issues that really matter, what is going to be the future of a fast-growing influential China in the international community of states? What are we going to do about the dangers that the Iranian regime poses in not living up to its international obligations? We have unity of purpose. We have unity of message. And we are working to find the right means, the right methods to deal with both of those quite fundamental situations.

Thank you.

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2005-02-10

RICE DESCRIBES EU ARMS EMBARGO DISCUSSION AS "FRUITFUL"

By Jeffrey Thomas
Washington File Staff Writer

As Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice visited eight European capitals in early February, one of the major topics at each stop was the European Union's pledge during a December summit meeting with China to lift the arms embargo it imposed June 27, 1989, in response to the Chinese government's brutal repression of protestors calling for democratic and political reform.

In adopting the initial arms embargo, the European Council "condemned the brutal repression taking place in China" and "solemnly requested the Chinese authorities to put an end to the repressive actions against those who legitimately claim their democratic rights."

While the protests were widespread, the most infamous repression took place June 3-4 at Tiananmen Square, where the Chinese army is believed to have killed or injured hundreds of unarmed protestors. To date, no one has been held accountable for the large number of deaths. Some protestors are still imprisoned, sentenced on the basis of trials that did not meet international standards.

The United States responded to the 1989 Tiananmen massacre in tandem with the European Union, imposing restrictions on arms sales to China.

Before embarking on her first trip as secretary of state, Rice said in a February 1 interview with AFP and Reuters that lifting the arms embargo against China would "send the wrong signal about human rights."

In terms of China's current human rights situation, the serious human rights abuses that sparked the U.S. and EU embargoes continue, the United States believes. State Department Spokesman Richard Boucher said recently, "We have not seen any change; in fact, we've seen some negative developments that lead us to think it's not the right time to withdraw the embargo."

The United States welcomes the developing partnership between the European Union (EU) and China, according to Rice. But while the United States supports and encourages European efforts to enhance these ties, it does not believe that lifting the embargo imposed in 1989 contributes to this goal.

Nor is lifting the China arms embargo in Europe's strategic interests, in the U.S. view. No current mechanisms exist to prevent China from transferring technology and lethal weaponry to other, less stable regions of the world, or to use it for the purposes of internal repression.

And ending the EU embargo would also have a negative impact on Asian regional stability, Rice has said at every opportunity.

The U.S. Congress has repeatedly expressed concern about this issue, and a recent House of Representatives version of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) contained provisions that would preclude the Department of Defense from procuring defense articles or services from any "foreign person" who transfers defense items to China.

On February 2, the House by a vote of 411-3 passed a non-binding resolution urging the European Union to maintain its arms embargo on China and to close gaps in the current embargo, "in the national export control systems of EU member states, and in the EU's Code of Conduct on Arms Exports in order to prevent any future sale of arms or related technology to China."

European advocates of ending the embargo have pointed out that without the embargo, there could be some limits on sales of arms to China through the EU Code of Conduct.

But the EU Code of Conduct has not been sufficient and is not legally binding, according to U.S. officials, who say it has not deterred the sales of millions of euros of dangerous technology thus far.

The United States has said it would welcome EU efforts to improve the minimal export control standards contained in the Code of Conduct provided such improvements are made in a manner that continues to signal to China that human rights and relations with its neighbors do

matter.

Throughout her trip, Rice has described the European allies as "open to our concerns."

On February 4 after meeting with British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw in London, Rice said she felt Europeans are listening, and "we are in a situation in which we are working to understand each other better and to see how we can move forward."

On February 9 in Brussels after a NATO meeting, Rice said an "open discussion" with the allies continued.

"I really have to underscore how much the Europeans have tried to take account of our concerns, how good our discussions have been about that," said Rice, adding: "I do not know where this will all come out, but I do hope that everyone understands, and I think by now everyone does understand, that the United States has very specific concerns about the lifting of the embargo."

She added, "We're having fruitful discussions with our European colleagues and I hope that they will come out in a way that is fruitful for both sides."

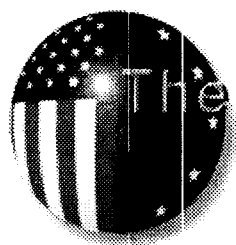
Briefing the press after meeting in Brussels February 9 with European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso and European Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Rice said both the United States and the EU "want to see a China that ... rises as a positive factor in international politics and in the international economy."

She added, "If there is an issue about the EU arms embargo with China, it too is understood in the context of a strategy that tries to get to a place where China is a positive influence in international politics."

"As I understand it, a decision has not yet been taken, but we will continue to work with our European allies and we will see where we come out," Rice said. "All that we can ask is that the European Union is aware of our concerns, understands them fully and takes them fully into consideration in any decision that is made."

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2005-02-10

U.S., EUROPE LOOKING BEYOND PAST DISAGREEMENTS, RICE SAYS

When President Bush visits Europe later in February, he "will find a very constructive, warm atmosphere, an atmosphere in which everyone is ready to look well beyond any disagreements that we may have had in the past to our common future," U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said during a joint press conference in Luxembourg City February 10 with top European Union (EU) officials.

The United States and Europe have "a lot of work to do," Rice added in one of her final public appearances in a 10-day trip to Europe and the Middle East. "Our common agenda is one that is based on values," she said. "It is one that looks for the spread of liberty and freedom as an antidote to ideologies of hatred and hopelessness that dominate still too much of the world."

Echoing Rice, EU Commissioner for External Affairs Benita Ferraro-Waldner said it is "more vital than ever that the EU and the U.S. work together in order to promote freedom, democracy, stability and prosperity throughout the world. And we have been longstanding partners and allies who share, indeed, the same values and also the same foreign policy goals."

EU High Commissioner Javier Solana said Rice's visit – her first as secretary of state – was "very successful ... from the point of view of the atmosphere that has been created between the European Union and the United States" as well as in preparing for the Bush European visit.

Solana added that "between the Europeans and the Americans probably what we have to do is to talk less about ourselves, and to talk more about what we can do together."

Jean Asselborn, the foreign minister of Luxembourg – which currently holds the EU presidency – said their discussions with Rice touched on positive developments – "glimmers of hope" – in relations between the Israelis and the Palestinians, and in Iraq. Among the other issues they discussed were Russia, Iran, and the possible lifting of the EU arms embargo on China, he said.

On the last issue, Asselborn said that their discussion on the arms embargo "allowed us to understand each others' point of view better" and that there would be additional talks.

Rice said of their discussions about Russia: "We are in complete agreement that there are trends in Russia that need to be watched, that we are concerned that Russia's isolation would be a terrible thing for the international community, and that we intend to continue to work with our Russian colleagues for a better future."

Questions from reporters focused on Iran and North Korea.

"The challenge of Iran is to deal with internal and external developments that are moving in a direction that are in fact out of step with where the rest of the region is going," Rice said, adding "the development of a nuclear weapon in contravention of Iran's international obligations would not be a positive development."

Also, Iran's "support for terrorist organizations, and particularly, the rejectionist organizations is certainly out of step with where everybody else wants to be in the Middle East, which is giving the Israelis and the Palestinians a chance to make a permanent peace," she said.

Rice called North Korea's announcement that it has nuclear weapons and plans to pull out of the Six-Party Talks "an unfortunate move, most especially probably for the people of North Korea, because it only deepens the North Korean isolation from the rest of the international community."

She added that the Six-Party Talks "have given to the North Koreans an opportunity to find a different path than they're on with the international community. It has given to the North Koreans an alternative to continued isolation."

Furthermore, "the North Koreans have been told by the president of the United States himself that the United States has no intention to attack or invade North Korea," Rice said.

Following is the transcript of the press availability:

U.S. Department of State
Office of the Spokesman
February 10, 2005

PRESS AVAILABILITY

EUROPEAN UNION PRESIDENT JEAN ASSELBORN [LUXEMBOURG FOREIGN MINISTER],
EUROPEAN UNION HIGH REPRESENTATIVE AND SECRETARY GENERAL JAVIER SOLANA,
EUROPEAN UNION EXTERNAL RELATIONS COMMISSIONER BENITA FERRERO-WALDNER,
AND SECRETARY OF STATE CONDOLEEZZA RICE

February 10, 2005
Luxembourg City, Luxembourg

PRESIDENT ASSELBORN: (Via interpreter) This has been an important day for Luxembourg and for the European Union. Luxembourg has the presidency of the Council. We had the pleasure and privilege of hosting Ms. Rice's visit. This is her last stop of a trip to ten countries in the last few days. Dr. Rice and I enjoyed a pleasant atmosphere during our meeting today so this tour has come to a very satisfactory end.

