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Editor's Note: The President was in Moscow, Russia, on May 24, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Proclamation 7563—National Safe Boating Week, 2002

May 17, 2002

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

America is blessed with beautiful coastlines, lakes, and waters that offer ample opportunities for boating recreation. More than 70 million recreational boaters use our waters every year and boat registrations continue to increase. Although the number of recreational boats and boaters is growing, the incidence of boating deaths continues to drop, thanks to an increasing emphasis on safety.

Despite this positive trend, much work remains to further reduce boating accidents and fatalities. National Safe Boating Week and the North American Safe Boating Campaign remind us that safety must always remain a top priority when boating on our Nation's waterways.

To further reduce boating deaths, it is vital that both children and adults wear life jackets while boating. Nearly 70 percent of recreational boating deaths are by drowning, and nearly 90 percent of these victims were not wearing life jackets. Many of these fatalities could have been avoided had a Coast Guard-approved life jacket or personal flotation device been worn. Thanks to new technology and designs, life jackets are now less burdensome to wear.

Another major cause of boating accidents is the operation of boats while drunk or otherwise impaired. Boating under the influence of alcohol or drugs is illegal in every State and is a violation of Federal law. According to the United States Coast Guard, the dangerous effects of alcohol on persons operating boats are even greater than for individuals operating land vehicles. The additional factors that can further impair judgment and coordination include motion, vibration, engine noise, wind, sun, and any spray. Boat operators with a blood alcohol concentration above .10 percent are ten times more likely to be killed in a boating accident than boat operators who have not been drinking. During National Safe Boating Week, we must underscore again that to operate a boat or any vehicle while under the influence is never safe.

A less recognized boating hazard involves a silent killer: carbon monoxide. Dangerous or deadly fumes can accumulate in confined spaces on boats, near stern ladders, and under swimming platforms. Swimmers and water-skiers behind running boat engines face the greatest risk of exposure to exhaust fumes, which can build up to deadly levels. Boaters should be aware of the threats posed by carbon monoxide and take steps to avoid them. Individuals may learn more about carbon monoxide and other ways to stay safe while boating by visiting the U.S. Coast Guard's website at www.uscgboating.org.

In recognition of the importance of safe boating practices, the Congress, by joint resolution approved June 4, 1958 (36 U.S.C. 131), as amended, has authorized and requested the President to proclaim annually the 7-day period prior to Memorial Day weekend as "National Safe Boating Week."

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 18 through May 24, 2002, as National Safe Boating Week. I encourage the Governors of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the officials of other areas subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, to join in observing this occasion. I also urge boaters to learn about proper boating practices and to take advantage of programs offered by the U.S. Coast Guard Auxiliary. By taking sensible precautions on the

water and learning more about potential dangers, boaters can enjoy boating recreation and help ensure the safety of others.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of May, in the year of our Lord two thousand two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-sixth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., May 21, 2002]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 22. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 7564—World Trade Week, 2002

May 17, 2002

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Trade plays a vital role in encouraging prosperity and improving the lives of people around the world. It fosters economic growth, ingenuity, and innovation. And it builds high-quality jobs and promotes economic and political stability around the world. During World Trade Week, we recognize the importance of trade to building a brighter future for our Nation and for countries throughout the world.

Over the last decade, U.S. exports have accounted for as much as a quarter of our Nation's economic growth. Most of our exporters are small- and medium-sized firms that have fewer than 100 employees. An estimated 12 million U.S. jobs are supported by our export of manufactured products, agricultural goods, technology, and other goods and services. These jobs are high-quality, high-paying positions that provide good wages.

As the world's largest exporter, the United States is a leader in promoting free trade. Free trade and open markets benefit businesses, employees, and consumers by creating a competitive environment with greater choice and lower prices. We must continue to promote an aggressive trade agenda that opens markets and builds economic opportunity. In support of this goal, my Administration has worked to help secure the entry of China and Taiwan into the World Trade Organization. We also completed trade agreements with Vietnam and Jordan and launched new global trade negotiations in Doha, Qatar. But more remains to be done.

At present, there are about 150 free trade agreements in effect worldwide, nearly 25 percent of which involve countries in the Western Hemisphere. The United States is a party to only three of these pacts. To give U.S. exporters much broader access to markets throughout the hemisphere, our Nation envisions a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), an area that would be the world's largest open market. The FTAA would include more than 800 million consumers in countries with a combined Gross Domestic Product of around $13 trillion. Our Nation would also benefit from renewal of the Andean Trade Preference Act, which would continue to help create economic alternatives to drug production in Andean region countries.

Economists have calculated that lowering trade barriers by just one-third will strengthen the world's economic welfare by up to $613 billion and that of the United States by $177 billion. For the average American family of four, that amounts to $2500 of annual savings.

Another critical step for U.S. economic growth is successful passage of Trade Promotion Authority. Under this legislation, the Congress grants the President the authority to negotiate trade agreements. Trade Promotion Authority demonstrates to our trading partners the alliance that exists between the executive and legislative branches to help raise living standards through out the world. This is vital to securing new free trade agreements with potential negotiating partners.

Fundamental to free trade is competitive fairness. America's support of an aggressive, forward-looking trade agenda requires that government assist industries' interests when they are challenged by unfair trading practices or subsidies. We must insist that our trading partners honor their commitments. As we open markets for American companies competing internationally, we need tools to

secure a level playing field for American businesses. And we will remain committed to improving both the environment and worldwide labor standards.

In the future, trade will continue to play a crucial role in creating economic and political stability, building democracies, reducing poverty, and contributing to an increased standard of living around the world. Open trade will help ensure a more peaceful and prosperous tomorrow for all people.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim May 19 through May 25, 2002, as World Trade Week. I encourage all Americans to observe this week with events, trade shows, and educational programs that celebrate the benefits of trade to our economy and the global economy.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of May, in the year of our Lord two thousand two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-sixth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., May 21, 2002]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 22. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

May 18, 2002

Good morning. Medicare is one of the most important and compassionate programs in American history. It provides medical care to the elderly and people with disabilities. It is a source of security and dignity for tens of millions of Americans. The health of America's senior citizens is one of America's most sacred obligations, and it is a commitment my administration will fully honor.

Yet we need to do more to fulfill Medicare's promise. Seniors should have affordable coverage choices that meet their needs, but Medicare does not do that. Many seniors need prescription drug coverage; Medicare does not provide it. And because Medicare does not cover prescription drugs, seniors often pay the highest prices for drugs out of their own pockets, forcing too many of our seniors to choose between paying for pills or paying their bills.

Medicare is an essential program, but it has not kept pace with the advances in medicine. The Medicare program is costly for seniors and too often does not provide the choices that our seniors need and our seniors want, so Medicare must be strengthened, and it must be improved.

Congress is working hard to pass legislation that will help many seniors with their drug costs and guarantee all senior citizens prescription drug coverage. I strongly support these efforts.

At the same time, I am working for a Medicare-endorsed drug card that will allow seniors to get lower prices from drug manufactures right away. And I'm working for temporary assistance with drug costs for seniors with limited incomes, even before the full prescription drug benefit becomes available a few years from now.

Medicare also needs to give every senior affordable, up-to-date health insurance options. Right now, more than 5 million Medicare members have access to valuable modern health insurance benefits and prescription drug coverage in Medicare Plus Choice plans.

These improved benefits, along with innovative treatments, probably saved Joe Hotin's life. Mr. Hotin served in the Navy in World War II. He joined his Medicare Plus Choice in 1995. Because his health plan covers annual checkups, Joe's doctor caught a spot and got it treated before it turned into life threatening cancer.

Many of these treatments and programs that can save and improve lives and reduce health care costs are only available through Medicare's private plans. Unfortunately, millions of Medicare members do not have the option to choose these benefits. The Federal Government has long provided reliable coverage choices to all its employees, but current law prevents private health plans from giving Medicare enrollees the same choices. As a result, over 100 private plans have left Medicare, and millions of seniors have lost

the valuable additional benefits that private plans provide.

We must act now to provide every Medicare member with more choices and more savings. Medicare needs a fair system of competition, a system that encourages additional benefits and options for better care at lower cost. Medicare is crucial to elderly Americans. I urge members of both parties to work together to protect and improve Medicare and to maintain our moral commitment to millions of Americans.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 9:10 a.m. on May 17 in the Cabinet Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on May 18. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 17 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

Remarks Announcing the Initiative for a New Cuba

May 20, 2002

Bienvenidos. Welcome to the White House for the 100th anniversary of Cuban independence. Today we honor the ties of friendship and family and faith that unite the Cuban people and the people of the United States. We honor the contributions that Cuban Americans have made to all aspects of our national life. And today I am issuing a proposal and a challenge that can put Cuba on the path to liberty.

I appreciate our Secretary of State being here. He and I take this issue very seriously. He loves freedom as much as I love freedom. I want to thank Mel Martinez, a graduate of Pedro Pan, for being here. Mr. Secretary, you're doing a great job. Welcome.

I appreciate members of the diplomatic corps who are here. Thank you all for coming; I'm honored to have you here.

I want to thank Senator George Allen from the Commonwealth of Virginia. I want to thank Congressman Dan Burton; Mr. Chairman. And of course, two great Members of the United States Congress, people who have got a lot to offer, a lot of sound advice: Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart. Thank you all for coming.

Cuba's independence one century ago today was the inspiration of great thinkers such as Felix Varela. It was the result of determination and talent on the part of a great statesman such as Jose Marti and great soldiers such as Antonio Maceo and Maximo Gomez. Most of all, Cuba's independence was the product of the great courage and sacrifice of the Cuban people.

Today, and every day for the past 43 years, that legacy of courage has been insulted by a tyrant who uses brutal methods to enforce a bankrupt vision. That legacy has been debased by a relic from another era who has turned a beautiful island into a prison.

In a career of oppression, Mr. Castro has imported nuclear-armed ballistic missiles, and he has exported his military forces to encourage civil war abroad. He is a dictator who jails and tortures and exiles his political opponents. We know this. The Cuban people know this, and the world knows this. After all, just a month ago the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in a resolution proposed by the nations of Latin America, called upon Cuba's Government to finally—to finally—begin respecting the human rights of its people.

Through all their pains and deprivation, the Cuban people's aspirations for freedom are undiminished. We see this today in Havana, where more than 11,000 brave citizens have petitioned their Government for a referendum on basic freedoms. If that referendum is allowed, it can be a prelude, a beginning for real change in Cuba.

The United States has no designs on Cuban sovereignty. It's not a part of our strategy or a part of our vision. In fact, the United States has been a strong and consistent supporter of freedom for the Cuban people. And it is important for those who love freedom on that beautiful island to know that our support for them will never waver.

Today I'm announcing an Initiative for a New Cuba that offers Cuba's Government a way forward towards democracy and hope and better relations with the United States.

Cuba's scheduled to hold elections to its National Assembly in 2003. Let me read Article 71 of the Cuban Constitution. It says,

"The National Assembly is composed of deputies elected by free, direct, and secret vote." That's what the constitution says. Yet since 1959, no election in Cuba has come close to meeting these standards. In most elections, there has been one candidate, Castro's candidate. All elections in Castro's Cuba have been a fraud. The voices of the Cuban people have been suppressed, and their votes have been meaningless. That's the truth. *Es la verdad.*

In the 2003 National Assembly elections in Cuba, Cuba has the opportunity to offer Cuban voters the substance of democracy, not its hollow, empty forms. Opposition parties should have the freedom to organize, assemble, and speak, with equal access to all airwaves. All political prisoners must be released and allowed to participate in the election process. Human rights organizations should be free to visit Cuba to ensure that the conditions for free elections are being created. And the 2003 elections should be monitored by objective outside observers. These are the minimum steps necessary to make sure that next year's elections are the true expression of the will of the Cuban people.

I also challenge Cuba's Government to ease its stranglehold, to change its stranglehold on private economic activity. Political and economic freedoms go hand in hand, and if Cuba opens its political system, fundamental questions about its backward economic system will come into sharper focus.

If the Cuban Government truly wants to advance the cause of workers, of Cuban workers, surely it will permit trade unions to exist outside of Government control. If Cuba wants to create more good-paying jobs, private employers have to be able to negotiate with and pay workers of their own choosing, without the Government telling who they can hire and who they must fire.

If Cuba wants to attract badly needed investment from abroad, property rights must be respected. If the Government wants to improve the daily lives of its people, goods and services produced in Cuba should be made available to all Cuban citizens. Workers employed by foreign companies should be paid directly by their employers, instead of having the Government seize their hard-currency wages and pass on a pittance in the form of pesos. And the signs at hotels reading *"Solamente Turistas"* should finally be taken down.

Without major steps by Cuba to open up its political system and its economic system, trade with Cuba will not help the Cuban people. It's important for Americans to understand: Without political reform, without economic reform, trade with Cuba will merely enrich Fidel Castro and his cronies. Well-intentioned ideas about trade will merely prop up this dictator, enrich his cronies, and enhance the totalitarian regime. It will not help the Cuban people. With real political and economic reform, trade can benefit the Cuban people and allow them to share in the progress of our times.

If Cuba's Government takes all the necessary steps to ensure that the 2003 elections are certifiably free and fair—certifiably free and fair—and if Cuba also begins to adopt meaningful market-based reforms, then and only then I will work with the United States Congress to ease the ban on trade and travel between our two countries.

Meaningful reform on Cuba's part will be answered with a meaningful American response. The goal of the United States policy toward Cuba is not a permanent embargo on Cuba's economy. The goal is freedom for Cuba's people.

Today's initiative invites the Cuban Government to trust and respect Cuban citizens. And I urge other democracies, in this hemisphere and beyond, to use their influence on Cuba's Government to allow free and fair National Assembly elections and to push for real and meaningful and verifiable reform.

Full normalization of relations with Cuba—diplomatic recognition, open trade, and a robust aid program—will only be possible when Cuba has a new government that is fully democratic, when the rule of law is respected, and when the human rights of all Cubans are fully protected.

Yet, under the Initiative for a New Cuba, the United States recognizes that freedom sometimes grows step by step, and we'll encourage those steps. The current of history runs strongly toward freedom. Our plan is to accelerate freedom's progress in Cuba in every way possible, just as the United States

and our democratic friends and allies did successfully in places like Poland or in South Africa. Even as we seek to end tyranny, we will work to make life better for people living under and resisting Castro's rule.

Today I'm announcing a series of actions that will directly benefit the Cuban people and give them greater control of their economic and political destiny. My administration will ease restrictions on humanitarian assistance by legitimate U.S. religious and other nongovernmental organizations that directly serve the needs of the Cuban people and will help build Cuban civil society. And the United States will provide such groups with direct assistance that can be used for humanitarian and entrepreneurial activities. Our Government will offer scholarships in the United States for Cuban students and professionals who try to build independent civil institutions in Cuba and scholarships for family members of political prisoners. We are willing to negotiate direct mail service between the United States and Cuba. My administration will also continue to look for ways to modernize Radio and TV Marti, because even the strongest walls of oppression cannot stand when the floodgates of information and knowledge are opened.

And in the months ahead, my administration will continue to work with leaders all around our country, leaders who love freedom for Cuba, to implement new ways to empower individuals to enhance the chance for freedom.

The United States will continue to enforce economic sanctions on Cuba and the ban on travel to Cuba until Cuba's Government proves that it is committed to real reform. We will continue to prohibit U.S. financing for Cuban purchases of U.S. agricultural goods, because this would just be a foreign aid program in disguise, which would benefit the current regime.

Today's initiative offers Cuba's Government a different path leading to a different future, a future of greater democracy and prosperity and respect. With real reform in Cuba, our countries can begin chipping away at four decades of distrust and division. And the choice rests with Mr. Castro.

Today, there is only one nation in our hemisphere that is not a democracy—only one. There is only one national leader whose position of power owes more to bullets than ballots. Fidel Castro has a chance to escape this lonely and stagnant isolation. If he accepts our offer, he can bring help to his people and hope to our relations. If Mr. Castro refuses our offer, he will be protecting his cronies at the expense of his people. And eventually, despite all his tools of oppression, Fidel Castro will need to answer to his people.

Jose Marti said, "Barriers of ideas are stronger than barricades of stone." For the benefit of Cuba's people, it is time for Mr. Castro to cast aside old and failed ideas and to start to think differently about the future. Today could mark a new dawn in a long friendship between our people, but only if the Castro regime sees the light.

Cuba's independence was achieved a century ago. It was hijacked nearly half a century ago. Yet, the independent spirit of the Cuban people has never faltered, and it has never been stronger than it is today. The United States is proud to stand with all Cubans and all Cuban Americans who love freedom. And we will continue to stand with you until liberty returns to the land you love so well.

Viva Cuba Libre.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Fidel Castro of Cuba. He also referred to Operation Pedro Pan, a 1960s immigration program in which thousands of Cuban children were sent to the United States by their parents. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

Remarks on the 100th Anniversary of Cuban Independence in Miami, Florida

May 20, 2002

The President. Thank you very much. *Sientense. Voy a hablar en Español hoy, pero no.* No. [*Laughter*] *No quiero destruir un idioma que bonita, y por eso voy a hablar en Ingles.* [*Laughter*] Thank you for having me. God bless you all, and thanks for coming. It is such an honor—it is such an honor—

for me to be here today with so many who love freedom.

One hundred years ago, a proud island people declared independence and put Cuba on a democratic course. We're here today to celebrate this important anniversary. We are here today to honor the Cubans and Cuban Americans who strengthen America with their character and with their enterprise. We are here today—we are here today to proclaim loudly and clearly to the entire world—to *todos*—that the Cuban people's love of liberty cannot and will not be denied.

Audience members. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Not only today will we remind the world how much we love freedom and long for freedom, but I also want to talk about a proposal and a challenge that will help put Cuba on the path to freedom.

I want to thank *mi hermano—mi hermanito*—[*laughter*]—*y el gran Gobernador de este estado.* Thank you, Jeb. We love you *y mi cuñada bella.* [*Laughter*] I love being with my family. I love being with my family. There's nothing more important than family in life, and I love my brother Jeb a lot.

I'm honored to be with a great American, a great American who is a graduate of Pedro Pan, Mel Martinez, who brings a big difference in our Cabinet. [*Applause*] I didn't realize Mel had that many cousins. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank the two United States Senators from Florida for being here, Senator Graham and Senator Nelson. I'm honored that you're here. Thank you all for coming. I appreciate working with Senator Graham and his important job of chairing the Intelligence Committee in the United States Senate. I want to thank two fine Congressmen, Ileana Ros *y* Lincoln Diaz-Balart.

I can't—listen, every time I see and hear Gloria Estefan sing, it makes my heart feel better. Gloria, thank you, and it's good to see Emilio. And I appreciate Jon Secada as well. Jon, you did a great job. Thank you very much—honored you're here.