During our meeting today we touched on some positive developments. We're seeing events in Israel, in Palestine, where there are glimmers of hope. There are glimmers of hope in Iraq as well. There are areas we must cooperate, cooperate between the U.S. and the European Union. We talked about trends in a whole set of countries. We talked about neighboring countries of Russia, we talked about Iran, we talked about the arms embargo vis-à-vis China.

During all the meetings we talked about international cooperation in many dimensions, including the UN crisis prevention/crisis management. And today we are very interested in forging stronger links across the Atlantic because this will help improve stability and well-being for people in the world.

Issues touched upon today, first and foremost the Middle East peace process and the encouraging signals received from the Sharm-El-Sheik summit. It is essential that the EU and the U.S. continue to press for the implementation of the roadmap and support both parties in their efforts towards peace.

The good and longstanding EU-U.S. cooperation in the Western Balkans, which will continue to be crucial, really crucial in 2005, especially with regard to Kosovo, as you know; our fruitful cooperation with regard to the Ukraine, which shall be an example for the future of good EU-U.S. coordination; the same thing I would tell you about Iran.

We also exchanged views on Russia and I briefed my American and also my European colleagues about the visit I paid to [Russian] Foreign Minister Lavrov yesterday in Moscow.

We furthermore had the possibility to exchange views on issues like I told you, China arm embargo, where compared our respective analyses. I think I can say our discussion allowed us to understand each others' point of view better and that we continue our talks in the future.

Dr Rice has also come to Luxembourg to prepare with EU colleagues for the event, one big event really in the Luxembourg presidency, the visit of the American President, Mr. Bush, in Brussels, the 22nd of February. Today we exchanged views on this highly symbolic visit of the President to the European institutions at the very beginning of his second mandate.

I can safely assure you that today the transatlantic relationships which has known -- we know it all -- more difficult times, months and years ago, is today very strong and that the European Union is committed to working with our American partners in a very concrete way to address the challenges of this world.

After the President's visit to Brussels this month, the EU-U.S. summit will be the next very important moment in the transatlantic dialogue and this will be also under Luxembourg presidency.

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you very much, and thank you Foreign Minister Asselborn for hosting this meeting. I look forward to working closely with you over the next months, and I am very confident and the President is very confident that the presidency under Luxembourg will be very fruitful for U.S.-European relations, for our common agenda, and we look very much forward to continuing this dialogue with the President's trip here at the -- toward the end of the month.

In fact, I just want to note that after the time here in Europe and culminating in this trip here to the European Union presidency, that I believe the President will find a very constructive, warm atmosphere, an atmosphere in which everyone is ready to look well beyond any disagreements that we may have had in the past to our common future, because we have a lot of work to do. And that's what we did

today. We talked about the work that we have to do.

We talked extensively about the Balkans, the need to continue to promote peace and stability and democracy in the Balkans. We talked about the need to continue to work with all parties in the Balkans so that the Balkans can be drawn into the European mainstream. Those were very good discussions. We know that we have some important reviews coming up in the spring and we committed ourselves to preparing for those in a cooperative way so that we have a common position going forward. We're in complete agreement about what needs to be done and we expect to have extensive consultation as we go forward.

We also talked about what we can do to help the people of Ukraine, who are now taking control of their own democratic future under the presidency of Mr. Yushchenko. I congratulate very much the European Union on the work that they have done on an action plan for Ukraine that has been there for a while and can now be taken up in, I think, a very active way.

And so as not to have duplication, but so that our efforts are complementary, we also talked about the need at the expert level to have discussions about how we move forward on respective action plans.

And we did have very good discussions about Russia, our desire to see Russia fully integrated into the European-Russian dialogue and the U.S.-Russian dialogue, which will, of course, make a very big step when President Putin and President Bush meet during the President's trip here, when they meet in Slovakia.

We are in complete agreement that there are trends in Russia that need to be watched, that we are concerned that Russia's isolation would be a terrible thing for the international community, and that we intend to continue to work with our Russian colleagues for a better future.

We did continue our dialogue on the Middle East peace, on Iraq, on Iran, and on a number of other issues.

But let me just say, in closing, that the United States has always been -- or the founders of the transatlantic relationship, from the point of view of the United States, have always been, were always, very strong supporters of European integration and European unity. They believed that a unified Europe could be one in which war was no longer thinkable, that it would be the best possibility for prosperity and for the strengthening of democracy in Europe after the horrors of the two World Wars.

They believed, too, that there could be a strong relationship between that united Europe and the United States in a transatlantic relationship and believed that two pillars existed to that transatlantic relationship: European Union and NATO.

I believe that the wisdom of that view is now in full view, because we have had very fruitful meetings on how to move our common agenda forward. And our common agenda is one that is based on values. It is one that looks for the spread of liberty and freedom as an antidote to ideologies of hatred and hopelessness that dominate still too much of the world.

So I want to thank my colleagues, you, Foreign Minister, and also my colleague, Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, and my good friend, Javier Solana, the High Commissioner. I thank you very much for these wonderful meetings and I look forward to the President's trip here to continue our dialogue.

HIGH REPRESENTATIVE SOLANA: Thank you very much. I will be very brief because most of the issues that we have discussed today have been touched upon by the previous speakers.

I would like to say that today is the end of, to my mind, a very important trip of the new Secretary of State of the United States, an old friend, Condoleezza Rice. I can tell that I have no doubt that she has deepened the friendship with the old friends that she had, and I am sure that she has made very many new friends in Europe.

At the end of the trip, I think that it has been a very successful trip from all points of view, from the point of view of the atmosphere that has been created between the European Union and the United States, and also from the substantive discussion that we have had in order to prepare well the visit of the President that will take place in the coming days.

At the end of the trip, I would like to say that between the Europeans and the Americans probably what we have to do is to talk less about ourselves, and to talk more about what we can do together. So, to talk more between ourselves on how to solve the problems which are out there, and that we should be able to resolve better if we work together. This, to my mind, is the most important conclusion of the trip: It is more important not so much to talk about ourselves -- and that's also for you -- but to talk about what we can do together to solve the problems which are out there.

The agenda is very broad; it is well known by everybody. And we are determined to try to do the utmost in the results-oriented approach to solve the problems so that the world, by our cooperation, will be a better world. And that is what we are going to do. We are going to do it with the best of our intention. Sometimes we may have differences, but I am sure that the differences will be overcome by the goodwill that have been proven really to a very deep manner in this long trip of the Secretary of State in which, as I said, she has made many good friends and she has deepened the friendships she has had already to many people in Europe.

COMMISSIONER FERRERO-WALDNER: Thank you. I can also confirm that not only was the atmosphere excellent yesterday and today,

but also we had very substantive discussions and, of course, we will continue those discussions in the future and the best moment will, of course, be when President Bush comes over very soon.

Today I think it's indeed more vital than ever that the EU and the U.S. work together in order to promote freedom, democracy, stability and prosperity throughout the world. And we have been longstanding partners and allies who share, indeed, the same values and also the same foreign policy goals.

Let me just make a few examples where I think we have already used the opportunities for progress, or where we will have to use the opportunities for progress in the future. We have already done so very well in Afghanistan, for instance, in the West Balkans, that we have spoken about extensively, but also today, again, about the Middle East, the broader Middle East, and also Iraq.

On the Middle East, we have been a longstanding player in the search for peace, the biggest donor, and it is very important that we work together and each of us plays its part in the Quartet. And, of course, we also have been discussing what we can do at the London conference in order to promote this very difficult peace.

Broader Middle East: there again, we have synergies to build on because we have had the Barcelona process, and there already we have started to do quite a lot, but a lot more has to be done. And I think questions like democracy, education, rule of law, good governance, all that will come up again from the forum, from Rabat, now to Cairo, there is the next path to go.