I appreciate Vicki Huddleston, our Ambassador, Principal Officer at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, for being here. Vicki, thank you for coming—appreciate you. I'm honored to be traveling today with Otto Reich, the Under Secretary for the State Department. Dr. Elsa Murano is here today as well, who is in my administration. Thank you, Elsa, for being here. Where are you? Thank you, Doc—appreciate you coming. Emilio Gonzalez, the Director of the Western Hemisphere Affairs of the National Security Council—where are you, Colonel? Yes, Emilio. He's on my National Security Council. He reports directly to *Arroz*—[*laughter*]—*Senorita Arroz.* [*Laughter*]

Today, when I landed in Miami, I got off the airplane there and had a chance to meet a young man named Emilio J. Rodriguez. Emilio is with us today. Emilio, stand up for a second. [*Applause*] The reason I bring up Emilio is, I say oftentimes to Americans who want to—how best they can participate in our country, how best to fight evil is to do some good, is to love a neighbor like you'd like to be loved yourself. If you're interested—if you're interested in helping define our Nation to the world and if you're interested in resisting evil, do some good. And that's what Emilio does. He is a 19-year-old honor student at Miami-Dade Community College. He volunteers in park cleanup programs. He does art shows for children, and he hosts activities at a school for mentally challenged Cuban American children. For this, we're grateful for your service. Thank you for being here.

The accomplished individuals I just named are just a small handful of over a million fellow Americans from Cuban descent who make such an incredibly important contribution to our country. So, as on the one hand we—we celebrate independence, but we also celebrate the greatness of America that opens her doors so that people can realize their dreams. The success stories are unbelievable and unbelievably powerful. People have escaped a jail and have come to America and have succeeded and have been able to raise their families and have been able to prosper. It's a wonderful part of the American story.

But it's not just a story of the elderly and the older Cuban Americans; it's a story throughout generations. I want to talk about Miguel Arguelles, who came to America in 1995, at age 10 years old. At age 10, he couldn't speak English. A few weeks from

now, he'll graduate as the valedictorian of Miami Lakes' Barbara Goleman Senior High School. He comes in 1995; he is going to be the first person to have graduated from that high school to attend Harvard University.

I want to read what Miguel wrote in his application essay, and I want all Americans from all backgrounds to listen to what this young man said. He said he was born in a place where the sun shines brightest and drowns in tears, where Santa Claus has not the visa to enter and dreams cannot escape their prison of nonexistence, where hopes are shattered and religion is an endangered species, where freedom is in shackles.

I love how you put that. It's essential that—Miguel, that you not only succeed, but it's essential that we remember the shackles of freedom that Miguel wrote about, that there are people whose lives are being disrupted because Cuba is not free. I want to thank you for your poignancy.

And the shackles that this young man wrote about are an insult—an insult—to the Cuban independence dreamed of by Felix Varela and generations of Cuban patriots. They're an insult. The shackles he wrote about are an insult to Jose Marti, who sacrificed his life for a great principle. No, we stand here today to declare loud and clear to the entire world: Cuba must not only be independent; Cuba must be free.

One hundred years ago, Cuba declared her independence. And nearly 50 years ago, nearly a half century ago, Cuba's independence and the hopes for democracy were hijacked by a brutal dictator who cares everything for his own power and *nada* for the Cuban people. In an era where markets have brought prosperity and empowerment, this leader clings to a bankrupt ideology that has brought Cuba's workers and farmers and families nothing—nothing—but isolation and misery. I was amazed to read in this modern era, the Cuban regime banned the sale of computers to the public. What does that tell you? In an era where every other nation in our hemisphere has chosen the path to democracy—every nation in our hemisphere has chosen the path to democracy—this leader instead chooses to jail, to torture, and exile Cuban people for speaking their minds.

But the amazing thing is, through all the pains—through all the pains—the Cuban people's aspirations for freedom are undiminished. We see this today in Havana, where more than 11,000 brave citizens have petitioned their Government for a referendum on basic freedoms. If that referendum is allowed, it can be a prelude to real change in Cuba.

This country has no designs on Cuba's sovereignty. We have no designs on the sovereignty of Cuba. But we'll continue to be a strong and consistent supporter of the Cuban people's aspirations for freedom. And nowhere is that support stronger than right here in the streets of Miami, Florida. The support will never waive here, and it's not going to waive in my heart, either. For how long it takes—after all, we fight for freedom here in America. We love freedom. We love what freedom means. It is the cornerstone of our country, and therefore, we will never stop in our search for ways to advance freedom in Cuba.

Earlier today, in *la Casa Blanca,* I announced an initiative for a new Cuba that offers Cuba's Government a way forward, toward democracy and hope and better relations with the United States. Cuba is scheduled to hold elections to its National Assembly in 2003. I challenge Cuba's Government to make these elections free and to make them fair.

To make them free and fair, they must give opposition candidates the freedom to organize, assemble, and speak. They must give them the chance to open up the airwaves, so they can get their message out to the people. To make them free and fair, they must release all political prisoners so they can participate in the elections. In order to make sure we know if they're free and fair, they must let human rights organizations into Cuba, to make sure that the elections are free and fair. Once the 2003 elections are certified as free and fair by international monitors, once Cuba begins the process of meaningful economic reform, then and only then I will explore ways with the United States Congress to ease economic sanctions.

For 43 years—for 43 years—every election in Cuba has been a fraud and a sham. Mr. Castro, once, just once, show that you're

unafraid of a real election. Show the world you respect Cuba's citizens enough to listen to their voices and to count their votes. Start to release your chokehold on the working people and on enterprise. Then and only then will we talk about easing sanctions and not before.

The goal of the United States, the goal of our policy towards Cuba is not a permanent embargo on Cuba's economy; our goal is freedom for Cuba's people. Full normalization of relations with Cuba, diplomatic recognition, open trade, and a robust aid program will only—only—be possible when Cuba has a new Government that is fully democratic, when the rule of law is respected, and when the human rights of all Cubans are protected.

Under the new initiative for Cuba—under this new Initiative for a New Cuba, the United States recognizes that freedom sometimes grows step by step, and we will encourage those steps. You need to know that I feel so strongly about freedom—I mean, the current of history runs toward freedom; eventually, it's not going to be denied. And our plan is to accelerate freedom in Cuba in every way possible. We'll work to encourage freedom within Cuba by making life better for people living under and resisting the Castro regime. So, today I want to talk about some steps we can take, the beginning of some important steps.

My administration will ease restrictions on humanitarian assistance from legitimate U.S. religious and other nongovernmental organizations that directly serve the needs of the Cuban people, and to help build a Cuban civil society. The United States will provide such groups with direct assistance that can be used for humanitarian and entrepreneurial activities. Our Government will offer scholarships in the United States for Cuban students and professionals who are trying to build independent civil institutions. And we will offer scholarships to the children of political prisoners. We're willing to negotiate direct mail service between the United States and Cuba. My administration will also continue to look for ways to modernize Radio and TV Marti.

These are beginning steps. We'll listen to the leaders in the community for innovative ways to continue the inevitable march and to hasten the inevitable march toward freedom.

Mr. Castro must now act. He has his chance. He's been given an opportunity. We will continue to enforce economic sanctions and ban the travel to Cuba until Cuba's Government shows real reform.

Audience members. *Cuba si, Castro no! Cuba si, Castro no! Cuba si, Castro no!*

The President. And when we—when I talk about economic reform—when I talk about economic reform, I mean real economic reform. The Government must allow for workers to be able to organize in unions outside of the control of the Government. The Government must respect private property. Economic reform means the Government must allow employers to hire who they want to hire, as opposed to those on a special list. Economic reform means that when workers earn hard currency, they get to keep the hard currency, as opposed to it going to the Cuban Government. We know what the Cuban Government's up to. We trade in hard currency; they pay in pesos and keep the difference. And therefore, without meaningful reform, trade with Cuba would do nothing more than line the pockets of Fidel Castro and his cronies.

Audience members. *Cuba si, Castro no! Cuba si, Castro no! Cuba si, Castro no!*

The President. I say reform because we care about the people. We want to reform, insist upon reform so the people will benefit. We hurt for the people in Cuba. We long for a day when they realize the same freedoms we have here in America. I want you to understand that I know what trade means with a tyrant. It means that we will underwrite tyranny, and we cannot let that happen. And I also want you to know I will not allow our taxpayers' money to go to enrich the Castro regime, and I'm willing to use my veto.

The initiative I've just—the initiative I've outlined today offers the Cuban Government a way forward, a way towards democracy, a way towards prosperity, a way towards respect. The choice now rests with Mr. Castro.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. If Mr. Castro does not allow free elections, he will be protecting his cronies at the expense of his people. And

eventually—and eventually—despite all his tools of oppression, Castro will need to answer to his people.

Ten years before Cuba achieved independence, Jose Marti wrote this: "If our suffering homeland could see the care with which her absent children are preparing to serve her, if our homeland could see the tenderness with which she is loved by her children in exile, the joy of their faith and her pride at once would give her the strength to break her chains at last."

Those words, written a long time ago, apply with equal power today. The dream of a free and independent Cuba has been deferred, but it can never be destroyed, and it will not be denied.

For those listening on Radio Marti, it's important for you to know the United States stands with the Cuban people, not just on Independence Day but on every day—every day. Every day we stand with those who reject tyranny and torture and embrace liberty and life. Every day we stand with the *plantados* in prison confronting illegitimate power with righteous truth. Every day we stand with the Cuban families everywhere seeking a better future. Every day we cultivate *"una rosa blanca"* for Cuba's freedom.

Thank you all for coming. *Viva Cuba libre!*

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:10 p.m. at the James L. Knight Center. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida and his wife, Columba; entertainers Gloria Estefan and Jon Secada; Gloria Estefan's husband, producer Emilio Estefan, Jr.; Under Secretary of Agriculture for Food Safety Elsa A. Murano; National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice; and President Fidel Castro of Cuba. He also referred to Operation Pedro Pan, a 1960s immigration program in which thousands of Cuban children were sent to the United States by their parents. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

Interview With Claus Kleber of ARD German Television

May 21, 2002

President's Upcoming Visit to Germany

Mr. Kleber. Mr. President, "George Bush" is probably the best name a man can carry to Berlin——

The President. Oh, well, thank you.

Mr. Kleber. ——given the achievements of your father, especially. But still, the city, right now, even as we speak, is bracing, expecting huge demonstrations. And the largest police force in the history of the city has been mobilized to protect you.

The President. Thank you.

Mr. Kleber. Not only against terrorism—yes, I guess. It is not only about the terror threat, which of course is on everybody's mind.

The President. Sure.

Mr. Kleber. But also, thousands of demonstrators of all colors, more than ever before. Have you been made aware of that?

The President. No. I—but that's good. That's democracy. See, I love to visit a place that is confident in her freedom, a place where people feel free to express themselves, because that's what I believe in.

And so I'm looking forward to my visit. I'm going to have a great visit with the Chancellor. I'll be at the Bundestag, and I look forward to a speech there that talks about the importance of our relationship; that is, the relationship between Germany and America and what we can do together.

I'm anxious—I've never been to Germany, so I'm anxious to go, and I'm looking forward to it.

Mr. Kleber. It's too bad that the President never gets to really see a city like Berlin.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Kleber. There's always this security around.

The President. The bubble.

Mr. Kleber. Yes.

The President. That's true. And that's part of my life; that's part of the—that's one of the drawbacks of being the President. You really are encapsulated into a bubble, whether it be in Germany or in America, for that matter.

Mr. Kleber. There is, beyond the demonstrations and beyond the people who show up everyplace just to cause havoc, there is a mood in Germany right now, pervasive among decent people, who are concerned about an America that more and more seems to stand in many important questions outside the global consensus, from the Kyoto agreement to the International Criminal Court to

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, military options versus Iraq, all these questions. My question to you: Is your Government really still part of that global family? Or is it more, America looks for coalitions of the willing, meaning if you go with us, fine; if you don't, we find somebody else or we go it alone?

The President. Well, that's a very complicated question. Let me just tell you this: I'm coming to Germany to say that together we can work to achieve peace, and we must work together to achieve peace.

I'm going to talk about a NATO—the idea of expanding NATO to help achieve peace. I'm going to reaffirm those institutions that are important, where we can cooperate.

I am—listen, I believe in alliances. I know America can't win the war on terror alone. I understand there's some reluctance about some of the positions I take. But one of the things that the German people at least ought to respect is, I speak my mind. There's no doubt where I stand. And I remember, when Ronald Reagan came to Germany, he said: Mr. Gorbachev, tear down the whole wall. He didn't say, tear down a couple of bricks. He said, tear the whole thing down. And I guess I tend to speak that way too.

But the German people will know, if they listen to my speech, that I care deeply for the alliance and friendship we have with the German people. And I believe together we can do a lot of good in the world.

President Saddam Hussein of Iraq

Mr. Kleber. Iraq is an issue very much on everybody's mind in this context. Your Government seems to be determined to end the regime of Saddam Hussein by any means necessary. This seems to include military options. Is there any way that this man, this dictator, can address your concerns and stay in power? Or are we drifting towards a war?

The President. Well, first, let me say this, that Iraq ought to be on the minds of the German people, and they ought to be on the minds of the American people, because the Iraq Government is a dangerous Government. Iraq ought to be centerpiece in our thinking.

This is a Government that's gassed its own people. This is a Government that is not transparent, and this is a Government we know wants to develop weapons of mass destruction. They may have weapons of mass destruction; we just don't know. This is a dangerous regime. And for the good of freedom and for the good of our future, we've got to deal with it.

Mr. Kleber. One way or the other?

The President. One way or the other, absolutely.

Now, I'm not going to—I have no military plans on my desk that calls for—that plots out a military operation. I'm looking at all options. And of course, I'll consult closely with our allies and friends. I look forward to talking this subject with the Chancellor of Germany. I will be very blunt in my assessment of his—"his" being Saddam Hussein's—threat to the freedom of the world.

But this is a threat that we better take seriously, and we better take it seriously now.

September 11

Mr. Kleber. One question about September 11th.

The President. Sure.

Mr. Kleber. I don't care about this Washington second-guessing game; this is really not what I'm getting to. We have pictures of your travel pool on Air Force One looking in horror at this little flat screen which was back in the plane, seeing the second tower collapse.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Kleber. I wondered what was going on at about that time in the front of the plane?

The President. Well, thanks for asking. First of all, I learned about the attack—the second attack; I knew about the first attack when I walked into a schoolroom. I thought it was an accident. And I'm listening to an education briefing, and Andy Card, my Chief of Staff, whispered in my ear, he said, "America's under attack. There's been a second plane crash. America is under attack." I made up my mind right then and there that if somebody was attacking us, we would respond with the full might of America.

Mr. Kleber. But there was little you could do at that moment, in that plane.

The President. At that moment, no, there wasn't. You're right. I mean, I was trying to get out of harm's way. We were concerned

about threats on the President. We were worried about future attacks, and there's a lot of belief that Flight 93 was headed to the White House.

I was concerned about things like, is my wife safe? You know, I was worried about that. I was worried about things such as my parents. I was worried about my girls. And that's what I was concerned—I was worried about Americans who were grieving.

But at the same time, you need to know about me that I was also thinking clearly about how to respond. If America is under attack, my job as the President is to protect the homeland, to find out the facts, and to deal with it in a firm way.

I want to thank the German people and the German Government, not only for their sympathy but for understanding the new war of the 21st century. And we have a new war, and we'd better deal with it, because this is an evil group of people that are interested in destroying civilization. And so long as I'm the President, I'm going to do everything I can to prevent that from happening.

Mr. Kleber. Your people give me the signal to stop. I would love to keep going.

The President. Well, I'm sorry we can't, but maybe some other time.

Mr. Kleber. Have a safe trip.

The President. Thank you.

Mr. Kleber. Take care. Bless you.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview was taped at 1:12 p.m. in the Map Room at the White House for later broadcast. In his remarks, the President referred to Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Interview With Giulio Borrelli of RAI Italian Television

May 21, 2002

Terrorist Alerts

Mr. Borrelli. Mr. President, raising the alarm about the possibility of new terrorist attack without being specific is a way of crying wolf, which can frighten people. Can Americans stop the suicide bombers?

The President. Yes, it's a very interesting question. Well, first of all, the Vice President and the Director of the FBI was expressing a general threat—they're basically saying—with which I agree—that the Al Qaida still exists; they still hate America and any other country which loves freedom; and they want to hurt us. They're nothing but a bunch of coldblooded killers.

And if we had a specific threat to ourselves or to Italy, for that matter, we would deal with it in a way that you probably wouldn't know about. In other words, we'd be on the phone to the Italian authorities, sharing information to protect our—just so that they would help our friends protect themselves. Had we had a specific threat here in America, we would have used our assets to harden the threat. But no, it's a real problem.

The best way to secure our homeland, the best way for Italy to be secure, and other countries, is to find these killers, is to hunt for them, is to chase them down. And that's what we're going to do. And the good news is, for those of us who love freedom, and the bad news is, for the enemy, this country is very patient and very united and going to be very deliberate in our pursuit of freedom.

Europe-U.S. Relationship

Mr. Borrelli. The U.S. and Europe are divided on important issues, as the next step in the war on terrorism and steel trade. Do you think you have to change something in your leadership to be more convincing with European countries? Or do they have to modify their policy?

The President. Well, I don't think either of us have to change because we share great values. See, we love freedom. We hate those who want to kill. That's the common ground, and that's very important. And that's the high ground.

And you bring up interesting issues, you know. You bring up the issue of steel. We trade—first of all, we have trade disputes because there is so much trade. If we had no trade, there would be no disputes. And we've got $2 trillion worth of trade, which is a significant amount of trade. Obviously, I was concerned about what imports were doing to our industry. And under the rules of the WTO, under the guidelines that we've all agreed to, I acted. I am confident and hope that our European trading partners will also

respond within the guidelines of the WTO. And that's the way you settle disputes. A trade dispute is hardly a breach of an important relationship. It is a way to work through a difficult situations.

And as far as the axis of evil, you know, I understand there are some that would hope that the threat would go away just on its own, but we're going to have to act. I will, of course, consult with our friends. I'm deliberate in my thinking. I have no set plans right now. But I am serious about making it clear to countries around the world that we need to work together to rid the world of the threat. And the threat is a nontransparent dictator—dictatorship having a weapons of mass destruction to be used countries such as yours and mine. And that's a threat that we must deal with if we want to do our duty to history.

Situation in the Middle East

Mr. Borrelli. How can America and Europe improve their efforts to make peace in the Middle East?

The President. Yes, that's a great question. We are working together well, I believe. I was very pleased with—and the Secretary of State is the one who keeps me abreast of the levels of cooperation. During the recent issues in the Middle East, the EU and our country worked very closely to try to lay out the foundations and a pathway to peace.