On Iraq, we have the same goals. We want a democratic Iraq, a stable Iraq, and therefore we have also supported the elections. And therefore we in the European Union have done a lot also to support the political transition process; 200 million have been given by us very recently for the year 2005, and 320 million even last year. So there is a lot we can do for the people, but also for the transition.

On the whole, wherever we work together, I think we are better, and this is what we should aim for in the future. Thank you.

QUESTION: Madame Secretary, I'm Daniell Font, Tageblatt newspaper, Luxembourg

My question is the following: I listened to you, to your speeches in Paris and in Brussels, and I would need a furthermore explanation. First, could you tell me why nuclear bomb is more dangerous in Iran, under the Islamic dictatorship of Iran, than under the Islamists of Pakistan, and on the other side, freedom is urgent everywhere in the world. But why is freedom more urgent in Iraq and in Syria, than in Pakistan, in Afghanistan, in Saudi Arabia, in Yemen and in Sudan?

Thank you.

SECRETARY RICE: Thank you very much. The challenge of Iran is to deal with internal and external developments that are moving in a direction that are in fact out of step with where the rest of the region is going. It is extremely important to have principles to which we are appealing, and we have talked about the need for freedom and democracy. It is important also to recognize that states are moving at different speeds, that the trends are extremely important. I do not think there is anyone who can argue that the trends in Iran are going in the right direction.

I do think that there are trends in Pakistan, if one looks at where Pakistan was three-and-a-half years ago, that those trends are moving Pakistan away from extremism, toward a policy that recognizes, as President Musharraf himself said after the bombing of the Indian parliament -- or the attack on the Indian parliament, a policy that says that extremism and modernization in Pakistan cannot exist side by side, a policy that has been active in trying to reform the educational institutions of Pakistan, a policy that fights terrorism in places in Pakistan, where the Pakistani armed forces had never fought, like in the frontier areas, policies that have lead to a very delicate and fragile but nonetheless a movement toward a potential rapprochement with India, the world's largest democracy, of course, and trends that we will continue to press toward eventually elections and a full democratic process in Pakistan.

We've been very clear with the Pakistanis that that's our expectation. But I do have to say that if you look at where Pakistan started three-and-a-half years ago, and you look at where Pakistan is now, the trends are moving in the right direction. That is important.

Some of the other places that you mentioned, of course, the President has said that we expect our friends to understand the need for reform and political liberalization. I would note that Crown Prince Abdullah has in Saudi Arabia begun some reforms. There were, after all, municipal elections today. We, of course, look forward to the day when all Saudis can participate in that.

But this is a step forward in Saudi Arabia, and one can go throughout the region and look at positive trends and positive developments in response to a new political conversation that is going on in the region.

But returning to Iran, it is, of course, the internal politics are not moving in a positive direction. I don't think that anyone can say that the recent elections in Iran and the ones that are to come are a positive direction, and one can also say that the development of a nuclear weapon in contravention of Iran's international obligations would not be a positive development. And given our long discussions on the Middle East peace today, that support for terrorist organizations, and particularly, the rejectionist organizations is certainly out of step with where everybody else wants to be in the Middle East, which is giving the Israelis and the Palestinians a chance to make a permanent peace.

PRESIDENT ASSELBORN: Just two words. I think the ideal world would be a world without nuclear weapons. And the second point is where the risk exists that nuclear weapons can be developed, we have to intervene in the European Union and I think also in other parts of the world. We, in the European Union, want to avoid that Iran can have a nuclear bomb. That's dangerous for the region, very dangerous for the region, and we negotiate with Iran and to avoid this development and it is very positive that from the American side, there is a cooperation between the European Union and the United States, and we hope that we can avoid this very bad and very negative evolution.

QUESTION: Peter Mackler, Agence France Press.

We've all heard the news, Madame Secretary, today from North Korea about a nuclear bomb and the attacks on the United States. What is the United States concretely doing right now to respond to these remarks? And on a broader level, Madame Secretary, is that we've been hearing a lot about the negotiations with Iran and with North Korea that have been dragging on without any visible signs of progress, certainly not definitive progress. Is this announcement from Pyongyang a wakeup call about the urgency? And how much time do we have before we have to take concrete action to deal with these problems there? And if military action is not the answer, then what are the concrete actions?

SECRETARY RICE: Well, I have now seen the North Korean statement and will analyze it, and obviously we will consult with our partners. But this is an unfortunate move, most especially probably for the people of North Korea, because it only deepens the North Korean isolation from the rest of the international community. It's very clear that all responsible members of the international community, and most especially North Korea's neighbors, support the six-party framework as a way to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue.

The six-party talks have given to the North Koreans an opportunity to find a different path than they're on with the international community. It has given to the North Koreans an alternative to continued isolation. The North Koreans have been told by the president of the United States himself that the United States has no intention to attack or invade North Korea. The North Koreans have been told that they can have security assurances on a multilateral basis. Those security assurances will of course include the United States, if they are prepared to take a definitive decision to dismantle their nuclear weapons programs and to do so in a way that is verifiable. So there is a path ahead for the North Koreans that would put them into a more reasonable relationship with the rest of the world.

Now the fact is that we have for some time taken account of the capacity of the North Koreans to perhaps have a few nuclear weapons. There is no definitive -- you know, I can't go into the intelligence here -- but there is no definitive answer to how many, but this has been since the mid-90s that the United States has assumed that the North Koreans could make such steps. But the fact of the matter is that the world has given them a way out and they should take that way out.

We would hope that there will be six-party talks again, and six-party talks soon, so that we can resolve this issue. We are confident that the United States, with our alliance with the Republic of Korea, with the South Koreans, with our deterrent capability on the Korean Peninsula, that, of course, the United States and its allies can deal with any potential threat from North Korea, and North Korea I think understands that.

But we are trying to give the North Koreans a different path. The Chinese, the Russians, the South Koreans, the Japanese are trying to give the North Koreans a different path. And I know that we have support from the rest of the international community in saying to the North Koreans that they ought to take what is before them, a path to a more reasonable relationship, a path to a better life for their people, a path to security assurances from their neighbors, including from the United States, and very clear statements from the President of the United States that there is no intention to invade or attack North Korea.

QUESTION: Madame Secretary, just follow up on that point.

SECRETARY RICE: Let him follow this up.

QUESTION: Thank you very much. Specifically, on that point, you are saying that stressing for North Korea that they can have security assurances from the United States, but all along what we've heard is that you're -- you go out of your way to avoid taking the military option off the table for Iran. Isn't the lesson in what you are sending the different messages, isn't the lesson for Iran: Get yourself a nuclear bomb and you can have U.S. security assurances?

SECRETARY RICE: It's very clear to the North Koreans that no such security assurances would be forthcoming if they were not prepared to take a decision to dismantle their nuclear weapons in a -- the nuclear weapons in their programs -- in a verifiable and irreversible way.

As I understand the discussions between the EU-3 and the Iranians, who, by the way, are at a considerably earlier stage here, that the message to the Iranians here is: you can have a different path with the international community if you are prepared not to go the route of nuclear weapon and to dismantle whatever activities might be devoted to building a nuclear weapon under cover of civilian nuclear power.

So the message is the same. The international community believes that the creation here of nuclear weapons programs cannot be acceptable. In both the six-party talks and in what the international community -- and it's not just what the EU-3 is doing, it is what the IAEA is doing and so forth -- there is a very clear message: give up these aspirations for nuclear weapons and, you know, life can be different.

I do have to say that the Libyans, of course, understood this message. They gave up their weapons of mass destruction programs, and they are now on a very good course toward better relations with the world. There are many issues still with Libya but they are on a better

course.

QUESTION: Madame Secretary, do you have any understanding of what the North Korean intentions may be? Do you think that the decision to suspend the participation in the six-party talk might be bluster, might be a bargaining technique? What is your analysis having been a student of this for so long and having watched their behaviors?

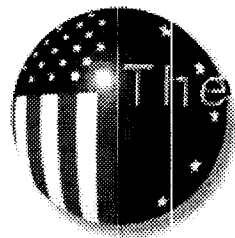
SECRETARY RICE: Well I am not sure that anyone gets very far by trying to second guess the motivations of the North Korean regime. The fact is that we will have to consult with our allies and consult with those who perhaps have closer contacts with the North Koreans than we do. But I would hope the North Koreans, when they step back and look at the prospect of greater isolation, not just from the United States, but greater isolation from the other members of the six-party talks, as well, will reconsider their decision.

One of the reasons that it is important that this is a six-party framework in which South Korea, China, Russia, and Japan, along with the United States are involved, is that unlike the bilateral discussion with the North Koreans, North Korean decisions to further isolate itself and to refuse to take the path that is before them is not just something that they are saying to the United States. They're also saying that -- and it should be very clear -- they're saying this also to China, Japan, Russia, and South Korea. And so I hope that when they think about that prospect, they will reconsider and then we can get back on the path of the six-party talks.

MODERATOR: Thank you very much. The time is up for questions. Thank you very much.

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2005-02-11

U.S.-EUROPEAN RELATIONS IN VERY CONSTRUCTIVE PERIOD, SAYS RICE

U.S.-European relations are in "a very constructive period," Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice told European media in a press conference at the end of her weeklong trip to Europe and the Middle East.

She said both the United States and Europe are pledged to work hard on a common agenda, about which President Bush will continue the dialogue during his February 21-25 visit to Europe.

"We all have the same elements to that common agenda," Rice said February 10 in Luxembourg. "We know that we need to fight terrorism, but we need to do much more, that we need to have an antidote to the ideology of hatred that has produced the extremism, and that's why it's important to push forward on reform in the Middle East, in concert and in partnership with those who want a different kind of Middle East."

"We have talked about the need for seizing the opportunities, perhaps, to move the Israeli-Palestinian issue forward; the Balkans was on the agenda; Afghanistan was on the agenda; support for a stable and democratic Iraq was on the agenda."

"We will do everything we can to meet the challenges and fully seize the opportunities before us," she said.

Rice said she agreed with the recent comment by Javier Solana, the European Union's (EU's) high representative for the common foreign and security policy, that enough time has been spent "analyzing the transatlantic relationship In fact we don't need to talk about ourselves, we need to talk about what we are going to do together."

"That's the very strong message" Rice said she heard in her visits to the United Kingdom, Germany, Poland, Turkey, Italy, France, Belgium and Luxembourg.

During the press conference, questions concerning Iraq, Iran and North Korea figured most prominently, but the secretary was also asked about the EU arms embargo on China and about Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Cyprus and Bush's second term.

Regarding past disagreement between the United States and some European countries over Iraq, she said "the differences we had are behind us because we're in a new phase."

"We now have agreed," she said, to support the democratic evolution of Iraq by training Iraqi security forces, creating better conditions for the Iraqi people through reconstruction and economic assistance, and helping build the capacity of the new Iraqi state.

She added that the American people will never forget "the contributions and the sacrifices" of those countries that joined the coalition to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime. The United States "will continue to support our coalition partners who are now part of the multinational force," she said. "But in general this is a time to turn the page and to move on."

Asked about the EU arms embargo on China, Rice described discussions with her colleagues as open and straightforward and said they heard U.S. concerns about the lifting of the embargo. "I don't know what the future holds. I know that the final decision has not yet been taken," she said.

She took issue with the notion that the United States and Europe disagree about China. "We both agree that we want to help to integrate China into the international community so that it's a positive force, not a negative force in international politics," she said.

On the subject of Iran, Rice refused to be drawn into responding to questions she characterized as Iranian attempts to change the subject. "Let's do first things first: let's get the Iranians to accept that they have an obligation to the international community not to develop nuclear weapons under cover of civilian nuclear power."

"The nuclear issue is urgent," she said, and it should be seen in the context of Iran's support for terrorism, opposition to Israeli-Palestinian peace, and oppression of its own people.

Asked about President Bush's upcoming meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Slovakia, Rice said it will be yet another opportunity "for them to affirm that we have a productive and constructive relationship."

The fact that "here are concerns in both Europe and the United States about freedom of the press and rule of law in Russia "doesn't mean we can't have productive relations" with that country, Rice said.

"But the U.S.-Russian relationship, and I think the EU-Russian relationship, are both based on a premise that the deepening of those relationships would be on the basis of common values," she said.

Concerning North Korea, Rice defended the U.S. insistence that the forum for negotiations be the Six-Party Talks, which include South Korea, Japan, China and Russia, as well as North Korea and the United States. Counseling patience, she said, "What we've achieved in the six-party talks is a united position on the need for a nuclear free Korean peninsula."

"Because this is a multilateral forum, when the North Koreans walk out or refuse to go back, that is not just the United States with which they are dealing, it's the rest of their neighborhood, as well. And that's a very important difference," she said.

Rice said she hopes North Korea will reconsider its refusal to return to the Six-Party Talks. She noted that the North Koreans have been told that security assurances are available to them on a multilateral basis, with the United States of course party to those assurances.

"We still believe that this [North Korea's nuclear program] is something that will be resolved diplomatically," she said.

Regarding Ukraine and Georgia, Rice said the United States very much wants them, as well as other countries, "to be a part of the European mainstream."

At present, she said, "we need to concentrate on the practical work before us, not the issue of membership [in NATO], though of course we have always said that NATO has to remain open to all European democracies."

Invited by her final questioner to describe how she expects President Bush's second term to be different from his first, Rice said she sees the next four years as a time of using diplomacy and relationships "to deliver on the promise of an Afghanistan and an Iraq that are both pillars of stability and pillars of liberty in the broader Middle East" and to find "a lasting two-state resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict."

In addition to Europe, Rice also visited Israel and the West Bank.

Following is the State Department transcript:

U.S. Department of State
Office of the Spokesman
February 11, 2005

INTERVIEW WITH EUROPEAN MEDIA IN LUXEMBOURG

Secretary Condoleezza Rice
February 10, 2005
Luxembourg City, Luxembourg

SECRETARY RICE: Well, thank you very much for joining me. I will not take too much time for comments, I have been talking a lot since I have been here. So I will take your questions. Just let me say that I think we are very much looking forward to the president's trip here. After my experience here over the last several days, I believe fully that he will receive a warm welcome and that we are in a very constructive period in U.S.-European relations in which we understand our common agenda ahead of us, in which we are pledged to work very hard on that common agenda, in which we have both great opportunities and great challenges, but opportunity and challenge tend to come together in one package. And we will do everything we can to meet the challenges and fully seize the opportunities before us. It has been a broad agenda on the Middle East, on Europe, on Ukraine, the situation in Balkans. We have had discussions on Iran, we have had discussions about Afghanistan and Iraq. It has been really a very good and broad agenda. And the president is going to have a very good opportunity to continue that dialogue.

We have, I believe, turned to a new chapter that is necessitated by new conditions, conditions that are created by the potential for forward movement in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Potential that is there because of what the Iraqi people did in going out in large number in an election and facing down the terror. And opportunities that are afforded to us to try and move forward on an agenda of the promotion and support for liberty and freedom abroad. Thank you, and with that I will be happy to answer questions.

QUESTION: Perhaps Madam Secretary I could ask you to elaborate a little bit on your opening statement in I think, what a lot of us are interested in, is the sort of message that you are taking back to the president. And I suppose the question is: having listened to all of these

European and indeed Israeli and Palestinian leaders, how much have you absorbed and how much might we expect American policy over the coming months to be shaped by some of the things you heard? Have you changed your mind? What struck you in particular about some of the things you have heard?

SECRETARY RICE: Well, I will certainly go back, and we will have broad discussions within the administration about what we have heard here. The most powerful message that I have heard here is that there is a strong desire to move forward on a common agenda, and that common agenda is actually very well understood. We all have the same elements to that common agenda. We know that we need to fight terrorism, but we need to do much more, that we need to have an antidote to the ideology of hatred that has produced the extremism, and that's why it's important to push forward on reform in the Middle East, in concert and in partnership with those who want a different kind of Middle East. We have talked about the need for seizing the opportunities, perhaps, to move the Israeli-Palestinian issue forward; the Balkans was on the agenda; Afghanistan was on the agenda; support for a stable and democratic Iraq was on the agenda.