I gave a speech right here in the Rose Garden on April the 4th that said parties have responsibilities: Israelis have got responsibilities if they're interested in peace; the Arab world has responsibilities; as do the Palestinians. I've talked about a vision of two states living side by side, at peace, with respect to each other. The Europeans agree with that position, so we're on the same—we share the same vision. And I believe that the Europeans also agree that there will never be peace so long as terrorists continue to kill and that we've all got to use our collective efforts to stop the terrorist attacks.

We definitely agree that we've got to provide hope for the Palestinian people. There's a lot of people who've been suffering for a long period of time. We need an economic development package that will help the Palestinians realize a hopeful future. But we cannot do so until there is the institutions of a credible state in place. In other words, we're not going to give money if it ends up going into somebody's pockets and not to help the people we're trying to help.

So we've got the framework. We've got the vision for peace and the framework for getting there, and now we've just got to continue working together to achieve it. It is a difficult subject. People have been killing each other there for a long period of time. But once there is the collective vision for peace—and I think we're building that collective vision—and once people understand their responsibilities—and we're now laying out the responsibilities—we have an opportunity to move toward that vision of peace, and that's exactly what we're doing.

Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy

Mr. Borrelli. Last time I came here I asked you if you received an invitation to have dinner with Mr. Chirac or Mr. Berlusconi, which one would you accept? You answered, you like Italian food. Do you still enjoy Italian cuisine made by Berlusconi?

The President. I love Italian cuisine. And I'm very close to the Prime Minister. He is a—he is a good man; he's easy to be around because he is a good listener and a good talker. And I like his judgment, and I like his friendship.

President's Upcoming Meeting With Pope John Paul II

Mr. Borrelli. When you go to Rome, you meet the Pope.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Borrelli. One of his desires is to visit Ground Zero in New York. Will he be visiting soon?

The President. I hope so, but that's up for the Pope to make that decision. He is a—I had the honor of visiting the Holy Father the last time I was—the visit in beautiful Rome. And actually, it was outside of Rome; we went to the summer—the summer palace overlooking the spectacular lake. And you know, he's getting older, and whether or not he's able to travel to Ground Zero will be up to—up for the Holy Father to decide. But I just want you to know I'm looking forward

to that visit. It is a great honor to be in his presence. He's a great man.

Mr. Borrelli. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The interview was taped at 1:33 p.m. in the Map Room at the White House for later broadcast. Mr. Borrelli referred to President Jacques Chirac of France. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks Honoring NCAA Champion Teams

May 21, 2002

The President. Welcome. Please be seated. It's a beautiful day to welcome a bunch of champs to the White House. I want to welcome you all; I want to welcome the teams. Thanks for coming.

Thank you, Senators, for being here. I see Senator Dodd, Dayton. I—Senator Lieberman's on his way; I know that for a fact. I want to thank my friend Johnny Rowland, the Governor of Connecticut, here. He told me, he said, "The Connecticut women's basketball team is pretty good this year." I said, "Oh, yeah?" He said, "No, they're real good." And I said, "Well, how good?" He said, "They're going to go undefeated." I said, "Sure, Governor." Thanks for making me look bad, Johnny. [*Laughter*]

Senator Wellstone, thanks for coming as well, honored you're here.

I want to thank the representatives from the universities. My good friend Mark Yudof is here from the University of Minnesota. I want to thank Don Lucia as well, the head coach of the men's hockey team. I want to congratulate the Minnesota team; you won it in dramatic fashion. And you had to let down your—change your immigration laws to allow somebody from North Dakota to come in to score. [*Laughter*] But it was a great victory.

I want to thank Kathryn Martin and Shannon Miller from the University of Minnesota-Duluth women's hockey team for coming back again. It is a repeat performance by a great group of athletes. I want to congratulate you all for winning it two years in a row.

I want to thank and welcome Geno Aurinuma—is that right?

Mr. Auriemma. Auriemma.

The President. Auriemma. Okay, fine. [*Laughter*] I've never been too good in English. [*Laughter*] But he's a heck of a coach, however he says his name. [*Laughter*]

I want to congratulate the UConn women's basketball team for an unbelievable season. It—what great athletes, and they were really fun to watch.

And then, much to the delight of thousands of people around here, and many who work upstairs in the White House, the mighty Terps of Maryland are the NCAA champions. I want to congratulate Dan Mote, the president, and Gary Williams, the coach. You guys need to know that there was a lot of people that were stepping a little lighter in my family, as well as who work in this compound, when you won. It was a great feat in an unbelievably tough field. And so congratulations to you all.

You've now got a—you showed some things that I think are important for our country, particularly at this time, that if you serve something greater than yourself, called a team, you can achieve great things. If you recognize that life is more than just an individual record, that if you recognize there are—something bigger than an individual accomplishment, you can win. You can win in a broader sense. And to me, that's what these championships mean.

It's kind of what our country has got to do as well. If we serve something greater than materialism or self-absorption, we can do some great things as a country. Starting with loving our neighbor like we'd like to be loved ourselves, making sure the country is as hopeful and promising as it can possibly be.

As well as the result of being champs—I mean big-time champs—you've now got a lot of people looking at you, a lot of kids wondering, how does a champ behave? What does a champ do when they win the crown? It's a great opportunity to set an example for other people, to help people understand they're responsible for the decisions they make in life. You have that chance right now as a champ.

You've been champs on the field and on the courts and on the rinks. Now you can

be champs off, and do your country a great service.

It's my honor to welcome you all here. I love championship day at the White House. I love to be around success. I hope you cherish these memories in winning these great championships for a long time coming and use them as an opportunity to work to make your Nation the best it can possibly be.

May God bless your talents, and may God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Mark Yudof, president, and Don Lucia, head men's ice hockey coach, University of Minnesota; Kathryn Martin, chancellor, and Shannon Miller, head women's ice hockey coach, University of Minnesota-Duluth; Geno Auriemma, head women's basketball coach, University of Connecticut; and Dan Mote, president, and Gary Williams, head men's basketball coach, University of Maryland. The President honored the University of Connecticut's women's basketball team, the University of Maryland's men's basketball team, the University of Minnesota's men's ice hockey team, and the University of Minnesota-Duluth's women's ice hockey team.

Statement on the Peace Process in Sudan

May 21, 2002

Senator Danforth has made considerable progress in helping to bring both sides in Sudan's peace process closer to the negotiating table. I am grateful for Senator Danforth's efforts, and I have asked him to continue to serve as my envoy. The road ahead will be difficult. Lives continue to be lost, and conditions for the people of Sudan are hard.

Achieving peace will require verifiable action by both sides. We must see deeds, not just words. The Government of Sudan cannot make empty promises while continuing to wage war against its own people. It must stop interfering with food deliveries. It must stop attacking civilians. It must honor fully its commitments to Senator Danforth. It must accept that it cannot win the war. It must seek peace.

The United States is committed to helping the aggrieved people of the Sudan. We will continue to urge the parties toward peace at the talks in Kenya. To achieve a lasting and just peace, all parties at the talks must make every effort to ensure the discussions are a success.

Statement on the Establishment of East Timor

May 21, 2002

The United States salutes the establishment of East Timor, the first new nation of the millennium. With those in Dili, we celebrate the successful conclusion of the long struggle of the people of East Timor for an independent nation. We are heartened that the people of East Timor have embraced the path of democracy that will lead their nation to peace and prosperity. On behalf of the American people, I congratulate Xanana Gusmao, who was sworn in as East Timor's first President.

The United Nations has played a pivotal role in bringing East Timor into the family of nations. We praise the contributions and efforts of the international community which helped make the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor a success.

Proclamation 7565—National Maritime Day, 2002

May 21, 2002

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Our commercial maritime tradition dates back to the founding of our Nation; and it continues to play an important role today, moving passengers and freight, protecting our freedom, and linking our citizens to the world.

Merchant mariners have served America with distinction throughout our history, but especially at critical moments. Before World War II, they made dangerous and difficult voyages carrying vital supplies to Europe. During that war, more than 700 United States merchant ships were lost to attack, and more than 6,000 merchant mariners lost their lives. Merchant mariners played a vital role

in the Korean Conflict, especially in the rescue of 14,000 Korean civilians by the SS MEREDITH VICTORY. During the Vietnam War, ships crewed by civilian seamen carried 95 percent of the supplies used by our Armed Forces. Many of these ships sailed into combat zones under fire. In fact, the SS MAYAGUEZ incident involved the capture of mariners from the American merchant ship SS MAYAGUEZ.

More recently, during the Persian Gulf War merchant mariners were vital to the largest sealift operation since D-Day. And after the tragic attacks of September 11th, professional merchant mariners and midshipmen from the United States Merchant Marine Academy transported personnel and equipment and moved food and supplies to lower Manhattan. Their efforts enhanced rescue operations and helped save many lives.

Today, the men and women of the United States Merchant Marine and thousands of other workers in our Nation's maritime industry continue to make immeasurable contributions to our economic strength and our ongoing efforts to build a more peaceful world. We must ensure our maritime system can meet the challenges of the 21st century. As cargo volume is expected to double within the next 20 years, a viable maritime network will help our country compete in our global economy.

Accordingly, my Administration is working with government agencies, the shipping industry, labor, and environmental groups to ensure that our waterways remain a sound transportation option that complements our overland transportation network.

In recognition of the importance of the U.S. Merchant Marine, the Congress, by joint resolution approved on May 20, 1933, as amended, has designated May 22 of each year as "National Maritime Day" and has authorized and requested that the President issue an annual proclamation calling for its appropriate observance.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 22, 2002, as National Maritime Day. I call upon the people of the United States to celebrate this observance and to display the flag of the United States at their homes and in their communities. I also request that all ships sailing under the American flag dress ship on that day.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of May, in the year of our Lord two thousand two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-sixth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., May 23, 2002]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 24.

Proclamation 7566—National Missing Children's Day, 2002

May 21, 2002

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

On May 25, 1979, 6-year old Etan Patz disappeared on his way to school in New York City. The ensuing search focused national attention on the tragedy of missing children, as well as the lack of resources and information available to help locate and recover missing children. Since that time, many high-profile cases and the dedicated efforts of parents, the law enforcement community, and others concerned with children's well-being have generated even greater awareness about the need to protect children from criminals and other predators.

During this year, we mark the 20th anniversary of the passage of the Missing Children Act, originally signed into law by President Reagan. Over the past two decades, the Department of Justice, along with many important community and faith-based partners, have made great progress in raising public awareness, improving public safety, locating and recovering missing children, and protecting children from exploitation on the Internet.

Americans must continue to work together to ensure the safety of our children. The Department of Justice will commemorate National Missing Children's Day by presenting

six awards that recognize outstanding efforts to safeguard our youngest citizens. The recipients deserve our heartfelt thanks and appreciation for their dedicated work. As they are honored for their contributions, I urge all Americans to take an active role in upholding the safety of our communities and in defending the well-being of our children.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim May 25, 2002, as National Missing Children's Day. I call upon Americans to join me in commemorating this observance and to remember those young people who are missing. I also call on our citizens to recognize and thank those who work on behalf of missing children and their families. By renewing our commitment to protect our children from harm, we can save lives and prevent untold suffering and grief among the most vulnerable of our society.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of May, in the year of our Lord two thousand two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-sixth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., May 23, 2002]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 24.

Proclamation 7567—Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, 2002

May 21, 2002

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Every Memorial Day, Americans remember the debt of gratitude we owe to our veterans who gave their lives for our country. On this important day, communities across our Nation stop to remember and to honor the great sacrifices made by our men and women in uniform.

Since its beginnings, our country has faced many threats that have tested its courage. From war-torn battlefields and jungle skirmishes to conflicts at sea and air attacks, generations of brave men and women have fought and died to defeat tyranny and protect our democracy. Their sacrifices have made this Nation strong and our world a better place.

Upwards of 48 million Americans have served the cause of freedom and more than a million have died to preserve our liberty. We also remember the more than 140,000 who were taken prisoner-of-war and the many others who were never accounted for. These memories remind us that the cost of war and the price of peace are great.

The tradition of Memorial Day reinforces our Nation's resolve to never forget those who gave their last full measure for America. As we engage in the war against terrorism, we also pray for peace. When America emerged from the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln called on all Americans to "cherish a just and lasting peace." In these extraordinary times, our Nation has once again been challenged, and Lincoln's words remain our guiding prayer.

We continue to rely on our brave and steadfast men and women in uniform to defend our freedom. United as a people, we pray for peace throughout the world. We also pray for the safety of our troops. This new generation follows an unbroken line of good, courageous, and unfaltering heroes who have never let our country down.

As we commemorate this noble American holiday, we honor those who fell in defense of freedom. We honor them in our memory through solemn observances, with the love of a grateful Nation.

In respect for their devotion to America, the Congress, by a joint resolution approved on May 11, 1950 (64 Stat. 158), has requested the President to issue a proclamation calling on the people of the United States to observe each Memorial Day as a day of prayer for permanent peace and designating a period on that day when the people of the United States might unite in prayer. The Congress, by Public Law 106–579, has also designated the minute beginning at 3:00 p.m. local time on that day as a time for all Americans to observe the National Moment of Remembrance.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby designate Memorial Day, May 27, 2002, as a day of prayer for permanent peace, and I designate the hour beginning in each locality at 11:00 a.m. of that day as a time to unite in prayer. I also ask all Americans to observe the National Moment of Remembrance beginning at 3:00 p.m. local time on Memorial Day. I urge the press, radio, television, and all other media to participate in these observances.

I also request the Governors of the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the appropriate officials of all units of government, to direct that the flag be flown at half-staff until noon on this Memorial Day on all buildings, grounds, and naval vessels throughout the United States and in all areas under its jurisdiction and control. I also request the people of the United States to display the flag at half-staff from their homes for the customary forenoon period.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of May, in the year of our Lord two thousand two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-sixth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., May 23, 2002]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 24.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Transmitting Requests for Supplemental and Emergency Appropriations

May 21, 2002

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I ask the Congress to consider the enclosed request for an FY 2002 supplemental appropriation for the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA). This request is for an increase in the mandatory cost of disability compensation and pension benefits for veterans.

During the current year, VA has made dramatic improvements processing claims, significantly accelerating the rate of payments. This supplemental request for $1.1 billion is needed to help pay the benefits associated with reducing the backlog of claims from previous years.

Absent this adjustment, there would be insufficient funds in September to pay the 2.5 million veterans who are entitled to benefits.

This transmittal also contains requests for FY 2002 supplemental appropriations for the legislative branch. As a matter of comity, appropriations requests of the legislative branch are transmitted without change.

Furthermore, in accordance with provisions of Public Law 107–63, the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2002, I hereby request and make available $54.0 million in emergency appropriations for the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Land Management. These emergency funds will be used to undertake necessary rehabilitation projects on lands damaged by wildland fires and to support fire suppression activities. I hereby designate this amount as an emergency requirement in accordance with section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended.

The details of these requests are set forth in the enclosed letter from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. I concur with his comments and observations.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

Interview With European Journalists

May 21, 2002

The President. I have a couple comments, and I'll answer some questions, obviously.

This is a trip that I've been looking forward to. I've never been to Germany; I'm looking forward to it. I've prepared a speech to the Bundestag, which is going to be a very interesting opportunity for me to talk about a very important relationship.

In my speech I'm going to refer to my trip to Russia as well, about how I view this as an opportunity—my trip to Russia and Germany and France and eventually Italy—as a

way to confirm the importance of our relationship bilaterally as well as institutions like NATO but as a way to talk about how welcoming Russia, Russia's vision into the West is important for all of us.

I look forward to my bilaterals with Gerhard Schroeder. We've got a good relationship. I look forward to my bilaterals with Jacques and Prime Minister Berlusconi, who is—three friends. As you know, I rely upon personal diplomacy a lot. I think it's easy, when people find areas of mutual respect, to work together. I've got good relationships with all three and, of course, we've got good relationships with President Putin as well.

Q. He's also a friend?

The President. He is a friend; yes, he is, very much.

I will talk in the bilaterals as well, of course, in my public addresses, about our need to continue to fight terrorism. You've seen our newspapers. You've seen members of my administration, high-ranking members of my administration clearly talking about the potential threats and attacks on America. I will remind our friends that this war is far from over. I will praise the cooperation, because I believe it. I will talk to them about what we need to do to continue fighting for liberty and freedom.

In my speeches—in discussions privately and in my public speeches, I will also remind us that we want the world to be not only more secure but a better world. I'll explain the Millennium Challenge Fund that I laid out in Monterrey, and I'll talk about some of it publicly in the Bundestag as well.

I think this is an opportunity—I view this as a great opportunity for those of us who are in positions of responsibility to defend our freedoms and to work collaboratively to make the world a better place, improve the human condition. So I'm looking forward to it. It's going to be an interesting experience.

I'm looking forward to going to Normandy on Memorial Day. It's going to be a very dramatic moment for the son of a World War II veteran. And I look forward to going to a church and a synagogue in Russia, Sunday. I look forward, as I said, going to the Bundestag. It's going to be a—it'll be a memorable event, to talk in front of the vast chamber with democratically elected members, some of whom who agree with what I believe in, some of whom don't—but all of them are free to express their minds.

And then, of course, go to Paris—it's going to be a magnificent moment—then Rome, and then as well the "at 20," the NATO confirmation of a new relationship with Russia.

But anyway, this is going to be a good trip. I sent the best advance team I can send, and that is the First Lady—[*laughter*]—preparing my way.

So why don't we go around and answer some questions? Who would like to start?

Europe-U.S. Relationship

Q. Mr. President.

The President. Yes, sir.

Q. You are by now an experienced European traveler, so I would like to ask you, is there something wrong with the U.S.-European relationship in terms of a growing psychological, military, technological gap? Is there something that is worrying you and that you hear from your friends that is worrying them?

The President. Well, first, I recognize that there are more ties that bind us than don't. You see, when you love freedom, that's a powerful tie. The German people, the French, Russians, and the Italians, like Americans, love freedom. And so do I, a lot. And that's what binds us. We've got values that bind us: rule of law, constitutions, marketplace, the rule of the marketplace. These are common values that make us bound together.

We've got common problems that we must solve that are also greater than any dispute that may arise. I mean, listen, fighting for terror is a common cause that is a powerful force that unites us.

So I think the relationship is a strong relationship, and it's a healthy relationship. And of course there are disagreements at times. We have trade disagreements, but that's because we've got a lot of trade; we've got $2 trillion of trade a year. If we didn't have any trade, there would be no disagreements. But that's normal; that's in the normal course of business. And I certainly do not let that affect my way of how I view this incredibly important alliance and relationships.

So I'm—I go to Europe feeling optimistic about our relationships and feeling optimistic about our capacities to work together to solve problems.

Russia

Q. Mr. President, some American political scientists would prefer to see Russia in the future as undeveloped.

The President. Yes.

Q. As a strong developer——

The President. Pay attention to him.

Q. ——they became a significant competitor for the U.S.A. However, a poor and a bitter country would be even more dangerous.