I noticed that Javier Solana said at the press conference something, with which I agree completely, which is that there has been an awful lot of analyzing of the transatlantic relationship, if you will, kind of putting it on the couch and saying: is it in good shape today, or is it in bad shape today, or how is the transatlantic relationship doing? And in fact we don't need to talk about ourselves, we need to talk about what we are going to do together. And that's the very strong message that I got here.

I also remember -- in my own remarks in Paris -- saying that America stands ready to work with Europe, and Europe needs to stand ready to work with America, and there was a very strong message that that is the case. So, of course, we will go back and take into consideration what we heard here, any issues that people have raised, ideas about how to move the agenda forward, that this has been fruitful in a very broad dialogue that has come up and a lot of good ideas about how we move forward.

QUESTION: Do you think that the time of the coalition of willing in this case is over because you have everybody aboard?

SECRETARY RICE: Well as to Iraq, I do believe that the differences we had are behind us because we're in a new phase in Iraq. And the Iraqi people took on a challenge, and they passed that test when they went out in large numbers and voted, despite the threats of Abu al Zarqawi and his ilk, who claimed to do everything from behead them to blow them up, all kinds of things. And they took on that challenge, and they voted in large numbers, and now they have a chance to build a united and democratic Iraq.

We now have agreed that we must take up the challenge that they have given to us, which is to support their democratic evolution to be there for Iraq in terms of training of their security forces so that they can take up their own security. In terms of creating better conditions for the Iraqi people through reconstruction and economic assistance. And of course also through helping with capacity building for the construction of the new Iraqi state. So, all of these activities were completely agreed.

Now it has to be understood that those who participated in the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime are the core of the coalition that form the core, in turn, of the multinational force. They have taken on special responsibilities, and that will never be forgotten by the American people. As we move to a new chapter we will never forget the contributions and the sacrifices of the British and the Poles and the Australians and the Romanians and the Bulgarians and others who lost people in this great cause. And in fact you know I was just in Italy, I had a chance to say to, in effect, the families of the fallen that what happened on that Sunday is in fact because people were willing to sacrifice, just as people sacrificed for us at other times in our history. That will never be forgotten.

But it is now time to turn a page and to move on to supporting this new Iraqi state. I would note that President Bush was with President Kwasniewski yesterday, and they talked about some of the important steps that needed to take place to support our [inaudible] \$400 million request in the supplemental for support to coalition partners, and I am sure that some portion of that will go to Poland, and about \$100 million of it is in addition to the annual support that is provided. So we will continue to support our coalition partners who are now part of the multinational force. But in general this is a time to turn the page and to move on.

QUESTION: Ayatollah Sistani, who is going to win the election, claims two days ago about the new constitution of Iraq, inspired by Koran and by Sharia. I wish to know your opinion, not just like a Secretary of State, but as a woman struggling for the human rights of the women.

SECRETARY RICE: Well obviously the United States has stood and will continue to stand for the rights of women, including in the states of the Middle East and states in which Islam is practiced in large numbers or even in the majority or in total.

The Shia- who will do very well at these elections- let's remember when we say that, that the Shia are large in number, they have been a repressed and oppressed population under Saddam Hussein, brutally repressed. And their emergence is a good thing for Iraq. Now there is going to be an intensely political process now of the Iraqis coming to term with all of the different interests and all of the different traditions in that society. And what we must all do is to encourage them toward the creation of an Iraqi constitution and an Iraqi state in which all Iraqis, regardless of religious tradition, regardless of ethnic background, are welcome and respected. And from the Shia leaders we have heard a good deal of discussion of the need to do precisely that.

So I would just caution that it is going to be important for all of us to recognize that when a political process is underway, There is a process of talking and bargaining and putting forth positions and we need not to react to every word that is said in this process. I have been impressed with the Ayatollah Sistani's very strong support for elections. Very strong messages of reconciliation to Sunnis and others, even those who did not vote. He has been a positive force in the post-Saddam Iraq, and I suspect that he is going to continue to be a positive force.

QUESTION: As we started with Iraq, I want to ask about Kirkuk. There are some circles -- even yesterday the New York Times newspaper was commenting -- that Turkey might intervene militarily to Kirkuk. Are you worried about intervention of Turkey? And in this case, don't you think that is might create problems in the region more than ever? And also how do you see the situation of Turkmen in Iraq?

SECRETARY RICE: On the second point, when I say that there has to be a unified Iraq with territorial integrity where all Iraqis are represented and all Iraqis are respected, I mean also not just Shias and Sunnis, but Turkmen and Kurds and other minorities that are in Iraq. That's what democratic institutions and constitutions do; they create institutions in which these differences can be resolved and mediated and in which people's rights can be protected. What the Iraqis have had, in the past, is a brutal dictator who exacerbated the differences among these various groups. And so, now they have to come to a process of finding a way to bridge their differences and that includes, of course, minorities like Turkmen.

As to Kirkuk, it also has to be a city for all Iraqis. And I am quite sure that the Iraqis are going to -- it has to be an Iraqi process of coming to terms with that -- but I am quite sure they understand their obligations to have an Iraq that can be at peace with its neighbors, where terrorism cannot be carried out from Iraq's territory, and where Iraq is finally a stabilizing force in the region, rather than what it was under Saddam Hussein, which was a destabilizing force, who used weapons of mass destruction against his own people and against his neighbors, who invaded his neighbors.

Sometimes when people talk about the future of this new Iraq, it is awfully important to remember what the old Iraq looked like. The old Iraq was not an Iraq that was a force for good in the region. As fragile and as complicated as the future of Iraq is now - as they emerge from Saddam Hussein's reign - it has the potential to be a very good force in this region. And I believe the Iraqis, having suffered a lot under Saddam Hussein, understand the responsibilities to do this.

QUESTION: And do you see any possibilities of intervention [inaudible]?

SECRETARY RICE: Iraqi territorial integrity means Iraqi territorial integrity and Iraqi sovereignty.

QUESTION: Going back to Europe, you've seen many European leaders, in Brussels, in Luxembourg, in different cities, according to you, who is leading the foreign policy in Europe? [Laughter] If you had one person to call on the phone, who would that be?

SECRETARY RICE: If I had one person to call on the phone...well, I never have to call just one person. We have learned to work in concert with a number of the parties in Europe. I do want to say that the European Union and its development in terms of the common foreign policy is a positive trend. A European Union that is open and that has an open architecture, if you will, that is not promoting fortress Europe -- and I hear no one saying that -- that unified Europe is going to be a positive force for us.

And so, I very much want to call to everybody's attention that, that is why the president is coming to the European Union, now with the Luxembourg presidency, because he wants to emphasize that we do have a partnership with the European Union, as well as we continue to have partnerships...have bilateral partnerships with individual members.

I have found that there is a strong commonality of values, obviously, but what I've found here this time is that there is also strong commonality of understanding about what the agenda is. And it hasn't mattered whether you are at the European Union, or the European Commission, with the British or the Germans or the French or the Poles or the Italians or any of the other places that I've been. It hasn't mattered where you were; that common agenda is understood. That means that we've got all kinds of relationships that we can mobilize and use and work with to pursue that common agenda. That is really in many ways to me the remarkable thing: my conversations have been really very much the same in all of those fora.

QUESTIONS: Would you prefer to have one counterpart in Europe instead of running everywhere? Wouldn't it be easier to conduct foreign policy?

SECRETARY RICE: I actually don't mind it the way it is. And as Europe unifies further, I'm sure that...and has a common foreign policy, I understand what is going to happen with the constitution, and that there will be the unification under, in effect, a foreign minister. I think that will also be a very good development. But, of course we will continue to have bilateral relations, as well, and that also is a very, very good thing. There's nothing wrong with them being able to come from several different directions.

QUESTION: There has been a debate in the Republican party which is about whether the traditional post war view -- that it's in America's interest to have a unified Europe -- any longer holds, as it were, at the end of the Cold War. Are you saying it is now clear policy of the administration to support the unified Europe when there are some people still talking about old Europe and new Europe?

SECRETARY RICE: Well, the United States has supported a unified Europe. You know, one of the president's first trips was actually to an EU-U.S. summit in Sweden. And we've continued to work with the European Union.