The President. Yes.

Q. How do you, Mr. President, see Russia in the near future?

The President. Well, first of all, it's the same issue that relates to the European Union and America as well as Russia and America. We want healthy competition. We want our friends to be strong and competitive. We want the economies to grow. I think it's essential for American policymakers to recognize that a healthy Europe and a healthy Russia is in our Nation's interests. It makes it easier; for example, a healthy economy makes it more likely that a friendship will develop in a more significant way.

And so my message to the Russian people, as well as to here at home, is that it is important that Russia be viewed as a friend, not as an enemy. I said that right off the bat; that was my stated goal as a President, is to work with Russia as a friend, not as an enemy. I was able in Slovenia to realize that was possible when I visited with President Putin. And this head of his bureau there, or whatever you want to call the guy, asked me the question, first question: Do you trust Putin?

Yes. I answered that several months ago when—what's the boy's name? Fournier [Ron Fournier, Associated Press] is his name—please, please, scratch that from the—[*laughter*]—scratch that from the notes.

They said, "How do you know?" I said, "I looked into his eyes and was able to glimpse into his soul." See, and I've been proven right. I do trust him because I believe he cares deeply about moving forward. There's so much that can be done in the spirit of friendship, together. And that's how I view—that's—and we've got a lot of problems.

We've got AIDS ravishing an entire continent. Well, imagine, here we are, we're all representative of relatively wealthy nations—hopefully, Russia's wealth will increase—and yet, we're confronted with a society that's being wiped out. And so one of the fundamental questions is how—what do we do? We've got nations, responsible nations—how do we respond to that?

And I've got some ideas. As you know, we put a—anyway, my point to you is that we want Russia to succeed. We want Russia to be healthy. We want Russia, our partner now in fighting terrorism, to have the means to continue the fight. And I hope this trip will help, you know, assuage the doubts of some in Russia who—and in America—who like the old way of resentment and bitterness and hatred. Vladimir Putin and I are putting that behind us for the good of both peoples.

Yes, sir.

NATO

Q. Mr. President, one of the main vehicles of the relationship between the U.S. and Europe is, of course, NATO.

The President. Yes.

Q. And we have many in Europe, and not only Europe, are wondering, is NATO doomed? Will it disappear at some point? And if not, what is the purpose of NATO in the coming years?

The President. Well, that's a great question. NATO is more needed than ever in many ways. And let me explain it to you this way. The nature of the threats to us—and I say "us" collectively—has changed. And what we're learning is, it's the ability for nations to share information and to cut off finances, the ability for nations to deny safe haven, the ability for nations to keep these killers on the run that's going to make this war successful. And therefore, it's a collective effort in order to beat a terrorist network. And NATO is a collection of freedom-loving countries. Therefore, NATO must change its

mission—not its mission, its focus and its capabilities in order to meet the threats that now face us.

So I think NATO is very relevant. That is why in Prague, next fall, I will—depending upon the actions of applicant states—will follow through my speech I gave in Warsaw and will reiterate somewhat in Germany, that I see a Europe whole, free, at peace with itself. And NATO expansion is one way to achieve that.

Now, I caution those who would read your articles to not take anything for granted when it comes to the NATO expansion. But I have been on record as one that has talked aggressively about expansion. The reason I do is because I understand the importance of NATO and the relevance of NATO.

And we need to work within NATO to make sure that NATO has got the capacities to—to better use capabilities, define capabilities and strategies, make sure an expanded NATO is flawless and seamless in its capacity to advance against a new threat. So I think it's a very relevant part of the future, and I will say that in Germany, and to Jacques.

Q. If I may have a followup on this——

The President. Sure.

Q. Are you worried by the gap in military capabilities, which is widening—and even, with your budget, will be widening more—between Europe and the U.S.?

The President. I think that's an issue. I do think it's an issue. On the other hand, it's an issue that can be overcome with time.

We're transforming our military or trying to transform our military rapidly. There's a few weapons systems that seem to keep popping up, even though they may have been doomed at one point. But that's part of the process. And—but we are transforming. And NATO must transform as well in order to meet the true threats. Russia is not a threat. Russia is not a threat to the West. And therefore, NATO must align its capabilities and its budgets to the new threat. And that's going to take awhile. I understand that.

So I'm not in a—you know, I'm optimistic about NATO changing. I've talked to Lord Robertson about this issue. I will address it in my speech in Germany as well, about how to make sure NATO stays relevant as we head into the 21st century.

But gaps can be closed, and gaps can be changed, particularly technological gaps, particularly among friends. And I'll repeat, I go to Europe as a friend, and someone with whom—someone who wants to work with Europe to achieve common objectives.

And I will say this again: The war on terror requires significant cooperation. We're not fighting a nation that has got the capacity to move tanks. We're fighting a group of killers, international killers who hide in caves, who burrow in free societies, who are patient and tough and mean, and who want to destroy. And therefore, we must cooperate with each other; we must share intelligence; we must run down leads; we must interdict; we must arrest. And a great place to start is with a collection of freedom-loving countries, and that is NATO.

Yes, sir?

Russia

Q. What is the Russia-NATO Council about? Does it give a say to Russia on NATO issues? And if not, what?

The President. The "at 20" certainly does not give Russia any veto power over military actions. And that's important to know.

However, it recognizes that Russia can be an important partner in a peaceful Europe by working, initially working with Russia on counterproliferation measures, terrorism measures, ways to address the new threats facing all of us.

Russia faces the same threat that Italy, France, Germany, and America faces, and that is the threat of terrorism. It is important for your readers to know you face the threat, just like we face the threat. It may not seem so—it may not seem so. But I'm telling you the threat is real. President Putin understands that. Therefore, it makes—as do Europe leaders as well, I want you to know. And it, therefore, makes eminent sense to include Russia in a new relationship with NATO, and that's what we're going to confirm on the outskirts of Rome.

Iraq and State-Supported Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, would you say that Iraq, for the time being, is basically contained? Or

do you think that there are urgent steps required to undertake against Saddam's plans with weapons of mass destruction?

The President. Sure. I'm a patient man. And I am a deliberate man. But the word "contain" doesn't work if someone's got the capacity to deliver a weapon of mass destruction. How can you contain somebody when they've got the ability to blackmail or launch a weapon? And that is my deep concern.

And I feel passionate about this concern, because I know the nature of the regime. And I know the potential threat that could come if this terrorist organization that we're hunting down teams up with—I'm not sure how you translate into German, but——

Q. We'll find a way.

The President. ——coordinate, allies with, coordinates with—uses these weapons of mass destruction to further their means as well. And I'm concerned about it.

I know there's a lot of angst about my statements about these nations, but I have the responsibility to speak as clearly as I possibly can about how I view the nature of these regimes. And I will continue doing that.

Q. Is that why the Vice President said that inspections are not really enough?

The President. Well, we certainly hope that the Iraq Government will allow there to be full and open and unfettered inspections. We want to know. This is a man who's denied inspections for years. I wonder why. I think the world ought to ask, why won't you allow for inspections?

Every time they talk about inspections, he's got a certain kind of caveats and strings, and won't let them—"You can't go here. You can't go there." So I think the Vice President was expressing some skepticism about the nature of the regime itself. And we'd like to see inspections, unfettered, whole, free inspections. We'd like these inspectors to go look where they want to look, just like Saddam Hussein agreed to do over a decade ago.

Mr. Volk?

Putin-Bush Relationship

Q. Mr. President, can you please describe your relationship—I'm excited, therefore I'm reading. [*Laughter*] Can you please describe your relationship with President Vladimir Putin?

The President. Yes.

Q. How do you call each other during the informal session? What are the subjects of your conversation after official state session?

The President. Well, I would call my relationship warm. I enjoy his company. He has got a good sense of humor, and I appreciate that. And he has kindly invited me to his house, and I'm looking forward to going.

Our conversations will be about—here's a man who loves Russia, and he loves the Russian people. And he's deeply concerned about problems facing Russia. And a lot of times, even in the most informal gathering, he shares with me his deep concerns.

He is a—he also is a man who worries about the threats that Russia faces. We share a common interest in this war on terror because Russia, herself, has been attacked; innocent people have lost life. And he's passionate on the subject, about protecting his homeland. And we share information about how best to do that. I mean, we ask questions as friends would ask questions: "How are you doing this? Where are you doing that?"

Q. How do you call him? Vladimir?

The President. Oh, I call him Vladimir, yes.

Q. Vladimir?

The President. Yes. And he calls me George.

Press Secretary Ari Fleischer. Jorzh.

The President. But he's a—one of the interesting things we're going to do is go to St. Petersburg together and go on the barges and see the White Nights.

Q. Do you know a couple of words in Russian?

The President. No.

Q. No?

The President. *Nyet.* [*Laughter*] One. But I've got a Russian speaker with me, *Senorita Arroz.* "*Arroz*" means "Rice."

Terrorist Alerts

Q. Mr. President, the warnings which have been issued in the last days about terrorist threat, including what the Vice President said on Sunday—is it a kind of general notice to the American people that they must stay vigilant in the demands on the U.S. front? Or does it point out to any specific and imminent threat?

The President. The FBI Director yesterday, I talked to him—he comes in every morning, by the way. So this subject—he came up this morning. He was talking about—he was speculating based upon a lot of intelligence that indicates that the Al Qaida is active, plotting, planning, you know, trying to hit us. So he was speculating. He basically said, "Look, I wouldn't be surprised if there is another attack, and it's going to be difficult to stop them," is what he said. The Vice President also reflected that attitude.

Now, if and when we have a specific threat, you know, we—in other words, if I were to tell you that I know that there's a—thinking about an attack on a certain moment at a certain place, we would deal with that in a way that would obviously harden that site. We would put our assets in place to prevent that from happening. I doubt there'd be a lot of publicity. The people, obviously, whose lives could be affected would be informed, directly informed, as the country, as the Government deployed assets to react.

These are very clever killers. And I refer to them as killers because that's what they are. They're out to kill, no other way to put it. And they—their communications are adept. And we're learning more about them. But they're—they're a heck of a lot more sophisticated than people assume, I guess is the best way to put it. They think, and they plan, and they plot. They burrow into free societies.

And so what the Vice President and the FBI Director were reflecting was a general understanding of the desires and attitudes and methodology or potential methodology—obviously, if we knew the exact methodology, they wouldn't be around; we would have taken care of—well, protect our homeland, I'll put it to you that way, within the Constitution of the United States, of course. They would be off the streets.

It's a concern. This is—I mean, every morning I read threats—some, by the way, directed not toward U.S. assets, but to the assets of our friends. As a matter of fact, I am confident that I've read threats that were directed to the countries represented here. All the time, we share information immediately. As a matter of fact, before I see it, I'm confident that the information has gone to the intelligence-gathering networks of the respected countries. And that's very important; that's very important. I don't mean to be an alarmist. And again, there are no—I didn't have a—there's not a moment.

But there is an attitude of these people. And they're relentless, they just are. And therefore, when you hear me say that the best strategy, the best defense is an offense, I mean it. And the best way to protect our respective people is to hunt these people down.

One of my jobs is to continually educate the American people and, for that matter, anybody who is interested in the world who wants to listen, as to the true nature of what we face. I've got a better handle on it than most. I pay attention to it every day. My most important job—we'll debate all the debates and all the issues, but my most important job is to protect America and our friends and allies and work with our friends and allies to protect the innocent people in your countries.

You know, it's a unique war we're fighting. The old wars, there would be battlelines and movements, and you could measure progress here and territory taken here. A lot of people steeped in history kind of still think that way. But it's a different kind of war. And we're recognizing how different it is as we get more intelligence. And it takes a different effort to fight it.

But it's real; it's absolutely real. I know some in the world don't particularly want to hear that. It's much easier not to be confronted with the truth, because it means that there's going to be sacrifice and worry and concern. But it's a real threat, and I'm going to—I'll battle with all my—and I've got a great country behind me doing——

Q. On this point, were you disappointed by the questions raised by the Democrats about the way you were informed? Did the conclusions you draw, you drew from this information——

The President. As I said, this is the—the thing about Washington. I suspect capitals elsewhere—democracy, there's nothing like a little second-guessing. As I said, in Washington, the second-guessing is second nature. I'm used to it. I think there was a lot of—

most of the elected officials here are very responsible citizens. They understand the nature of the intelligence; they understand how it works.

We're a united country—may flare up a little, politics flares up. But we're a united country. And this country is—both Republicans and Democrats are united to win this war on terror, and I appreciate that spirit from Washington.

Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority

Q. On Middle East——

The President. Make it a good one.

Q. Yes.

The President. Be sure it's a good one. [*Laughter*] I'm sure everybody here is interested in that subject.

Q. Is peace possible with Arafat?

The President. It's a very interesting question. First of all, I meant what I said on April the 4th, when I said Mr. Arafat has let the Palestinian people down. He's had a chance to lead. He had a chance to get a peace agreement with my predecessor. He's had chance after chance. And by failing to lead, he has really let the Palestinians down.

I say that with a lot of angst in my heart because I am concerned about the plight of the Palestinian citizenry, poor and isolated and frustrated. Many live in refugee camps and have for years. And there's obviously—I realize in many of their hearts, there's little hope, and that's frustrating.

And so I am clearly disappointed. Somebody said, "Has he earned your respect?" I said, he never had my respect, because he has—he let his people down. The role of a leader is to lead.

Having said that, I do think peace is possible, and I think it's important. I think it's very important that we work toward a vision of two states, living side by side in peace. There's work for all of us involved in this process, to have that vision so necessary for a secure Israel and so necessary for a hopeful Palestine.

The process to get there is going to require a commitment by all parties: a commitment for the United States to continue to lead on the issue, and we will; a commitment by the Israelis to make the tough choices necessary for the Palestinian state to exist; the commitment by the Palestinians to renounce and fight terror; the commitment by the Arab world to become engaged not only in the humanitarian aspects of the region but to be a part of the building of the institutions necessary for a Palestinian state to exist.

That starts with a security apparatus that actually functions for the benefit of the Palestinian people by fighting off terror, by rejecting extremism. There is—and at the same time, shows the world, not only just Israel but shows American and Arab nations and everybody, the EU, that there is a concerted effort to fight terror, a security force in which authority and responsibility are properly aligned. That's step one.

A while ago I announced that Tenet was going to reengage in the process of developing this security force. There also needs to be the institutions necessary for the growth of a state, such as the ability to disburse money in a noncorrupt way, the capacity to provide help for citizens—actual help for citizens who suffer—in a way that will lead to the rebuilding of community; they have the civil institutions necessary for growth. That will come when there are—when there is the reforms necessary to make sure there is accountability in the Palestinian Authority.

There needs to be the conditions necessary for economic vitality; that's trade. There's money willing to be spent. The EU—I've talked to President Aznar on the subject; I've talked to your respective leaders on the subject. I've committed to it.

But I'm not committed to spending—sending money in a place until I'm convinced it's going to be spent to help the Palestinian people. And so I—yes, I think peace is possible. It's going to take awhile; it's going to take a lot of work. And the first steps necessary are for people to assume their responsibilities, to assume a responsible role.

I am—I will tell you that you've read the press accounting of what's taking place. There is a sense that—amongst some in the region, a lot in the region, that there needs to be a reform process in the Palestinians that will boost the confidence of, first, the people, second, the neighborhood, and third,

the community of the world, of which the EU and America are an integral part.

So I will continue to work for peace, and I just—to renounce terror, insist that people fight off terrorist attacks, demand that there be accountability for people who are involved in the process, cut off money wherever we can, to deny terrorists the capacity to derail peace by death. And we have to do that in order to achieve peace. You've got to deny people—killers the ability to destroy hope through death. And I'm optimistic we can do that. I believe we can. Thanks for asking.

Okay, thanks for your time.

NOTE: The interview began at 10:20 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House, and the transcript was embargoed for release by the Office of the Press Secretary until 10 p.m. In his remarks, the President referred to Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany; President Jacques Chirac of France; Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy; President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia; Secretary General Lord Robertson of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and President Jose Maria Aznar of Spain in his capacity as President of the European Council. He also referred to "NATO at 20," a proposed NATO-Russia cooperation mechanism in which NATO member states and Russia will work as equal partners in areas of common interest. Journalists participating in the interview were: Leo Wieland, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung; Patrick Jarreau, Le Monde; Gabrial Volk, Argumenti i Fakti; and Alberto Flores-D'Arcais, La Repubblica. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Interview With Christian Malar of TF–3 French Television

May 21, 2002

Terrorist Alerts

Mr. Malar. Mr. President, thank you very much. Could you be more specific on the prospects of new attack against the United States? It's a source of concern for all of us, of course. And do you think it's a—concerns also, for instance, the French, who have been severely targeted—struck recently by the terrorist networks in Pakistan?

The President. Yes, it's a good question. First, I'm concerned about all people who love freedom. The French love freedom; Americans love freedom. And Al Qaida hates freedom, and they can't stand people who embrace freedom.

I have no specific threat to America and Americans or to the French. If I had a specific threat, something that would hurt the French, I can assure you we would have shared that information immediately with our friends in the French Government. If I have a specific threat relating to America, we would deal with that specific threat. We would use our assets to harden whatever the target might be. You probably wouldn't know about it.

What you're hearing is—you're hearing—the people of my administration are concerned about a group of people who continue to plot and plan on ways to hurt us. And the best way to prevent further attacks is to find them and hunt them down, to chase them one by one, and to bring them to justice. And that's what my country and our coalition will continue to do.

Iran and Iraq

Mr. Malar. Mr. President, you spoke a lot about the evil axis. Are you still planning to attack Iraq? And what about Iran, which, according to our understanding of various sources, might have been harboring bin Laden for the last few months?

The President. Oh, really? Well, I certainly hope that's not the case, for Iran's sake, that they be harboring bin Laden. We don't know about Mr. bin Laden. He might be dead; he might be alive. All I can tell you is, I heard—I haven't heard much from him in a long period of time.

I do believe there is an axis of evil. These are countries that are not transparent; they're dictatorial; they've got designs for weapons of mass destruction, if they don't have them already. They hate—they preach a gospel of hate. And we'll deal with each of them differently. Obviously, the military is an option. I have no plans on my desk right now, but whatever I decide and whatever we decide, of course, we'll consult closely with the French, our allies, and our friends.

But we must deal with this threat, the threat of countries such as Iraq using a weapons of mass destruction to affect a balance

of power or to affect our willingness and ability to go defend ourselves. And this is a dangerous problem that we've got to deal with.

Situation in the Middle East

Mr. Malar. Mr. President, concerning the peace process in the Middle East, it seems there is no peace solution in sight right now. Arafat doesn't want—cannot control the Islamic terrorist acts against Israel. Mr. Sharon doesn't want him anymore as a partner for peace. What can you do? The United States is the only country to be able to impose a solution. What can you do concretely, Mr. President, to put peace back on track for good?

The President. Yes, thank you. I'm not so sure you can ever impose a solution on people. In other words, the first job is to convince people the need for peace, to give people a chance to work toward a vision. And I've laid out a vision. And the vision is two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace. That's something we will work toward.

I believe we're making some progress. It starts with convincing all parties in the region they have a responsibility toward peace. The Israelis have got a responsibility; I've made that clear to Prime Minister Sharon. The Palestinians have a responsibility, particularly to denounce and to fight against terror, to stop these killers from derailing peace. And the Arab world has the responsibility to be a party to not only discussions but a party to providing hope for the Palestinians.

And we are—we've got a dialog going on. One of the first things we need to do is put the institutions in place that will help provide a stable society in the Palestinian territory. That means a security force that actually works, one that functions properly, one in which authority and responsibility are aligned.

You need to know I'm an optimistic man. I believe we can achieve peace. It's going to take a lot of hard work. I have started this the first day of my administration, and I will continue during the last day of my administration.

Mr. Malar. Two quick last questions.

The President. Sure.

Europe-U.S. Relationship

Mr. Malar. Mr. President, what do you answer to the Europeans, and especially the French, who are very fussy sometimes and considers—the reproach of America's unilateralism? What do you answer to them? They even fear today, among Europeans, that the new American-Russian axis which would prevail over the rest of Europe.

The President. Well, listen, my trip into Europe will let people know me a little better. I'm a person who knows that—first of all, I know what I believe. And the thing I believe—I believe strongly in the common values that we share. And I believe strongly in freedom. I mean, I believe we ought to do everything in our power to encourage freedom all around the world. And that's important. I also know we can't win a war on terror alone, that we've got to work with our allies and friends. I'll confirm the importance of the NATO Alliance for all of us.

So I look forward to the trip. I'm confident there are some there that have got an opinion about me that I might not like, but that's the good thing about democracy. I welcome people—people's opinions. And I'll be honored to represent our country overseas, and to reconfirm our friendship.

I'm going to Normandy, and——

President's Memorial Day Visit to Normandy

Mr. Malar. You are going to Normandy, so I imagine you are going to spend Memorial Day on the beaches of Normandy. And I'm sure, Mr. President, it means a lot to you when we are in the world where a lot of people try to fight for freedom and security.

The President. Yes. Well, it's going to be an emotional moment, to think of all the sacrifice that went so that you and I can speak here in freedom. I'm the son of a World War II veteran. I'm a product of what they call the Greatest Generation. And I just—my friends who have been there tell me that it's an amazingly emotional place. Memorial Day is a great holiday here in America, where we honor those who have sacrificed. And so I'll give a speech that will talk about sacrifice and will call people to the memory of those who have come before us and lay out the

sacrifices that we're going to need to do in the future if we expect the world to be free.

And I can't wait to go. It's going to be one of the best parts of the trip. It's going to be a memorable trip, and I'm confident that the trip to Normandy will be one of the great highlights of the trip.

Mr. Malar. Mr. President, I want to thank you very much. I wish you all the best.

The President. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Malar. And God bless you.

The President. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The interview was taped on May 21 at 1:24 p.m. in the Map Room at the White House for later broadcast, and the transcript was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 22. In his remarks, the President referred to Usama bin Laden, leader of the Al Qaida terrorist organization; and Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel. Mr. Malar referred to Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks on Departure for Berlin, Germany

May 22, 2002

I'm looking forward to my trip to Europe. I'm going to take a couple of messages.

One, of course, I appreciate the friendship with the European people, our strong alliance, and that our alliance must remain tough in the war against global terror, that even though we've had some initial successes, there's still danger for countries which embrace freedom, countries such as ours or Germany, France, Russia, or Italy. And as an alliance, we must continue to fight against global terror. We've got to be tough.

Secondly, friends benefit through free trade. I will reaffirm our commitment to trade. I hope the United States Senate finishes debate on the trade promotion authority and passes the bill. It's going to be important for our friends around the world to see this commitment to trade. Trade is in the interests of our workers. Trade is in the interest of job creation, and trade is in the interest of developing nations as well as developed nations. And so I want to thank those in the United States Senate, both Republicans and Democrats, who have worked hard on this bill. I hope they finish the debate and pass this important legislation. It'll be a strong positive message.

I'm looking forward to the trip. I'm honored to represent the greatest nation on the face of the Earth in capitals around Europe. And I look forward to reporting back to the American people upon my return.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:05 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

The President's News Conference With Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany in Berlin

May 23, 2002

[*The Chancellor's remarks are joined in progress.*]

Chancellor Schroeder. ——welcome you most warmly here to the garden of the Chancellery. We have exceedingly been looking forward to this visit of the U.S. American President, George W. Bush. And the results of our conversations I think are such that we have every reason to be pleased.

U.S. American are in an exceedingly healthy state. It's a very friendly atmosphere; that has become abundantly clear in all of our conversations. But I also think that there is a tremendous amount of agreement between the two of us and our two countries as regards the assessment of the situation around the world.

Now, to begin with, we have started to talk about, very intensely, about the U.S. American-European relations. I think what the American President and the Russian President have agreed together regarding questions of disarmament, but also regarding the process of approachment of Russia towards NATO, that that is of historic importance. And I would very much say that—and we both agree that this process is going to be topped by what we're going to be doing in Rome on the 28th of May together. The world is going to be a safer place for it, and I think it's a tremendous success not only of America but of this special U.S. American President.

We then, obviously, talked about the ongoing necessity to continue with our joint fight against international terrorism. And I have been able to brief the President about my visit to Kabul and about the necessity of maintaining the protection force on the ground, the ISAF. They are the force to guarantee a minimum of security and, therefore, a minimum perspective of hope of reconstruction for people in this country. This is also important: We want to rebuild economic and social structures in the country. We're very much in agreement that we have every reason to trust the Interim Government with Interim President Karzai and to give them all of the support that they need to move their country forward as a way of their own momentum.

Now, we very much agree that it is necessary and important to make sure we move the peace process forward in the Middle East. I have emphasized very strongly that the President's speech in Washington was a milestone regarding this situation. He went in and made it abundantly clear what we all believe in—at least we, too, certainly believe in—that Israel has got a guaranteed—[*inaudible*]—right of safe existence within strong and reliable borders, that it needs to be recognized by all of its neighbors, and that by the end of the day, certainly there is going to be an independent Palestinian state too.

And we're very much agreed that this is a job to be done by the international community of states, certainly by means of the Quartet that arose from Madrid, the United States of America, the United Nations, Europe, and Russia. Now, this Quartet is hopefully going to support the constructive process as well as they can, because we really need stability and peaceful development for this region, specifically.

We very much share the concern about the existing conflict between Pakistan, on one hand side, and India on the other hand. And we're very much agreed that we have to do whatever we can to bring a peaceful solution to this conflict. I mean, we must make sure that no further escalation happens over there.

Now, moreover, we addressed questions of interest regarding trade with one another. We also addressed some other issues that are in existence regarding our bilateral relations.

Thank you.

President Bush. Well, thank you, Chancellor. It's an honor to be here in this historic city. I want to thank you for your hospitality, and I want to thank you for treating Laura so well.

The Chancellor and I have met—I think it's now five times, and I value our friendship. I appreciate the frank discussions we have. I'm here to let the German people know how proud I am of our relationship, our personal relationship, and how proud I am of the relationship between our two countries. Germany is an incredibly important ally to the United States of America. We respect the German people. We appreciate democracy in this land. We appreciate the struggles that Germany has gone through, and we value the friendship going forward.

My speech today at the Bundestag will talk about the problems that we can solve together, that we share so much particularly when it comes to values and a deep and abiding concern for humanity and for peace. One of the things I like about Gerhardt is, he's willing to confront problems in an open way. And he is, hopefully like people consider me, a problemsolver, that we're willing to use our respective positions to solve problems, such as making sure our respective homelands are secure from terrorist attack. I'm going to talk clearly about that today, about the need for us to continue to cooperate and to fight against terror—people who hate freedom, people who are challenging civilization itself.

I want to thank again the German people and the German Government for the commitment to Afghanistan. The Chancellor made a very tough but, I think, correct decision in sending troops to Afghanistan, and those troops have performed brilliantly. I know you've lost life, as have we. And our hearts go out to the families of the soldiers who died. But in my judgment, the sacrifice is necessary, because we defend freedom, and freedom is precious.

We talked about weapons of mass destruction and the need for us to be concerned about weapons of mass destruction. As I will mention in my speech, one way to help our mutual security is to work together to solve

regional problems, and we spent a lot of time talking about the Middle East. The German Government has been very helpful in helping set the foundation for peace. Both of us agree that there ought to be two states, a Palestinian state and obviously the Israeli state, living side by side in peace, and we're working in that direction. A hot topic today, of course, in the world and one that we spent a lot of time talking about is, as Gerhardt mentioned, the India-Pakistan issue.

My point is, is that we've got a reliable friend and ally in Germany. This is a confident country led by a confident man, and that's good. That's good for world peace. It's good for those of us who love and embrace freedom.

So, Mr. Chancellor, thanks for—thanks for giving me a chance to come and visit with you. Thanks for your hospitality. Thanks for giving me a chance to speak to the Bundestag here in a little bit.

We'll be glad to answer a couple of questions for you.

Chancellor Schroeder. There is the possibility to put three questions from each side. Please, possibly, that the guests could start.

President Bush. Did he just call on you? Okay—[*laughter*]—okay, I'm sorry. Ron [Ron Fournier, Associated Press], have you got a question? [*Laughter*]

Q. I do——

President Bush. That's right.

Q. This is a question to President Bush——

President Bush. Wait a minute, how many questions are you going to ask?

Intelligence Before September 11/Iraq

Q. Should the American people conclude there were some intelligence lapses before September 11th? And can you please explain why you oppose an independent commission to look into the matter and why you won't release the August 6th memo?

And quickly to you, sir, do you think there should be a regime change in Iraq?

President Bush. Well, first of all, I've got great confidence in our CIA and FBI. I know what's taken place since the attacks on September the 11th. Our communications between the two agencies is much better than ever before. We've got a much better—doing a much better job of sharing intelligence.

I, of course, want the Congress to take a look at what took place prior to September the 11th. But since it deals with such sensitive information, in my judgment, it's best for the ongoing war against terror that the investigation be done in the intelligence committee. There are committees set up with both Republicans and Democrats who understand the obligations of upholding our secrets and our sources and methods of collecting intelligence. And therefore, I think it's the best place for Congress to take a good look at the events leading up to September the 11th.

The other question?

Q. The August 6th memo——

President Bush. Oh, yes. Well, one of the things that is very important, Ron, is that the information given to the President be protected, because we don't want to give away sources and uses and methodology of intelligence gathering. And one of the things that we're learning is, in order to win this war on terror, we've got to have the best intelligence gathering possible. And not only have we got to share intelligence between friends, which we do, but we're still at war; we've still got threats to the homeland that we've got to deal with. And it's very important for us to not hamper our ability to wage that war. And so there are ways to gather information, to help improve the system without jeopardizing the capacity for us to gather intelligence, and those are the ways I support.

Chancellor Schroeder. Saddam Hussein is a dictator, there can be no doubt, nothing else. And he does act without looking after his people at all, whatsoever. We're agreed when it comes to that. And we're also agreed to the fact that it is up to the international community of states to go in and exercise a lot of political pressure in the most—possible way. The United Nations have decided to do so as well. We need to pressurize him so that international arms inspectors can get into the country to find out what weapons of mass destruction can be found in his hands. I mean, there is no difference there between President Bush and myself when it comes to the assessment of this situation.

We then obviously also talked about the question as to what should happen in the future, what could happen in the future. I have taken notice of the fact that His Excellency, the President, does think about all possible alternatives. But despite what people occasionally present here in rumors, there are no concrete military plans of attack on Iraq. And that is why, for me, there is no reason whatsoever to speculate about when and if and how. I think such speculation should be forbidden. That certainly is not the right thing for a Chancellor, and I am in this position.

We will be called upon to take our decision if and when, after consultations—and we've been assured that such consultations are going to be happening—and then we'll take a decision. And before that, I think we should not speculate about serious questions like this one.

Situation in the Middle East

Q. Mr. President—[*inaudible*]—Chancellor, looking beyond Iraq, given the fact that Syria, too, in U.S. terminology, is a state sponsor of terrorism, given the fact that Saudi Arabia is anything but a democratic, rule-of-law, pluralistic society, how do both of you want to have this whole region, the Middle East, look like once the fight against terror is over?

President Bush. Yes, it's a great question. Would you care to go first, Mr. Chancellor? [*Laughter*] I'll be glad to answer it, if you like.

First, you need to know that in order for the region to be peaceful and hopeful, there must be a resolution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. I believe that strongly. And that's why my Government and I feel strongly that we've got to work toward a vision of peace that includes two states living side by side.

And the positive news is that many Arab leaders understand that they have got to be a part of the process now. We spent a great deal of time talking to the Saudis, for example—you mentioned the Saudis. They must be a party to the process. They have—sometimes in the past, the process has not gone forward because there hasn't been, as we say in America, the buy-in by the parties; they haven't been a party to the process. And I'm pleased to report, as you can probably see in your newspapers, they are now; they're involved.

I think one of our—and the reason I mention that is because I think their involvement to a process that I'm optimistic will succeed will then enable us to continue to more likely have an effect on promoting values that we hold dear, values of rule of law and democracy and minority rights. The institutions of change are more likely to be effective with our ability to achieve a peace in the Middle East. And so much of the ability to promote reform, which we're for, hinges on our abilities and capacities to get something done. And it's going to take a while, I believe, but nevertheless, we are making progress. And my administration spends a great deal of time on the Middle East, because we understand it is a linchpin for convincing regimes to adopt the habits of freedom that sometimes we take for granted in our respective countries.

Chancellor Schroeder. Well, I don't think I've got to add a lot to what's been said, but possibly so much. I think there cannot be peace in the Middle East without the United States of America and without them being active in this field. And it was not without reason that I pointed to the tremendously important speech of the President. It's very important. And that is why we support the efforts towards peace undertaken by the United States, but also by all other members of the so-called Quartet. We are supporting this in the framework of the European Union, but we're also doing it through bilateral channels. And my impression is—and here yet again, I fully agree with the President—that a certain degree of progress is visible in this process.

Now, obviously, we cannot be satisfied with the degree of progress, but still we have moved a little bit, and there is no alternative to the way that the President just described. There is no such thing as a magic formula to solve this tremendously difficult problem. Nobody has such a formula. And that is why I think the task that the President just described is certainly one that needs to be seriously supported by the European Union and us, bilaterally.

President Bush. Steve Holland, Reuters.

Q. Thank you very much.

President Bush. A fine man, fine man.

Chancellor Schroeder. We'll see that once he's put his question. [*Laughter*]

President Bush. There you go.

Russia and Iran

Q. When you meet with President Putin tomorrow, how are you going to talk him into ending nuclear cooperation with Iran?

President Bush. Well, that's a—that's going to be a topic. One way to make the case is that if you arm Iran, you're liable to get the weapons pointed at you, that you've got to be careful in dealing with a country like Iran. This is a country that doesn't—it's not transparent; it's not open. It's run by a group of extremists who fund terrorist activity, who clearly hate our mutual friend Israel. And you know, it's very unpredictable. And therefore, Russia needs to be concerned about proliferation into a country that might view them as an enemy at some point in time. And if Iran gets a weapon of mass destruction deliverable by a missile, that's going to be a problem. That's going to be a problem for all of us, including Russia.

So that's how I'm going to make the case. We've got a lot of work to do with Russia. I will continue to make the case. As you know, Steve, I have brought that subject up ever since I've started meeting with Vladimir Putin.

The good news is, we're—our relationship is a friendly relationship; that I view President Putin as a friend. I view Russia as a friend, not as an enemy. And therefore, it's much easier to solve these difficult issues, an issue like proliferation, amongst friends.

And I want to appreciate the Chancellor's kind words about tomorrow's treaty signing. It's going to be a positive development for America and, I believe, a positive development for Europe. And then, of course, we're going to Rome afterwards, and that, too, will be a positive development for Europe and America. And it is within the—it's in this positive relationship and positive atmosphere that we're more likely to be able to achieve satisfaction on nonproliferation.

Iraq/State-Supported Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, the Chancellor just said that your Government does not seem to be very specific right now when it comes to plans to attack Iraq. Is that true, sir? And could you, nevertheless, try to explain to the German people what your goals are when it comes to Iraq?

And secondly, by German standards, Germany has already shouldered a huge burden in military terms of the fight against terrorism. Are you satisfied with that, or do you want Germany to do more?

President Bush. First, what the Chancellor told you is true.

Chancellor Schroeder. Of course it is. [*Laughter*]

President Bush. I'm surprised anybody would doubt your word, Chancellor. [*Laughter*]

Yes, look, I mean, he knows my position, and the world knows my position about Saddam Hussein. He is a dangerous man. He is a dictator who gassed his own people. He's had a history of incredible human rights violations. And he is a—it's dangerous to think of a scenario in which a country like Iraq would team up with an Al Qaida-type organization, particularly if and when they had the capacity—had the capacity, or when they have the capacity to deliver weapons of mass destruction via ballistic missile. And that's a threat. It's a threat to Germany; it's a threat to America; it's a threat to civilization itself. And we've got to deal with it. We can play like it's not there. We can hope it goes away. But that's not going to work. That's not going to make us safer.

And I told the Chancellor that I have no war plans on my desk, which is the truth, and that we've got to use all means at our disposal to deal with Saddam Hussein. And I appreciate the German Chancellor's understanding of the threats of weapons of mass destruction, and they're real. Now, I know some would play like they're not real. I'm telling you: They're real. And if you love freedom, it's a threat to freedom. And so we're going to deal with it, and we'll deal with it in a respectful way.

The Chancellor said that I promised consultations. I will say it again: I promise consultations with our close friend and ally. We will exert a unified diplomatic pressure. We will share intelligence. We love freedom, and so does the Chancellor, and we cannot allow

these weapons to be in a position that will affect history.

Listen, history has called us to action. I don't want to be in a position where we look back, and say, "Why didn't they lead? Where were they when it came to our basic freedoms?" And we are going to lead.

What was your other part of your question? That's what you get for asking long questions, or what I get for answering long answers.

Germany's Role in the War on Terrorism

Q. That's perfectly all right. The second question was, sir, that Germany has already shouldered a huge burden in military terms, and do you expect more——

President Bush. Germany has shouldered a significant burden, and we are very grateful for that. The Chancellor and I talked about how to make sure we complete the task in Afghanistan, which is to continue chasing down the killers, by the way, and to find them before they hit us, but as well is to leave institutions behind so that Afghanistan can run herself, so Afghanistan can be a peaceful nation, so Afghanistan can function. And we both recognize that our presence is going to have to be there for a—for quite awhile. And the Chancellor made that commitment, and I appreciate that. I'm very satisfied with the commitment of the German Government.