There have been concerns that, from time to time, that the European Union would turn inward and be inward looking, and that it would not be able to reach out and strengthen the transatlantic relationship. That was a concern, and it was a concern of some.

I think that we've seen in recent years that the European Union instead has been outward looking. It has been, along with NATO, one of the most important pillars in [incentivizing] the new democracies to take steps toward greater democratization, to civilianization of their military

relationships, to opening their economies. If you look at the expansion and the enlargement of NATO and the enlargement of the EU, this is not an inward looking process. It's an outward looking process and that's very useful. You have a U.S.-EU dialogue. You also have an EU-Russia dialogue, which in this point in Russia's history is enormously important. You have an EU-Ukraine dialogue and a U.S.-Ukraine dialogue.

So, to the degree that there were concerns that there would be some incompatibility between the European identity of states and the transatlantic identity of states, I do believe that we are seeing that that does not have to be the case. Now, we have to keep working at it, we have to keep working at it. We have to keep reminding everybody that there isn't any conflict between a European identity and a transatlantic identity. But this is working.

QUESTION: Isn't it annoying, excuse me, in such a vital question, for instance, as the Chinese weapons embargo, to have a European position. We were just talking about it before you came in...which isn't clear at all? Do you have the feeling now that everything is resolved, that the embargo will be lifted, and that Europe will once again be acting against the expressed will of Washington?

SECRETARY RICE: The discussions about the EU arms embargo have been straightforward, and there has been an open dialogue. I do feel that we have been listened to about our concerns about the lifting of the arms embargo.

I don't know what the future holds. I know that the final decision has not yet been taken. But I do have some confidence that whatever the decision, that our European colleagues will have been fully apprised and informed of and discussed American concerns about it -- the implications of such a decision, the consequences of such a decision, that all of this would have been on the table -- and that's why we have these discussions.

We are not always going to agree on everything. It would be a quite strange alliance, of this many democratic countries, if everything was simply a point of agreement. What is important is that the goals and objectives of this alliance are matters of common agreement. And if and when we disagree tactically about this or that and how to get there...I was asked yesterday, at the press conference someone said: the United States and the EU disagree about China. The United States and the EU don't disagree about China. We have the same concerns about how to deal with the prospect of a China that is economically rising very quickly, and of course along side that, there is the political power that goes with that, the regional power that goes with that. I think we both agree that we want to help to integrate China into the international community so that it's a positive force, not a negative force in international politics. That's why we supported the WTO accession for China. It's why we have involved in all kinds of the resolution of regional conflict where possible.

So, we shouldn't take the arms embargo, which is a very serious matter for us, but say that that somehow means we don't have the same view of what needs to be done in terms of China. So, that's why we have these discussions. Because we will have our differences, we have to try to overcome them in ways that are supportive of both our interests, but we can't expect to always agree.

QUESTION: Could I ask you about another topic on which there seems to be some difference, Madam Secretary? You have been asked at almost every stop of your trip about the nuclear issue and Iran. As far as I understood, you supported and support the initiative of the EU-3 and advised Iran to take the deal. My question is if there would be a deal between the Europeans and Iran, and there would be a strong guarantee that Iran cannot go the path to develop nuclear weapons, would the United States be prepared to support that deal? Would you be prepared to engage, as well, with Iran? Do you see the necessity to offer incentives, as well, as the Europeans are trying to do, because I think you have been a little bit unclear on that?

SECRETARY RICE: Well, let's do first things first: let's get the Iranians to accept that they have an obligation to the international community not to develop nuclear weapons under cover of civilian nuclear power. The United States was the first state really to raise the alarm on this several years ago. And after some suspicious Iranian activities were uncovered, I think everybody began to realize that this actually was a very big problem.

The EU-3 are trying, in this way, to get the Iranians to live up to these obligations; as I said, the Iranians ought to do it. What we shouldn't do is allow the Iranians to start introducing new conditions, like what the United States might or might not do, in order to avoid the answer to the question that is being asked of Iran, which is: are you prepared to live up to your international obligations? Let's see if the Iranians can convince the international community that they are, in fact, able and willing to live up to their international obligations in a verifiable way.

The nuclear issue is urgent. It has to be seen in the context of an Iran that is in other ways out of step with important trends in the Middle East - in terms of its support for terrorism, in terms of its treatment of its own people. When we've just talked about the need for reform in the Middle East, and we've just talked about the need for the Israelis and Palestinians to be able to move forward and to resolve their conflict. The Iranians are on the wrong side of the divide on a number of issues.

QUESTION: You've said to some European leaders that you are worried that by opening any contact with Iran you might be seen to be legitimizing the Iranian regime. But in a sense, you know, through the Cold War, there were immense contacts with the Soviet Union. There have been contacts with Korea, which I am sure we will come on to in a moment. So, why is opening some sort of dialogue with Iran legitimizing the Iranian regime?

SECRETARY RICE: Well this is the concern. First of all, the Iranians, as I said, should not hold hostage their decision, their very important decision about what they intend to do about their international obligations, to what the United States does or does not do. It shouldn't, and we shouldn't go down that road. The problem with the Iranian regime is that it's not as if there is any absence of knowledge on the part of the Iranian regime of what it needs to do in order to change the path that it's on with the international community. That can be done -- or

that could be started -- tomorrow. And we shouldn't get caught up in this question of what contact we are prepared to have or what contact we are not prepared to have and have the Iranians change the conversation to that, when the conversation is about Iran.

It's not the United States that is isolated; it's Iran that's isolated. And the discussion of what we will or will not do is really an attempt to isolate the United States and say, well, it's a problem of the United States. Let's do first things first. Let the Iranians respond to the demands of the international community, not just the EU-3 but the IAEA that they come into conformity with their international obligations. Let's get that done first because the Iranians need to inspire some confidence that they actually understand the steps they need to take.

QUESTION: You were talking about the consequences for Iraq if it doesn't live up to its obligations...

SECRETARY RICE: For Iran?

QUESTION: ...Iran, Iran. Bring the case to the Security Council. Are you sufficiently sure now that the Europeans would support that?

SECRETARY RICE: Well at the IAEA, when this was discussed, it was discussed that, of course, at some point if Iran is not living up to its international obligations, there have to be next steps. And I think everyone understands the next steps means referral to the Security Council.

QUESTION: Getting to Bratislava, Russian [inaudible]. Some say during the second term of the Bush presidency, relations might be cooler in terms of the American side. What will be the message of President Bush to his counterpart in Bratislava and what is the American side expected to hear from Russia? And is there possibility that the next U.S.-Russia summit will take place in May in Moscow?

SECRETARY RICE: I'll get back to you on the May question. The U.S.-Russia summit that will take place in Slovakia will be yet another opportunity for President Putin and President Bush, they've had many opportunities, for them to affirm that we have a productive and constructive relationship, probably one of the most productive and constructive relationships the United States and Russia have ever had. You just look at the [inaudible] of areas in which we are cooperating, in security, the Russians and Americans not too long ago had a joint military exercise, who would have thought that possible just a few years ago. We cooperate fully on counter-terrorism issues, intelligence sharing, law enforcement activity. We have been supportive of Russia's aspirations for WTO membership, and Mr. Gref and Bob Zoellick met not too long ago to review the list of changes that need to be made in Russia so that Russia can get into the WTO, something we support fully. We are cooperating in Afghanistan, I could go on, in the Balkans, I could go on.

To the degree that there are concerns about U.S.-Russian relations, of course, international developments in Russia are a concern -- it doesn't mean we can't have productive relations -- it means a sort of deepening of relations that would be based on common values, needs to have at its foundation, a democratizing Russia. So, there are concerns about the role of the press, there are concerns about the judiciary, there are concerns about the rule of law in Russia. But they are concerns that we can discuss. This is not the kind of thing that we would say, well you need to somehow have to engage in the isolation of Russia. I heard people say that Russia should not come to G-8. That would be a mistake. Russia is a country that is in transition. Many of these [inaudible] are young in Russia, and we need to continue our discussion, but it is important where Russia comes out in terms of its democratic development, in the long-term help the depth of our relationship.