Yes, Terry [Terry Moran, ABC News].

Disposition of the Russian Nuclear Arsenal

Q. Thank you, sir. On the subject of weapons of mass destruction, the strategic arms agreement you'll sign in Moscow does not address what many people say is now the greatest threat posed by the Russian arsenal of weapons of mass destruction, and that's proliferation to terrorists or rogue states because of insufficient security. What specific plan do you have to address that issue with President Putin? Do you believe the Russian Government is doing a good job securing those weapons? And what do you say to critics of this arms deal who say that by taking the material off the warheads, you provide more opportunities for terrorists to get them?

President Bush. Well, I guess to start with the critics, I'd say, would you rather have them on the launchers? Would you rather have the warheads pointed at people? I would think not.

Secondly, this issue about the so-called loose nuke issue has been around for quite a while. This isn't anything new. This is a problem that we are jointly working on. As you know, Terry—and others may not know—we've got what's called Nunn-Lugar, which is a significant expenditure of taxpayers' money to help Russia dispose of and dismantle nuclear warheads, which we're willing to do. As a matter of fact, the '03 budget is nearly a billion dollars toward that end.

We're working with Chancellor Schroeder on what's called 10-plus-10-over-10: $10 billion from the U.S., 10 billion from other members of the G–7 over a 10-year period, to help Russia securitize the dismantling—the dismantled nuclear warheads.

And President Putin understands that. He understands the need to work closely with all of us. Listen, he understands that a loose nuke could affect his security as it affects somebody else's security. He's a wise man; he's aware of the issues that we confront. That's why he's one of the best partners we have on the war against terror. He understands the implications and consequences of terror. And he also recognizes that a nightmare scenario is a dirty bomb or some kind of nuclear bomb in the hands of a—in the hands of any kind of terrorist organization.

Chancellor Schroeder. Last question.

President's Security Bubble/Addressing Issues of Hope

Q. Mr. President, at the present you are visiting a kind of ghost town around here. Do you feel a bit of pity about not to meet the Berlin people—[*inaudible*]—visit first? And then secondly, when discussing ways to find a—[*inaudible*]—peace, did you discuss on social and developmental matters too, these means? Is there a chance that you'll come back to the table to sign the Kyoto treaty?

President Bush. No. [*Laughter*]

Q. Then what are your aims, concerns in the Johannesburg summit in August? Will you take part of it—[*inaudible*]?

President Bush. Okay. Let's see, part one of a four-part question. I live in a bubble. That's what happens when you're the President. So unfortunately, I don't get to see as much of Berlin as I'd like to see. That's just life. So when I come back at some point in my life, Mr. Chancellor, you can show me around. We'll go fishing together.

No, I don't—yes, of course, whether it be in Berlin or Moscow or anywhere else, I mean, I'm a person who likes—I like to meet people. I like—I enjoy people. I had one small glimpse of Berlin last night when we went to a restaurant. It was my pleasure to shake hands with everybody or most everybody in the restaurant. I enjoy that. It frustrates me not to be able to see this growing city. But that's just life in the bubble. That's just what happens when you're the President, and I knew that going in, so I'm not griping about it.

Yes, the human condition is very important to me. I mean, it is—and that's one way to make sure that the terrorists are less likely to be effective in their recruiting, is to promote those conditions necessary for human beings to realize their full potential, such as good health and good education and prosperity—those habits necessary for the growth of prosperity. And I will address that in my speech to the Bundestag.

And I don't know whether or not you followed it, but we've laid out an initiative called the new Millennium Fund, where after 3 years our Government will be spending $5 billion a year—new money—for development. And that money is going to go promote—to countries which are willing to fight corruption and promote rule of law. Look, you can give all kinds of money to corrupt societies, but it's not going to help the people; it will help the few. And I'm tired of that. I want to encourage reforms in society that help people.

You know, I'm desperately concerned about AIDS. I know the Chancellor shares my grief. And we've put a significant amount of money on the table. But eventually I hope to see a strategy that will work. It's one thing to commit money; it's another thing to insist that the money actually work and start saving people's lives. And when that happens, we'll commit more money.

So, you bet, we're going to talk—we've talked about and will continue to talk about the human conditions necessary to really make sure the whole world is able to be free and at peace.

Thank you all.

Chancellor Schroeder. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

NOTE: The President's news conference began at 1:28 p.m. in the courtyard at the Kanzleramt. Chancellor Schroeder spoke in German, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, President Bush referred to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Chancellor Schroeder referred to Chairman Hamid Karzai of the Afghan Interim Authority; and ISAF, the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary did not include the complete opening remarks of Chancellor Schroeder. A portion of this news conference could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks to a Special Session of the German Bundestag

May 23, 2002

The President. President, thank you very much for your kind introduction. And thank you for giving me this chance to be here today. President Rau, thank you very much; Chancellor Schroeder. I understand former Chancellor Kohl is here. I want to thank the members of the Bundestag. How are you, sir? I was a little nervous when the President told me that you all are on vacation. [*Laughter*] I can just imagine how my Congress would react if I called them back to hear a speech of mine when they were on vacation. [*Laughter*] But thank you for coming. I'm so honored to be here, and my wife Laura and I really appreciate the hospitality that you've shown us.

I've had the pleasure of welcoming your Chancellor to Washington three times, and we have established a strong relationship. Mr. Chancellor, I'm grateful.

And now I am honored to visit this great city. The history of our time is written in the life of Berlin. In this building, fires of hatred were set that swept across the world. To this city, Allied planes brought food and hope

during 323 days and nights of siege. Across an infamous divide, men and women jumped from tenement buildings and crossed through razor wire to live in freedom or to die in the attempt. One American President came here to proudly call himself a citizen of Berlin. Another President dared the Soviets to tear down that wall. And on a night in November, Berliners took history into their hands and made your city whole.

In a single lifetime, the people of this capital and this country endured 12 years of dictatorial rule, suffered 40 years of bitter separation, and persevered through the challenging decade of unification. For all these trials, Germany has emerged a responsible and prosperous and peaceful nation. More than a decade ago, as the President pointed out, my dad spoke of Germany and America as partners in leadership, and this has come to pass. A new era has arrived. The strong Germany you have built is good for the world.

On both sides of the Atlantic, the generation of our fathers was called to shape great events, and they built the great transatlantic alliance of democracies. They built the most successful alliance in history. After the cold war, during the relative quiet of the 1990s, some questioned whether our transatlantic partnership still had a purpose. History has given its answer. Our generation faces new and grave threats to liberty, to the safety of our people, and to civilization itself. We face an aggressive force that glorifies death, that targets the innocent, and seeks the means to matter—murder on a massive scale. We face the global tragedy of disease and poverty that take uncounted lives and leave whole nations vulnerable to oppression and terror.

We'll face these challenges together. We must face them together. Those who despise human freedom will attack it on every continent. Those who seek missiles and terrible weapons are also familiar with the map of Europe. Like the threats of another era, this threat cannot be appeased or cannot be ignored. By being patient, relentless, and resolute, we will defeat the enemies of freedom.

By remaining united——

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

The President. By remaining united, we are meeting—we are meeting modern threats with the greatest resources of wealth and will ever assembled by free nations. Together, Europe and the United States have the creative genius, the economic power, the moral heritage, and the democratic vision to protect our liberty and to advance our cause of peace.

Different as we are, we are building and defending the same house of freedom—its doors open to all of Europe's people, its windows looking out to global challenges beyond. We must lay the foundation with a Europe that is whole and free and at peace for the first time in its history. This dream of the centuries is close at hand.

From the Argonne Forest to the Anzio beachhead, conflicts in Europe have drawn the blood of millions, squandering and shattering lives across the Earth. There are thousands, thousands of monuments in parks and squares across my country to young men of 18 and 19 and 20 whose lives ended in battle on this continent. Ours is the first generation in a hundred years that does not expect and does not fear the next European war. And that achievement—your achievement—is one of the greatest in modern times.

When Europe grows in unity, Europe and America grow in security. When you integrate your markets and share a currency in the European Union, you are creating the conditions for security and common purpose. In all these steps, Americans do not see the rise of a rival, we see the end of old hostilities. We see the success of our Allies, and we applaud your progress.

The expansion of NATO will also extend the security on this continent, especially for nations that knew little peace or security in the last century. We have moved cautiously in this direction; now we must act decisively.

As our summit in Prague approaches, America is committed to NATO membership for all of Europe's democracies that are ready to share in the responsibilities that NATO brings. Every part of Europe should share in the security and success of this continent. A broader alliance will strengthen NATO; it will fulfill NATO's promise.

Another mission we share is to encourage the Russian people to find their future in Europe and with America. Russia has its best chance since 1917 to become a part of Europe's family. Russia's transformation is not finished; the outcome is not yet determined. But for all the problems and challenges, Russia is moving toward freedom, more freedom in its politics and its markets, freedom that will help Russia to act as a great and just power. A Russia at peace with its neighbors, respecting the legitimate rights of minorities, is welcome in Europe.

A new Russian-American partnership is being forged. Russia is lending crucial support in the war on global terror. A Russian colonel now works on the staff of U.S. Army General Tommy Franks, commander of the war in Afghanistan. And in Afghanistan, itself, Russia is helping to build hospitals and a better future for the Afghan people.

America and Europe must throw off old suspicions and realize our common interests with Russia. Tomorrow in Moscow, President Putin and I will again act upon these interests.

The United States and Russia are ridding ourselves of the last vestiges of cold war confrontation. We have moved beyond an ABM treaty that prevented us from defending our people and our friends. Some warned that moving beyond the ABM treaty would cause an arms race. Instead, President Putin and I are about to sign the most dramatic nuclear arms reduction in history. Both the United States and Russia will reduce our nuclear arsenals by about two-thirds, to the lowest level in decades. Old arms agreements sought to manage hostility and maintain a balance of terror. This new agreement recognizes that Russia and the West are no longer enemies.

The entire transatlantic Alliance is forming a new relationship with Russia. Next week in Rome, Chancellor Schroeder, NATO Allies, and I will meet as equal partners with President Putin at the creation of the NATO-Russia Council. The Council gives us an opportunity to build common security against common threats. We will start with projects on nonproliferation, counterterrorism, and search-and-rescue operations. Over time, we will expand this cooperation, even as we preserve the core mission of NATO. Many generations have looked at Russia with alarm. Our generation can finally lift this shadow from Europe by embracing the friendship of a new democratic Russia.

As we expand our Alliance, as we reach out to Russia, we must also look beyond Europe to gathering dangers and important responsibilities. As we build the house of freedom, we must meet the challenges of a larger world. And we must meet them together.

For the United States, September the 11th, 2001, cut a deep dividing line in our history, a change of eras as sharp and clear as Pearl Harbor or the first day of the Berlin blockade. There can be no lasting security in a world at the mercy of terrorists—for my Nation or for any nation.

Given this threat, NATO's defining purpose, our collective defense, is as urgent as ever. America and Europe need each other to fight and win the war against global terror. My Nation is so grateful for the sympathy of the German people and for the strong support of Germany and all of Europe.

Troops from more than a dozen European countries have deployed in and around Afghanistan, including thousands from this country, the first deployment of German forces outside of Europe since 1945. German soldiers have died in this war, and we mourn their loss as we do our own. German authorities are on the trail of terrorist cells and finances. And German police are helping Afghans build their own police force, and we're so grateful for this support.

Together, we oppose an enemy that thrives on violence and the grief of the innocent. The terrorists are defined by their hatreds. They hate democracy and tolerance and free expression and women and Jews and Christians and all Muslims who disagree with them. Others killed in the name of racial purity or the class struggle; these enemies kill in the name of a false religious purity, perverting the faith they claim to hold. In this war we defend not just America or Europe; we are defending civilization itself.

The evil that has formed against us has been termed the "new totalitarian threat." The authors of terror are seeking nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Regimes that sponsor terror are developing these weapons and the missiles to deliver them. If

these regimes and their terrorist allies were to perfect these capabilities, no inner voice of reason, no hint of conscience would prevent their use.

Wishful thinking might bring comfort but not security. Call this a strategic challenge; call it, as I do, "axis of evil"; call it by any name you choose; but let us speak the truth: If we ignore this threat, we invite certain blackmail and place millions of our citizens in grave danger.

Our response will be reasoned and focused and deliberate. We will use more than our military might. We will cut off terrorist finances, apply diplomatic pressure, and continue to share intelligence. America will consult closely with our friends and allies at every stage. But make no mistake about it, we will and we must confront this conspiracy against our liberty and against our lives.

As it faces new threats, NATO needs a new strategy and new capabilities. Dangers originating far from Europe can now strike at Europe's heart, so NATO must be able and willing to act whenever threats emerge. This will require all the assets of modern defense: mobile and deployable forces, sophisticated special operations, the ability to fight under the threat of chemical and biological weapons. Each nation must focus on the military strengths it can bring to this alliance, with the hard choices and financial commitment that requires. We do not know where the next threat might come from; we really don't know what form it might take. But we must be ready, as full military partners, to confront these urgent threats to our common security.

One way to make ourselves more secure is to address the regional conflicts that enflame violence. Our work in the Balkans and Afghanistan shows how much we can achieve when we stand together. We must continue to stand for peace in the Middle East. That peace must assure the permanent safety of the Jewish people, and that peace must provide the Palestinian people with a state of their own.

In the midst of terrorist violence in the Middle East, the hope of a lasting accord may seem distant. That's how many once viewed the prospect of peace between Poland and Germany, Germany and France, France and England, Protestant and Catholic. Yet, after generations of traded violence and humiliation, we have seen enemies become partners and allies in a new Europe. We pray the same healing, the same shredding of hatred, might come to the Middle East. And we will be unrelenting in our quest for that peace.

We must recognize that violence and resentment are defeated by the advance of health and learning and prosperity. Poverty doesn't create terror; yet, terror takes root in failing nations that do not police themselves or provide for their people. Our conscience and our interests speak as one: To achieve a safer world, we must create a better world.

The expansion of trade in our time is one of the primary reasons for our progress against poverty. At Doha, we committed to build on this progress, and we must keep that commitment. Transatlantic nations must resolve the small, disputed portion of our vast trading relationship within the rules and settlement mechanisms of the World Trade Organization, whether those disputes concern tax law, steel, agriculture, or biotechnology.

For all nations—for all nations to gain the benefit of global markets, they need populations that are healthy and literate. To help developing nations achieve these goals, leaders of wealthy nations have a duty of conscience. We have a duty to share our wealth generously and wisely. Those who lead poor nations have a duty to their own people, but they have a duty as well, to pursue reforms that turn temporary aid into lasting progress.

I've proposed that new American aid be directed to nations on the path of reform. The United States will increase our core development assistance by 50 percent over the next 3 budget years. It will be up to a level of 5 billion a year, above and beyond that which we already contribute to development.

When nations are governed justly, the people benefit. When nations are governed unjustly, for the benefit of a corrupt few, no amount of aid will help the people in need. When nations are governed justly—when nations are governed justly, investing in education and health and encouraging economic freedom, they will have our help. And more importantly, these rising nations will have

their own ability and, eventually, the resources necessary to battle disease and improve their environment and build lives of dignity for their people.

Members of the Bundestag, we are joined in serious purpose—very serious purposes—on which the safety of our people and the fate of our freedom now rest. We build a world of justice, or we will live in a world of coercion. The magnitude of our shared responsibilities makes our disagreements look so small. And those who exaggerate our differences play a shallow game and hold a simplistic view of our relationship.

America and the nations in Europe are more than military allies; we're more than trading partners; we are heirs to the same civilization. The pledges of the Magna Carta, the learning of Athens, the creativity of Paris, the unbending conscience of Luther, the gentle faith of St. Francis: All of these are part of the American soul. The New World has succeeded by holding to the values of the Old.

Our histories have diverged, yet we seek to live by the same ideals. We believe in free markets, tempered by compassion. We believe in open societies that reflect unchanging truths. We believe in the value and dignity of every life.

These convictions bind our civilization together and set our enemies against us. These convictions are universally true and right. And they define our nations and our partnership in a unique way. And these beliefs lead us to fight tyranny and evil, as others have done before us.

One of the greatest Germans of the 20th century was Pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who left the security of America to stand against Nazi rule. In a dark hour, he gave witness to the Gospel of life and paid the cost of his discipleship, being put to death only days before his camp was liberated. "I believe," said Bonhoeffer, "that God can and wants to create good out of everything, even evil."

That belief is proven in the history of Europe since that day, in the reconciliation and renewal that have transformed this continent. In America, very recently, we have also seen the horror of evil and the power of good. In the tests of our time, we are affirming our deepest values and our closest friendships. Inside this Chamber, across this city, throughout this nation and continent, America has valued friends. And with our friends we are building that house of freedom for our time and for all time.

May God bless.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:13 p.m. in the Bundestag at the Reichstag. In his remarks, he referred to President Johannes Rau, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, and former Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany.

Statement on the Conference on Improving Forest Health and Reducing Risk of Wildfire

May 23, 2002

I commend Secretary Norton and Secretary Veneman for their strong leadership in addressing the widespread problems of declining forest health and the risk of destructive wildfires, particularly in the West. Today's conference, highlighting the completion of the Ten Year Comprehensive Strategy Implementation Plan, marks an important new cooperative effort between the Federal Government, States, local governments, Native American tribes, and concerned citizens and organizations. Working together, we will promote sound forest management to restore forest health and make the recreational opportunities and resources of our forests more accessible. In many areas, this will require active forest management efforts to thin our forests of excessive natural fuels and restore native vegetation to our forests and rangelands.

Our goal is to reduce the threat that wildfires pose to homes, communities, and the environment. Severe drought conditions in many areas of the United States make it essential that we cooperate in our efforts to fight fires and reduce the fuel loads that cause them. Cooperation will also enable us to move forward on other important endeavors, such as improving the performance of the Northwest Forest Plan. I thank Governor Kempthorne and Governor Kitzhaber for their help in crafting this bipartisan agreement and for hosting this important conference.

Statement on Congressional Action on the Proposed "Public Health Security and Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response Act of 2002"

May 23, 2002

I applaud members of both parties, including Congressman Tauzin and Dingell and Senators Kennedy, Gregg, and Frist, for acting on my proposals to protect Americans against bioterrorism. This legislation strengthens food safety and security, improves the ability of Federal, State, and local authorities to coordinate their response to possible bioterrorist attacks, and enhances surveillance and security over dangerous biological agents.

I commend the House and Senate for their hard work and look forward to signing this important bipartisan legislation into law.

NOTE: The statement referred to H.R. 3448, the proposed "Public Health Security and Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response Act of 2002."

Statement on Senate Action on the Proposed "Andean Trade Preference Expansion Act"

May 23, 2002

Today's passage by the Senate of a vital package of trade legislation is a critical step in advancing America's trade agenda and strengthening the U.S. economy. As I begin my trip here in Europe, the passage of this bill sends an important signal to our trading partners that we are committed to free and open trade.

Restoring trade promotion authority will give me the flexibility I need to secure the greatest possible trade opportunities for American workers, consumers, families, and farmers. The administration also supports expanding the Andean Trade Preferences Act in a way that reflects the economic realities of the region. ATPA will help the Andean economies grow through legitimate trade, while also enhancing our counternarcotics strategy.

Every day the United States goes without trade promotion authority is another day the American people are deprived of the benefits of trade. Therefore, I urge the House and Senate to convene a conference committee immediately so they can resolve their differences and send me a trade promotion authority bill I can sign at the earliest opportunity.

NOTE: The statement referred to H.R. 3009, the proposed "Andean Trade Preference Expansion Act."

Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia in Moscow, Russia

May 24, 2002

President Putin. Distinguished Mr. President, distinguished colleagues and friends, we are happy to welcome you in the capital of Russia and in the heart of it, in the Kremlin of Moscow.

This is the first visit of the President in office of the United States of America to the Russian Federation, and I'm very pleased to note that this visit is of a different quality than all previous visits of the heads of the U.S. state to our country.

I'd like to underline that if prior to this time virtually all meetings at this level were dedicated to overcoming contradictions or consequences of those contradictions, today we have the right to state the creation of an absolutely new quality to our relationship. This touches upon the issues of security, the issues of limitation of a strategical process, and our participation in the building of the new safe world. And this has a bearing to the quality of trust for the relationship. And all this happened over the past months, past 12 or 18 months, with active participation and support of this process on behalf of the President of the United States, Mr. Bush, and his team.

Therefore, we're especially pleased, distinguished Mr. President, to receive you here in Moscow, in Russia. Myself and my colleagues recall the warmth of the reception we were accorded in the United States, including in your home, in your family, and we would like very much to respond with a similar hospitality. And we hope and we're confident that your visit to our country will

be very productive and will serve a powerful thrust to the development of our relationship.

Welcome, Mr. President.

President Bush. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I appreciate your hospitality. It's a magnificent setting for our very important discussions and our signing of a treaty which says—it says that we're friends, that we're going to cast aside old doubts and suspicions and welcome a new era between the relations between your great country and our country.

I'm really looking forward to coming to your home tonight to have dinner. We'll work all day long, and then I look forward to relaxing with you in the setting of your home. I think it's—I think it's an important signal for the world to see that we take our jobs very seriously and we visit in formal settings, we talk about important issues, and then after the working day is over, we will settle down as friends and have dinner together.

This is a day that has required your strong leadership and your vision, and I want to congratulate you and your team on working hard toward a vision of a world that is more peaceful and a world that is more prosperous for all of us.

And so, thank you, sir, for your hospitality and for your friendship.

NOTE: The remarks began at 11:58 a.m. in St. Catherine's Room at the Kremlin. President Putin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. The Presidents spoke following their one-on-one meeting and prior to an expanded bilateral meeting.

The President's News Conference With President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia in Moscow

May 24, 2002

President Bush. President Putin, thank you very much. Laura and I are so grateful for your hospitality and your friendship. It's an historic and hopeful day for Russia and America. It's an historic day for the world as well.

President Putin and I today ended a long chapter of confrontation and opened up an entirely new relationship between our countries. Mr. President, I appreciate your leadership. I appreciate your vision. I appreciate the fact that we've now laid the foundation for not only our governments but future governments to work in a spirit of cooperation and a spirit of trust. That's good. It's good for the people of Russia; it's good for the people of the United States.

President Putin and I have signed a treaty that will substantially reduce our nuclear—strategic nuclear warhead arsenals to the range of 1,700 to 2,200, the lowest level in decades. This treaty liquidates the cold war legacy of nuclear hostility between our countries.

We've also signed a joint declaration of new strategic relationship that charts a course toward greater security, political, and economic cooperation between Russia and the United States. Our nations will continue to cooperate closely in the war against global terror. I understand full well that the people of Russia have suffered at the hands of terrorists, and so have we. And I want to thank President Putin for his understanding of the nature of the new war we face together and his willingness to be determined and steadfast and patient as we pursue this war together.

President Putin and I agree also that the greatest danger in this war is the prospect of terrorists acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Our nations must spare no effort at preventing all forms of proliferation. And we discussed Iran in this context today. We'll work closely with each other on this very important issue.

Our nations also agree on the importance of a new NATO-Russia Council that will be launched in a few days in Rome. And Mr. President, this council is also a tribute to your leadership and your vision. For decades, Russia and NATO were adversaries. Those days are gone, and that's good. And that's good for the Russian people; it's good for the people of my country; it's good for the people of Europe; and it's good for the people of the world.

Russia and the United States are also determined to work closely on important regional challenges. Together, we will work to rebuild Afghanistan. Together, we will work to improve security in Georgia. We will work

to help end fighting and achieve a political settlement in Chechnya.

Russia and the United States are committed to economic cooperation. We have launched a major new energy partnership. Private firms will take the lead in developing and transforming the vast energy reserves of Russia and the Caspian world to markets through multiple pipelines such as the Caspian Pipeline Consortium and Baku-Jihan. And I want to thank you for the cooperation and the willingness to work together on energy and energy security.

Russia is building its market economy, opening new opportunities for both our countries. I'm impressed by the level of entrepreneurial growth here in Russia. It's a significant achievement. Again, it's a testimony to the leadership of Vladimir Putin.

In a while, we're going to meet with Russian and American business leaders to discuss how we can continue fostering good relations and fostering opportunity. We want Russia to be a part of the world economy. We look forward to one day welcoming Russia as a member of the World Trade Organization. President Putin and I also agree that we'll work to resolve disputed areas of trading, such as poultry or steel, in a spirit of mutual respect and trust.

America welcomes the dramatic improvement in freedoms in Russia since Soviet days, including the new freedoms of Russia's Jewish community. In recognition of these freedoms, I am determined to work with Congress to remove Russia from the Jackson-Vanik amendment. It is time our Congress responded to my request, President Putin's desire, that the Jackson-Vanik amendment be removed pertaining to Russia.

I also discussed with President Putin the important role of free press in building a working democracy. And today we will meet with media entrepreneurs from both countries. It's an issue we discussed before. The President said it makes sense to have a forum where media entrepreneurs can meet and visit. And it's going to take place today. Mr. President, I appreciate that.

I am pleased with our relationship. I am confident that, by working together, we make the world more peaceful. I'm confident that, by working together, we can win the first war of the 21st century, and that is the war coldblooded killers—against coldblooded killers who want to harm nations such as America and Russia. And I'm confident that, when we work together in a spirit of cooperation on all fronts, both our peoples will benefit.

Mr. President, thank you for your hospitality.

President Putin. Distinguished American colleagues, distinguished Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we've just accomplished the official part of our talks with U.S. President George Bush. Before our distinguished colleagues are the visit in Moscow and in St. Petersburg. But now we can name the major result of our talks—first of all, the logical development and practical implementation as seen by our agreements reached in Crawford last year. I mean the signature of the treaty between Russia on strategic defensive reductions and, first of all, this document.

It's the statement of our countries to reduce our nuclear arsenals and the joint work for nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It's the decision of two states which are particularly responsible for international security and strategic stability. We're on the level of adopting the declaration on new strategic relationship which determines the basic directions in the security and international policy. It will have a positive impact for economic cooperation and development of our relations between the institutions of general public. And together with Mr. President, we discussed especially this aspect, the civil society between the people of our countries. The declaration formulates the principles of our dialog, anti-missile dialog; that is, the transparency and openness and exclusion of potential threats. We confirmed the Genoa agreement on offensive and defensive systems in all their aspects.

A separate issue, the mechanism of NATO-Russia cooperation within the framework of 20, it presumes a new level of joint responsibility and confidence between all its participants. I would like to stress, especially, that is the international novelty. And it happened because of the strengthening of Russian-American relations, including in joint confrontation to international terrorists—struggling with international terrorism. Russians work together with American people in

September the 8th, and we're grateful for sincere feelings of compassion headed by President Bush on behalf of American people because of the recent events in Kaspiysk. The memory of terrorism victims and the responsibility for the security of our people means joint struggle against this evil, as well as the struggle against nazism. The spirit of our cooperation will mean fruitful results even today.

That's why the agenda has very concrete issues of interaction against terrorism on the basis of unique standards against any manifestation of terrorism and extremism. We need close contacts through all agencies and services, including special services. Here we have very positive experience we've accrued over the past years. And we see today—we feel it today during the negotiations. The bilateral working group on Afghanistan has demonstrated its efficiency. And we, Mr. President, would like to transform it on a group to combat terrorism, especially chemical, biological, nuclear terrorism.

Russia and the United States are oriented to build new relations in economic activity. Our businessman mentality is much alike, that their qualities and their joint work is based on free trade and supporting the initiatives. That's why our task is to open new opportunities for business community.

We need to avoid obstacles of the past. Here we mean not only the market status of the Russian economy—and I'm grateful to Mr. President that he has given a very positive signal during our talks. And it does also mean such things as Jackson-Vanik amendment. We have to remove administrative obstacles, which encurls both countries, to cooperate, especially in the high-tech sphere, which determined the economy of the 21st century; that is, the aeronautics, telecommunications, science and technologies, new sources of energy. I would like to focus on energy, especially nuclear energy. We paid much attention to it today. And the large format of our cooperation will be a great element for the global economy on the whole.

I would like to stress, in conclusion, that, of course, not all ideas, not all initiatives, are on paper and in the form of official documents. But a serious move forward in all these issues is quite evident for us. Today, we together counteract global threats and challenges, and we're going to form a stable world order that is within the interests of our peoples and our countries. And I think it's in the interest of all the civilized human society.

Thank you.

President Bush. Name your agency.

Nuclear Arms Reductions

Q. I have a question for both Presidents, please. If we've truly entered a new era, why do you each need 1,700 nuclear weapons? And President Putin, why does Russia need to continue producing nuclear warheads? And to President Bush, why does the United States need to keep some 2,000 of these weapons in storage, ready for deployment?

President Bush. Yes. First of all, remember where we've come from. We've come from 6,000 to 1,700 in a very quick—or to 1,700 to 2,200 in a very quick period of time. You know, friends really don't need weapons pointed at each other. We both understand that. But it's a realistic assessment of where we've been. And who knows what will happen 10 years from now? Who knows what future Presidents will say and how they react?

If you have a nuclear arsenal, you want to make sure they work. It's—one reason that you keep weapons in storage apart from launchers is for quality control. And the thing I think it's important for you to know, Ron [Ron Fournier, Associated Press], is that we've made tremendous progress from the past. And the treaty is setting a period of time in the rear-view mirror of both countries. And I am not only confident that this is good for world peace; I'm confident this sets the stage for incredible cooperation that we've never had before between our countries.

President Putin. I concur with the assessment given by my colleague, Mr. Bush. And naturally, our position is well known. We are guided by the facts that it's more worthwhile, perhaps, to eliminate a certain part of nuclear potentials. At the same time, I'd like to point out another thing here. Any man who has at least once in his career dealt with arms, had arms in his hands, at least to hunt or a rifle or whatever, he knows that it's much

better, much safer to have it in stock disarmed, disassembled perhaps, rather than to have it in your arms and charged with bullets in it and with your finger on the trigger at the same time. This is a different state of affairs, as it were.

And the fact that we agreed with President Bush regarding such détente, in such manner, this is a serious move ahead to ensure international security, which is a very good sign as regards the relationship between our two countries.

Now, as to why Russia should continue to produce nuclear arms, I'd like to say that this is not our priority. But in addition to Russia and U.S. out there, there are other states who possess nuclear arms. What is more concerning, there are countries who want to acquire weapons of mass destruction. Experts in the area of international security are aware of the fact, and they have been talking a lot about nuclear arms as deterrent.

Moreover, many of them assert—and it is difficult to dispute this fact—they say the existence of the nuclear arms was an impediment, an obstacle which contained the world from large-scale wars over the past decades, let's say. And I think we should take that into consideration while building a new quality of relationship within the two main nuclear states of the world.

We also should pay attention to the whole set of relations currently in the world out there, and we should take into account the prospects of development of the world in the realm of security, bearing in mind those potential threats I've mentioned here.

Jackson-Vanik Amendment/Russia-U.S. Economic Relationship

Q. Mr. Bush, when we can hope that Jackson-Vanik will be rescinded, which currently is very out of place? That's, you know, a remnant of the cold war here. And will the U.S. continue to use it as a leverage of applying pressure on Russia and when Russia will finally be recognized as a marketplace country? And what's the prospect of Russia's accession to WTO?

And now to Mr. Putin, Russian President. What's your idea of how U.S. Boeings can help Russian civil aviation?

President Bush. I couldn't make myself clearer during my opening statement about how I feel about Jackson-Vanik—not much action by the Congress of the United States, and I hope they act. The market-based economy is an issue that the President and I talked about. It is a regulatory matter, the responsibility of which resides at the Commerce Department. Secretary Evans and I have to talk about this subject, and we'll have an answer to the President soon.

And in terms of success of Russia ascending into the WTO, it's something that we want. It's in our Nation's interest that Russia be a part of the WTO. And we look forward to working with the President and respective ministers to see that that happens. It's in our interest that that happen. So it's hard for me to predict the timetables on all the issues you mentioned. Those over which I have got direct control will happen relatively quickly.

President Putin. Well, you know, while talking about the whole set of commercial and trade ties between our two countries, today we've mentioned more than once that we are facing somewhat an unusual situation in this area today, which has to do with the fact that while improving relations in disarmament matters, building confidence and so on and so forth, at the same time, we're expanding the whole set of relations in economic area. And naturally, we'll face new problems we never had to deal with before.

The position taken by the U.S. administration and the President is known to us as regards Jackson-Vanik. It's precisely the administration who initiated its rescinding. And business communities of our two countries, American and Russian business communities, and their interaction together with the interaction of the parliamentary issues, will be able to remove similar problems in automatic manner, I guess.

Now, as regards your specific question on purchase of Boeings, I must say that the best lobbyist of the interests of U.S. companies will be American President standing here, since both Boeings and poultry and other matters very often have been told by my colleagues. People usually say, "Well, it's not on our level, but I must say," and then there will be a lengthy monolog on specific matters.

Anyhow, you've posed a very acute and very specific question. Why it's acute? Because it's on the agenda or practical interaction. And it's very specific since it has a bearing to very specific matters. And since it's acute and specific, I'll answer as one should in gentlemen's society, in a very general manner.

First and foremost, our carriers, in my opinion, should be primarily guided towards Russian aircraft producers. Why? Because Russian manufacturers, you know, don't have anywhere to sell their products, otherwise, because they are not let anywhere or with a lot of difficulty. They only can sell it domestically. That's the first thing. And here we can talk about interaction on the market.

Now, the second thing, primarily—Aeroflot should be competitive on the market and should have advanced technology in their hands. Therefore, they both have American Boeings today; they also have European Airbus aircraft. And the question has been raised currently on additional purchase, on replacement of old equipment with those foreign aircraft.

Now, I should say, depending on the decision to be taken by economic structures, this is not a political question, mind you. The economic structure should decide on it. A lot will depend on it in regards of the state of our political interaction, of course. And our American colleagues' proposal today is a little bit costlier than the Europeans' proposal. Had Americans bought our cheap aluminum and steel, then their aircraft would have been cheaper and more competitive, including in our market.

So all of this jointly has been a subject of our discussions with the President here, and our good friend and partner, Secretary of Commerce and economy. And I think that in the course of normalization of trade and commerce relations, all these issues will be addressed in a most mutually advantageous manner.

Iran/Nuclear Nonproliferation

Q. [*Inaudible*]—state sponsor of terrorism. I wonder because of that, if these Russians sales that you object to continue, does that—this new strategic relationship you're discussing today bump up against what you outlined in your speech to Congress when you said, in the war against terrorism, you're either with the United States or against the United States?

And President Putin, the Bush team says that your sales of nuclear technology and sophisticated military technology to Iran are the world's single biggest proliferation problem right now. Do you agree with that assessment, and did you make any specific promises today in your meeting with President Bush?

President Bush. Well, first, we spent a lot of time on this subject. And as I said yesterday in Germany, I worry about Iran. And I'm confident Vladimir Putin worries about Iran, and that was confirmed today. He understands terrorist threats, just like we understand terrorist threats. And he understands that weapons of mass destruction are dangerous to Russia, just as they are to America. And he's explained that point himself, of course, now that he's standing here.

But we spoke very frankly and honestly about the need to make sure that a nontransparent government run by radical clerics doesn't get their hands on weapons of mass destruction. It could be harmful to us and harmful to Russia. And the President can speak for himself. And he gave me some assurances that I think will be very comforting for you to listen to. And I'm confident we can work together on this issue. This is in both our countries' mutual interest that we solve this problem.

President Putin. I will confirm what Mr. Bush has just said, and I agree with your evaluation of threats in this regard. Generally speaking, I believe that the problem of nonproliferation is one of the key problems as regards ensuring international security.

Incidentally, this happened to be one of the main motivating and underpinning logical stimuluses to work in Russia-NATO framework together on nonproliferation on nuclear arms.

At the same time, I'd like to point out that cooperation between Iran and Russia is not of a character which would undermine the process on nonproliferation. Our cooperation is exclusively, as regards energy sector, focused on the problems of economic nature. I'd like to point out also that the U.S. has

taken a commitment upon themselves to build similar nuclear powerplant in North Korea, similar to Russia.

And in addition to Iran, I think, we also need to think about other countries here. For example, we have some questions concerning development of missile programs in Taiwan, in some other countries where we've been witnessing active work of producing mass destruction weapons and their carriers. All of that should be a subject of our in-depth discussion both bilaterally and in the frameworks of NATO-Russia agreement. That's one of the key issues of the modern times, I believe.

It would seem to me that in order to be efficient, in this sense, like in other areas, we need to address the main task, to upgrade confidence mutually. And today I mentioned to President Bush here that as regards Iran and some other countries, according to our data, the missile programs of those countries, nuclear programs, are built largely on the basis of the technologies and with the support of the Western companies. We do have such info, and we stand ready to share it with our American partners. So if we pursued that way, not dealing with generalities, then we'll get results with respect to this very complicated and very important for our two countries track.

And the conclusive question—[*inaudible*].

Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty

Q. Mayak Radio Station. To both Presidents, to what extent the treaty ensures real nuclear parity, and are there conditions that the treaty can be terminated by either side? And how true is the fact that Russia still remains as one of the nuclear targets for nuclear forces? And how does that relate to the announced new strategic relations between our two countries?