So, I suspect they are going to have a very good talk. I think they will talk some of nuclear security issues. We've had a lot cooperation in trying to deal with the nuclear legacy of the Cold War -- that is nuclear safety issues, dismantling issues, storage of nuclear materials. I think you'll see that they have a lot to say about that. The energy dialogue will be a part of this summit. So, there's a great deal to talk about and it's a good relationship. There are some issues that we need to discuss about in the future, but I think the future can be quite bright.

QUESTION: You are not a fan of this authoritarian drive in Russian leadership or you said about your concerns that [inaudible], especially here in Europe, especially in central Europe, what can you really do? What President Bush will say to President Putin, do something about it?

SECRETARY RICE: Well, I know they have been concerned broadly in Europe, and that is an important message also to Russia, that these are not just concerns of the United States, these are concerns that are present in Europe. I've talked about it with my colleagues; they are concerned with the [inaudible] in Europe. There's also a very strong desire to see the further development of good relations with Russia and with further development of deeper relations with Russia. We are all looking at ways that we can support and strengthen civil society in Russia. There are new developments in Russia because the Soviet Union collapsed only 15 years ago, so a lot of transition still has to take place. So, supporting civil society, through non-government organizations, is one way in which we can help Russia build more democratic future.

We believe that economic liberalization, the rule of law will also be important for a democratic Russian future. So there is much to do, much that we can do together. But the U.S.-Russian relationship, and I think the EU-Russian relationship, are both based on a premise that the deepening of those relationships would be on the basis of common values. We all are looking to try and build a stronger, more productive relationship and to see the continuing development of good relations with Russia.

QUESTION: May I ask you three questions on North Korea? First, were you surprised by the announcement this morning that North Korea had the nuclear weapon?

SECRETARY RICE: The United States has since the mid-90s acknowledged that the North Koreans might have enough material to build a nuclear weapon. I want to be very clear that we have, on the Korean peninsula, a strong relationship with the South Koreans and deterrent forces to deal with any threats from North Korea. And the North Koreans have said things like this quite a bit in the past year and a half or so. This is not the first time that the North Koreans have said such things. But every time they say those kinds of things, they are only deepening their isolation because no one wants a nuclear-armed Korean peninsula -- that includes South Korea, that includes Japan, that includes Russia, that includes the United States and that includes China. And the reason that we have six-party talks is so that the parties are able to have a common message to the North Koreans about the kind of Korean peninsula that we need to have. It's also the case that the six-party talks provide for the North Koreans a path that is different from the one that they are on.

QUESTION: It didn't work obviously. Isn't it a failure for the U.S. policy?

SECRETARY RICE: Well, no, things take time. What we've achieved in the six-party talks is a united position on the need for a nuclear free Korean peninsula, nuclear weapon free Korean peninsula. Imagine if these were two-party talks, then it would be the North Koreans saying to the United States: we're walking out of the talks. The North Koreans just said to the Chinese -- the Chinese who are the hosts of these talks, who have been active in these talks -- that they don't want to come back to the talks. We knew that the Chinese government has been very desirous of the North Koreans being involved in the talks. The North Koreans have just said to the South Koreans: we don't want to come back to talk with you. We know that the South Koreans have been desirous of six-party talks. And so on and so on. So because this is a multilateral forum, when the North Koreans walk out or refuse to go back, that is not just the United States with which they are dealing, it's the rest of their neighborhood, as well. And that's a very important difference.

Now, I hope they will reconsider, because there is another path. They have been told that security assurances are available to them on a multilateral basis; of course if the United States is part of those security assurances, the United States will be part of those security assurances. They have been told by the President of the United States that we don't want to attack them or invade them. So, the North Koreans have every reason to be involved in the six-party talks and not to further deepen their isolation.

QUESTION: Are you saying you are not at all concerned about the announcement today?

SECRETARY RICE: Of course I'm concerned, but the North Koreans should recognize that the problem that they've caused is a problem for them, that's their deepening isolation. We're trying to resolve the problem through the six-party talks. We're trying to resolve the problem by certain assurance to the North Koreans. We're trying to resolve the problem by telling the North Koreans that if they will give up their programs, verifiably and irreversibly, there is a completely different path toward different relations with the rest of the world on which North Korea could be launched.

QUESTION: And if not? You said isolation, but they are already isolated.

SECRETARY RICE: Well they do depend on relations with their neighbors to help with the fact that they are really not left with an economy that's functioning particularly well on its own. The North Koreans have every reason to want to be a part of these talks. The parties have -- not the United States -- but the parties have told them about what an economic future could look like, what a future for their fuel problem could look like. They need to return to the talks and make the strategic decision that they need to make and get on a better path with the rest of the world.

QUESTION: And if they don't, I mean could it be an international blockage? Or any military option?

SECRETARY RICE: I'm not going to speculate. We still believe that this is something that will be resolved diplomatically and that the best option for the North Koreans is to get back on a path towards reasonable relations with their neighbors and with the rest of the world.

QUESTION: Are you sure about American soldiers on the Korean peninsula? What would you say to South Korean people? Are they scared, probably as they are?

SECRETARY RICE: I would strongly say to everybody that the North Korean regime is quite aware of the deterrent capability of the United States of America and its allies on the Korean peninsula.

QUESTION: May I ask you about, you mentioned several times, Ukraine. Is America interested in accelerating the integration of Ukraine and Georgia in transatlantic structures, first of all in NATO? What do you think of the possibility of, what is your attitude to the possibility of deployment of military bases in new NATO member states?

SECRETARY RICE: Beyond where are our bases are now?

QUESTION: Yes.

SECRETARY RICE: First of all the United States is changing and bringing down its Cold War structure in Europe, not enhancing its structure in Europe. So we've actually been in discussions with, not just the members of NATO, but also the Russian government about our so-called global posture review and repositioning of our forces. And we are not looking for base structure anywhere in the world; our base structure is coming down, not building up.

We have good relations with, of course, countries that are to the east of NATO, countries in central Asia and the like. We have good relations. We have been there for counter terrorism operations- counter terrorism operations that are not just good from the point of view of the United States, but are good from the point of view of the entire neighborhood and from the point of view of Russia, as well.

And of course the NATO transformation and restructuring is also underway and the trend in that is toward lighter mobile forces, not forces that are fixed forces as we had in the Cold War with huge base structures and large numbers of fixed heavy forces, it's just not where the trend is going.

As to Ukraine and Georgia, we want very much to see Georgia and Ukraine, as well as others, to be a part of the European mainstream. But while NATO maintains an open door to any European democracy, there are a lot of practical steps that Georgia and Ukraine can be taking that are not issues of membership. We have for instance with the Ukrainians, an action plan for the relationship with NATO that builds off the Ukrainian-NATO Council, not an issue of membership, it build off the NATO Council and builds off the need for Ukrainian forces to be transformed themselves and to have a democratic relationship to their civilian leaders. So I think we need to concentrate on the practical work before us, not the issue of membership, though of course we have always said that NATO has to remain open to all European democracies.

QUESTION: You just came from Turkey, and for these couple of months even a bit more, over one year we have the impression that relations with Turkey and United States was not very good because of the Iraq situation. How do you see them lasting, improving? Also my other questions, Cyprus, European Union couldn't do anything about direct lines or direct talk to the Turkish Cypriot side of Cyprus. Will America take any initiative on this issue?

SECRETARY RICE: Well in terms of U.S.- Turkish relationships, I was just there, and I was there in part to reaffirm how important the U.S.-Turkish relationship is to the United States, and I heard from the Turkish leadership how important the U.S. relationship is to Turkey. This is also a strategic relationship that has a long history. We've worked together on a number of issues- Turkey is a member of NATO.

And yes, there were differences concerning Iraq, and like the differences that existed with a number of states, we feel that we've turned a page on that, and I think Turkey does too. I also was very clear that the United States understands Turkey's concerns about the evolution of the future Iraq, that we are committed to an Iraq that is unified and has territorial integrity, that we committed to an Iraq in which all Iraqis, including minorities, are represented and fully respected, that we are committed to an Iraq from whose territory terrorism cannot be committed. So we did have discussions of the PKK, which is listed as a terrorist organization by the United States, and the obligations we have to work with Turkey and Iraq to make sure that they are not a threat to Turkish territory. In fact we talked about revitalizing the trilateral security mechanism between Turkey, Iraq and the United States, and I think would be a very step and that's something I'll go back and work to do.

QUESTION: Cyprus?

SECRETARY RICE: Cyprus, yes, Cyprus. Well we were disappointed that the Annan plan was not adopted, and we have worked to try and ease the isolation of the northern Cypriots. We have had Colin Powell, my predecessor had talks with leaders there. We have provided some financial assistance to the Turkish Cypriots. And we are looking at what more we can do. We do have multilateral obligations when one starts looking at other measures, but we do not want to see the Turkish Cypriots isolated because we were not able to get the unification of the island prior to Cyprus' accession into the EU, that was be a bad outcome.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary.

SECRETARY RICE: Yes, you have the last question.

QUESTION: Can you perhaps tell us how foreign policy in the president's second term is going to be different from your foreign policy in the first term?

SECRETARY RICE: The conditions are different. We're in a different time. We, after September 11th, had a not surprising revision of American strategic policy and American strategic conception. It's not at all surprising, after what happened to the United States on September 11th, it taught the United States not to let threats gather, to deal with them before they fully materialize. It taught the United States that we had to be more attentive to the freedom deficit in the Middle East that was producing ideologies of hatred so virulent that people flew airplanes into our buildings on a fine September day.

It caused us to take a look at the immediate region out of which Al-Qaeda emerged, that is Afghanistan and revised fundamentally our relationship with Pakistan in a matter of days. It strengthened our relationships with some states, like Russia, where we had counter-terrorism cooperation, I think, well beyond what anybody would have thought possible.

And ultimately it led us to look at the long-standing threat of Saddam Hussein and his regime in Iraq and to decide that it was time that he be held accountable for his continued defiance of the international community. Out of that, we fought two wars and created conditions, in fighting those two wars, for a very different geo-strategic balance in favor of moderate states in the region and in favor of freedom in the region.

But it is now a time for diplomacy to move on -- from having fought those wars -- to engaging our long-term partners, those with we share

common values, to deliver on the promise that is there of a Middle East that is reformed, working in partnership with those in the Middle East who clearly want to see a different Middle East. It is time to use our diplomacy and our relationships with those who share our values to deliver on the promise of an Afghanistan and an Iraq that are both pillars of stability and pillars of liberty in the broader Middle East. It's time to use our diplomacy and our relationships with those who share our values to take hold of the opportunity that appears to be before us. To find a lasting two-state resolution to the Israeli - Palestinian conflict. So this is a different time than the last four years.

But I will say, the president took hard decisions in that period of time. Because he took hard decisions about what the true nature of the problem was in the relationship between the Israelis and the Palestinians and made a call in June 2002 for the parties to take fundamental decisions about their future, I do think that is a part of the story, of why we have an opportunity now in the Middle East.

He took a hard decision- along with Prime Minister Blair, and Prime Minister Berlusconi and President Kwasniewski and a number of others - that it was time to hold Saddam Hussein accountable for his defiance of the international system. And now we have a chance for a different kind of Iraq that can be at peace with its neighbors, that can be a force for stability in the region, not a force for instability, that will fight terrorism and that can be one of the first truly democratic states in the region.

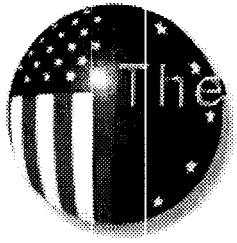
So, it was a time of taking hard decisions, and sometimes when you take hard decisions, not everybody will agree. But we have a wonderful opportunity to work on this common agenda. And if we can have the kind of foresight that we had after World War II, then we are going to leave a peaceful and more stable world for our children.

If I could just close with a personal reflection in this regard, I was lucky enough to be the Soviet specialist in the White House at the end of the Cold War in 1989, 1990, 1991. I participated in the liberation of Eastern Europe, I remember being in Gdansk in Poland, with 100,000 poles in the streets supporting solidarity and insisting on freedom. I remember participating in the unification of Germany, something that I think nobody ever thought would come about peacefully, but it did. I had left government but participated in the early stages of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a new Russia, and, in looking back, I had to recognize that these were harvesting decisions, good decisions, that had been taken in 1946, 1947, 1948 and 1949, when people were foresightful enough, despite the strategic setbacks that happened in that period of time, foresightful enough to realize that if they could build an alliance based on values, they could in fact face down tyranny and see the spread of those values. And that is exactly what happened in 1989, in 1990 and 1991.

And for that reason if we are as foresightful now, in the wake of the two wars that we have fought, I think we have the same possibilities of success that the giants who not just liberated Europe, but helped to set Europe on a path toward democracy and freedom and toward a Europe whole and free and at peace that has come to fruition for the betterment of peace and stability throughout the world. Thank you.

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2005-02-15

U.S. COMMITTED TO ADDRESSING CHALLENGES OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

The United States is committed to addressing the long-term challenges of global climate change and will invest nearly \$5.8 billion in 2005 on science and technology research and other initiatives aimed at cutting greenhouse gas emissions, according to the State Department.

"While the United States and countries with binding emissions restrictions under the Kyoto Protocol are taking different paths, our destination is the same, and compatible with other efforts," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said February 15.

He said U.S. policies on climate change are based on meeting the multiple objectives of improving energy security, promoting economic growth and development, reducing poverty, reducing traditional air pollution, and mitigating greenhouse gases.

The United States is helping fund multilateral energy initiatives that investigate technologies "needed to dramatically reduce greenhouse gas emissions on a global scale" – including carbon sequestration, the hydrogen economy, methane recovery and nuclear technology - as well as other international efforts such as the Group on Earth Observations, Boucher said.

The United States also has initiated 14 bilateral climate partnerships with countries and regional organizations, resulting in joint projects on climate change science, cleaner energy technologies, and new policy approaches to greenhouse gases. For additional information on those partnerships, see the State Department fact sheet at (<http://www.state.gov/g/oes/rls/fs/2004/39438.htm>).

The Kyoto protocol is scheduled to enter into force February 16.

Following is the text of Boucher's statement:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman
February 15, 2005

Statement by Richard Boucher, Spokesman

UNITED STATES COMMITMENT TO ADDRESS CLIMATE CHANGE

The United States is working domestically and internationally to address the long-term challenge of global climate change. U.S. policies are based on meeting the multiple objectives of improving energy security, promoting economic growth and development, reducing poverty, reducing traditional air pollution, and mitigating greenhouse gases.

President Bush has committed America to reducing the greenhouse gas intensity of the U.S. economy by 18 percent by 2012 -- preventing the emission of more than 500 million tons of carbon over this period. A comprehensive, innovative program of domestic and climate change initiatives supports this goal.

While the United States and countries with binding emissions restrictions under the Kyoto Protocol are taking different paths, our destination is the same, and compatible with other efforts.

For 2005, the United States has committed nearly \$5.8 billion to address climate change:

- Almost \$2 billion for scientific research into climate change.
- Nearly \$3 billion for climate change technology research, development, and deployment.
- Over \$200 million for foreign aid programs that contribute climate change benefits.

-- Almost \$700 million for renewable energy and energy efficiency through tax incentives.

This budget helps fund the five cutting edge multilateral energy initiatives (The Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum; The International Partnership for the Hydrogen Economy; Methane to Markets Partnership; International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor; Generation IV International Forum for Advanced Nuclear Technology) that represent technologies needed to dramatically reduce greenhouse gas emissions on a global scale. It also funds the Group on Earth Observations, a major international partnership to improve our understanding of the science of climate change.

The United States has also initiated 14 bilateral climate partnerships with countries and regional organizations that along with the United States account for over 70% of the global greenhouse gas emissions. These are resulting in joint projects on climate change science, cleaner energy technologies, and policy approaches to greenhouse gases.

For further information, please see Fact sheet on U.S. Climate Change Policy (<http://www.state.gov/g/oes/rls/fs/2004/38641.htm>) and Fact Sheet on Bilateral and Regional Partnerships (<http://www.state.gov/g/oes/rls/fs/2004/39438.htm>).

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