President Bush. Well, it is a treaty. This document is a treaty that will be confirmed by the United States Senate and the Duma, hopefully. Secondly, treaties have always had outs; there's nothing new about that. There are conditions of which things may change, and people get out of treaties. That's the way it's been. The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty had an out; there's nothing new about that. And thirdly, you know, we are going to work to end the—forever end the cold war. And that begins with the statement that Russia's our friend, not our enemy.

And you say "targeting"—I mean, the idea of our weaponry—our military has no aims at Russia. There may be old vestiges in place, but Russia's not an enemy. You don't think about how to deal with Russia the way they used to. Russia is a friend, and that's the new thinking. That's part of what's being codified today.

President Putin. As regards the parity, the parity relationship of sorts, the weight of military potentials and nuclear potential, and so on, so forth, each state would have its own strategy of development of what you refer to as nuclear deterrent process. But I'd like to assure you that all the action undertaken by us in this area fully confirmed with the interests of the Russian Federation. The documents signed today are a result of joint effort of the Minister of Defense and Chiefs of Staff and our Minister of Foreign Affairs, of course, jointly with our American colleagues. And we proceed from the assumption we have today, and we try to forecast the status of affairs in the world for a lengthy period of time—I would like to point out, again, for a lengthy perspective.

Now, as regards the question of verification and control, perhaps, I'd like to point out that we're very much satisfied with the U.S. administration approach to this question. Our American partners have agreed that we need to retain START I, which is provided for by the system of verification. We agreed we will continue this work on the basis of the documents signed today as well.

And what was the second part of the question, incidentally? The mike was off at this time. Regarding those targets, that was not to me. I will also make a remark here, regarding aiming targets. And Mr. Baluyevskiy, our military First Deputy Chief of Staff, is here with us. He and his American counterpart are full aware of those things, targeting aims and other things involved, and what is the status today of those aimings and targeting. All in speculations in the press are nothing but expression of domestic political infight either here or in the U.S., just on the verge of the visit.

We are not being emotional here. We're not talking to the press, but as experts, we're full aware of that, and we have no concern whatsoever in this regard.

Thank you. Thank you for your kind attention and for your participation.

NOTE: The President's news conference began at 12:55 p.m. in St. Andrew's Hall at the Kremlin. President Putin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, President Bush referred to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which places restrictions on normalized trade relations between the U.S. and Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union based on their economic structure and emigration policies. President Putin referred to Gen.-Col. Yuriy Nikolayevich Baluyevskiy, First Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Russian Federation Armed Forces. Prior to their news conference, President Bush and President Putin signed the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Strategic Offensive Reductions.

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Strategic Offensive Reductions

May 24, 2002

The United States of America and the Russian Federation, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Embarking upon the path of new relations for a new century and committed to the goal of strengthening their relationship through cooperation and friendship,

Believing that new global challenges and threats require the building of a qualitatively new foundation for strategic relations between the Parties,

Desiring to establish a genuine partnership based on the principles of mutual security, cooperation, trust, openness, and predictability,

Committed to implementing significant reductions in strategic offensive arms,

Proceeding from the Joint Statements by the President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation on Strategic Issues of July 22, 2001 in Genoa and on a New Relationship between the United States and Russia of November 13, 2001 in Washington,

Mindful of their obligations under the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms of July 31, 1991, hereinafter referred to as the START Treaty,

Mindful of their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of July 1, 1968, and

Convinced that this Treaty will help to establish more favorable conditions for actively promoting security and cooperation, and enhancing international stability,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I

Each Party shall reduce and limit strategic nuclear warheads, as stated by the President of the United States of America on November 13, 2001 and as stated by the President of the Russian Federation on November 13, 2001 and December 13, 2001 respectively, so that by December 31, 2012 the aggregate number of such warheads does not exceed 1700–2200 for each Party. Each Party shall determine for itself the composition and structure of its strategic offensive arms, based on the established aggregate limit for the number of such warheads.

Article II

The Parties agree that the START Treaty remains in force in accordance with its terms.

Article III

For purposes of implementing this Treaty, the Parties shall hold meetings at least twice a year of a Bilateral Implementation Commission.

Article IV

1. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party. This Treaty shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification.

2. This Treaty shall remain in force until December 31, 2012 and may be extended by agreement of the Parties or superseded earlier by a subsequent agreement.

3. Each Party, in exercising its national sovereignty, may withdraw from this Treaty upon three months written notice to the other Party.

Article V

This Treaty shall be registered pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Done at Moscow on May 24, 2002, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the United States of America:	For the Russian Federation:
George W. Bush	**Vladimir V. Putin**

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this treaty.

Joint Declaration by President George W. Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin on the New Strategic Relationship Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation

May 24, 2002

The United States of America and the Russian Federation,

Recalling the accomplishments at the Ljubljana, Genoa, Shanghai, and Washington/Crawford Summits and the new spirit of cooperation already achieved;

Building on the November 13, 2001 Joint Statement on a New Relationship Between the United States and Russia, having embarked upon the path of new relations for the twenty-first century, and committed to developing a relationship based on friendship, cooperation, common values, trust, openness, and predictability;

Reaffirming our belief that new global challenges and threats require a qualitatively new foundation for our relationship;

Determined to work together, with other nations and with international organizations, to respond to these new challenges and threats, and thus contribute to a peaceful, prosperous, and free world and to strengthening strategic security;

Declare as follows:

A Foundation for Cooperation

We are achieving a new strategic relationship. The era in which the United States and Russia saw each other as an enemy or strategic threat has ended. We are partners and we will cooperate to advance stability, security, and economic integration, and to jointly counter global challenges and to help resolve regional conflicts.

To advance these objectives the United States and Russia will continue an intensive dialogue on pressing international and regional problems, both on a bilateral basis and in international fora, including in the UN Security Council, the G–8, and the OSCE. Where we have differences, we will work to resolve them in a spirit of mutual respect.

We will respect the essential values of democracy, human rights, free speech and free media, tolerance, the rule of law, and economic opportunity.

We recognize that the security, prosperity, and future hopes of our peoples rest on a benign security environment, the advancement of political and economic freedoms, and international cooperation.

The further development of U.S.-Russian relations and the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust will also rest on a growing network of ties between our societies and peoples. We will support growing economic interaction between the business communities of our two countries and people-to-people and cultural contacts and exchanges.

Political Cooperation

The United States and Russia are already acting as partners and friends in meeting the new challenges of the 21st century; affirming our Joint Statement of October 21, 2001, our countries are already allied in the global struggle against international terrorism.

The United States and Russia will continue to cooperate to support the Afghan people's efforts to transform Afghanistan into a stable, viable nation at peace with itself and its neighbors. Our cooperation, bilaterally and through the United Nations, the "Six-Plus-Two" diplomatic process, and in other multilateral fora, has proved important to our success so far in ridding Afghanistan of the Taliban and al-Qaida.

In Central Asia and the South Caucasus, we recognize our common interest in promoting the stability, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all the nations of this region. The United States and Russia reject the failed model of "Great Power" rivalry that can only increase the potential for conflict

in those regions. We will support economic and political development and respect for human rights while we broaden our humanitarian cooperation and cooperation on counterterrorism and counternarcotics.

The United States and Russia will cooperate to resolve regional conflicts, including those in Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh, and the Transnistrian issue in Moldova. We strongly encourage the Presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia to exhibit flexibility and a constructive approach to resolving the conflict concerning Nagorno-Karabakh. As two of the Co-Chairmen of the OSCE's Minsk Group, the United States and Russia stand ready to assist in these efforts.

On November 13, 2001, we pledged to work together to develop a new relationship between NATO and Russia that reflects the new strategic reality in the Euro-Atlantic region. We stressed that the members of NATO and Russia are increasingly allied against terrorism, regional instability, and other contemporary threats. We therefore welcome the inauguration at the May 28, 2002 NATO-Russia summit in Rome of a new NATO-Russia Council, whose members, acting in their national capacities and in a manner consistent with their respective collective commitments and obligations, will identify common approaches, take joint decisions, and bear equal responsibility, individually and jointly, for their implementation. In this context, they will observe in good faith their obligations under international law, including the UN Charter, provisions and principles contained in the Helsinki Final Act and the OSCE Charter for European Security. In the framework of the NATO-Russia Council, NATO member states and Russia will work as equal partners in areas of common interest. They aim to stand together against common threats and risks to their security.

As co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process, the United States and Russia will continue to exert joint and parallel efforts, including in the framework of the "Quartet," to overcome the current crisis in the Middle East, to restart negotiations, and to encourage a negotiated settlement. In the Balkans, we will promote democracy, ethnic tolerance, self-sustaining peace, and long-term stability, based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states in the region and United Nations Security Council resolutions. The United States and Russia will continue their constructive dialogue on Iraq and welcome the continuation of special bilateral discussions that opened the way for UN Security Council adoption of the Goods Review List.

Recalling our Joint Statement of November 13, 2001 on counternarcotics cooperation, we note that illegal drug trafficking poses a threat to our peoples and to international security, and represents a substantial source of financial support for international terrorism. We are committed to intensifying cooperation against this threat, which will bolster both the security and health of the citizens of our countries.

The United States and Russia remain committed to intensifying cooperation in the fight against transnational organized crime. In this regard, we welcome the entry into force of the Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters on January 31, 2002.

Economic Cooperation

The United States and Russia believe that successful national development in the 21st century demands respect for the discipline and practices of the free market. As we stated on November 13, 2001, an open market economy, the freedom of economic choice, and an open democratic society are the most effective means to provide for the welfare of the citizens of our countries.

The United States and Russia will endeavor to make use of the potential of world trade to expand the economic ties between the two countries, and to further integrate Russia into the world economy as a leading participant, with full rights and responsibilities, consistent with the rule of law, in the world economic system. In this connection, the sides give high priority to Russia's accession to the World Trade Organization on standard terms.

Success in our bilateral economic and trade relations demands that we move beyond the limitations of the past. We stress the importance and desirability of graduating Russia from the emigration provisions of the U.S. Trade Act of 1974, also known as the

Jackson-Vanik Amendment. We note that the Department of Commerce, based on its ongoing thorough and deliberative inquiry, expects to make its final decision no later than June 14, 2002 on whether Russia should be treated as a market economy under the provisions of U.S. trade law. The sides will take further practical steps to eliminate obstacles and barriers, including as appropriate in the legislative area, to strengthen economic cooperation.

We have established a new dynamic in our economic relations and between our business communities, aimed at advancing trade and investment opportunities while resolving disputes, where they occur, constructively and transparently.

The United States and Russia acknowledge the great potential for expanding bilateral trade and investment, which would bring significant benefits to both of our economies. Welcoming the recommendations of the Russian-American Business Dialogue, we are committed to working with the private sectors of our countries to realize the full potential of our economic interaction. We also welcome the opportunity to intensify cooperation in energy exploration and development, especially in oil and gas, including in the Caspian region.

Strengthening People-to-People Contacts

The greatest strength of our societies is the creative energy of our citizens. We welcome the dramatic expansion of contacts between Americans and Russians in the past ten years in many areas, including joint efforts to resolve common problems in education, health, the sciences, and environment, as well as through tourism, sister-city relationships, and other people-to-people contacts. We pledge to continue supporting these efforts, which help broaden and deepen good relations between our two countries.

Battling the scourge of HIV/AIDS and other deadly diseases, ending family violence, protecting the environment, and defending the rights of women are areas where U.S. and Russian institutions, and especially nongovernmental organizations, can successfully expand their cooperation.

Preventing the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction: Non-Proliferation and International Terrorism

The United States and Russia will intensify joint efforts to confront the new global challenges of the twenty-first century, including combating the closely linked threats of international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. We believe that international terrorism represents a particular danger to international stability as shown once more by the tragic events of September 11, 2001. It is imperative that all nations of the world cooperate to combat this threat decisively. Toward this end, the United States and Russia reaffirm our commitment to work together bilaterally and multilaterally.

The United States and Russia recognize the profound importance of preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and missiles. The specter that such weapons could fall into the hands of terrorists and those who support them illustrates the priority all nations must give to combating proliferation.

To that end, we will work closely together, including through cooperative programs, to ensure the security of weapons of mass destruction and missile technologies, information, expertise, and material. We will also continue cooperative threat reduction programs and expand efforts to reduce weapons-usable fissile material. In that regard, we will establish joint experts groups to investigate means of increasing the amount of weapons-usable fissile material to be eliminated, and to recommend collaborative research and development efforts on advanced, proliferation-resistant nuclear reactor and fuel cycle technologies. We also intend to intensify our cooperation concerning destruction of chemical weapons.

The United States and Russia will also seek broad international support for a strategy of proactive non-proliferation, including by implementing and bolstering the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the conventions on the prohibition of chemical and biological weapons. The United States and Russia call on all countries to

strengthen and strictly enforce export controls, interdict illegal transfers, prosecute violators, and tighten border controls to prevent and protect against proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Missile Defense, Further Strategic Offensive Reductions, New Consultative Mechanism on Strategic Security

The United States and Russia proceed from the Joint Statements by the President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation on Strategic Issues of July 22, 2001 in Genoa and on a New Relationship Between the United States and Russia of November 13, 2001 in Washington.

The United States and Russia are taking steps to reflect, in the military field, the changed nature of the strategic relationship between them.The United States and Russia acknowledge that today's security environment is fundamentally different than during the Cold War.

In this connection, the United States and Russia have agreed to implement a number of steps aimed at strengthening confidence and increasing transparency in the area of missile defense, including the exchange of information on missile defense programs and tests in this area, reciprocal visits to observe missile defense tests, and observation aimed at familiarization with missile defense systems. They also intend to take the steps necessary to bring a joint center for the exchange of data from early warning systems into operation.

The United States and Russia have also agreed to study possible areas for missile defense cooperation, including the expansion of joint exercises related to missile defense, and the exploration of potential programs for the joint research and development of missile defense technologies, bearing in mind the importance of the mutual protection of classified information and the safeguarding of intellectual property rights.

The United States and Russia will, within the framework of the NATO-Russia Council, explore opportunities for intensified practical cooperation on missile defense for Europe.

The United States and Russia declare their intention to carry out strategic offensive reductions to the lowest possible levels consistent with their national security requirements and alliance obligations, and reflecting the new nature of their strategic relations.

A major step in this direction is the conclusion of the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Strategic Offensive Reductions.

In this connection, both sides proceed on the basis that the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms of July 31, 1991, remains in force in accordance with its terms and that its provisions will provide the foundation for providing confidence, transparency, and predictability in further strategic offensive reductions, along with other supplementary measures, including transparency measures, to be agreed.

The United States and Russia agree that a new strategic relationship between the two countries, based on the principles of mutual security, trust, openness, cooperation, and predictability requires substantive consultation across a broad range of international security issues. To that end we have decided to:

- establish a Consultative Group for Strategic Security to be chaired by Foreign Ministers and Defense Ministers with the participation of other senior officials. This group will be the principal mechanism through which the sides strengthen mutual confidence, expand transparency, share information and plans, and discuss strategic issues of mutual interest; and
- seek ways to expand and regularize contacts between our two countries' Defense Ministries and Foreign Ministries, and our intelligence agencies.

The President of the United States of America:	The President of the Russian Federation:
George W. Bush	**Vladimir V. Putin**

Moscow

May 24, 2002.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint declaration.

Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin on the Situation in the Middle East

May 24, 2002

Mindful of the responsibility the United States of America and the Russian Federation as co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process, we believe that there is an opportunity to move away from the current unacceptable situation of terror and violence towards a resumption of meaningful negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. We are agreed that we have to move aggressively to help the parties take advantage of this opportunity. In the Middle East, neither conflict nor peace is inevitable. Peace will not come to the Middle East on its own. We must do all we can for the attainment of peace.

In that spirit, the United States and Russia pledge their maximum efforts to realize the vision of a negotiated settlement, including two states, Israel and Palestine, living in peace and security within recognized borders. This should become part of a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, the Madrid principles, and the principle of land for peace, and existing agreements and understandings. We share these approaches, which were reflected in UN Security Council resolution 1397.

We reaffirm our unequivocal condemnation of all terrorist acts, considering terrorism and any form of violence an absolutely unacceptable means for achieving political goals. At the same time, recognizing the legitimate right of Israel to fight terrorism, we urge the Israelis and Palestinians to consider carefully the consequences of any actions they may take and to work to create and sustain an environment in which the parties can return to a serious political dialogue. We urge the parties to move forward on a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians along the lines of the goals outlined by the President of the Russian Federation in his March 26 message to the Arab Summit in Beirut and by the President of the United States at the UN General Assembly last November and advanced by him in his April 4 statement on the Middle East.

The United States and Russia are encouraged by several recent signals that have created a window of opportunity: the peaceful resolution—with the cooperation of the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority—of the standoffs in Ramallah and Bethlehem and the recent Israeli withdrawals from Palestinian areas; the Arab League's endorsement of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah's initiative; and the May 12 joint call by the Saudi, Egyptian, and Syrian leaders in Sharm el-Sheikh for a negotiated solution and an end to all forms of violence. The Arab states have an essential role to play in the search for a just peace.

We believe that the parties themselves and the international community should seize this opportunity by pursuing a comprehensive strategy that includes the following parallel steps: security and freedom from terror and violence for both Israelis and Palestinians; serious and accelerated negotiations leading to a just political settlement; and efforts to address urgent humanitarian needs and help promote the rebuilding of strong, accountable, democratic, and market-oriented institutions as the basis for a vibrant Palestinian state. This will require vigorous efforts by the Palestinian leadership and action by all parties concerned to create an environment in which progress can be made in all the above mentioned directions.

The United States and Russia reaffirm their commitment, expressed most recently at the April 10 and May 2 meetings of the "Quartet," composed of the United States, Russia, European Union, and United Nations, to undertake all efforts to help Israel and the Palestinian Authority in the achievement of these goals. We are prepared to provide humanitarian and economic assistance to the Palestinians at this time of urgent need. We are also prepared to assist in the reconstruction of Palestinian institutions, including those of the Palestinian Authority, in order to lay the foundation of a future Palestinian state worthy of the Palestinian people and able to live as a good neighbor in peace with Israel.

The United States and Russia are committed to using an international meeting this

summer to create serious momentum to move forward on our comprehensive strategy for peace in the Middle East.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin on Counterterrorism Cooperation

May 24, 2002

Reaffirming our commitment expressed on October 21, 2001 to fight terrorism in all its forms wherever it may occur, we commend the efforts of the worldwide coalition against terrorism since the tragic events of September 11, 2001. The member nations of the coalition must continue their concerted action to deny safe haven to terrorists; to destroy their financial, logistical, communications, and other operational networks; and to bring terrorists to justice. We note with satisfaction that U.S.-Russia counterterrorism cooperation is making an important contribution to the global coalition against terrorism.

A successful campaign against terrorism must be conducted by nations through bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation, and requires a multifaceted approach that employs law enforcement, intelligence, diplomatic, political, and economic actions. We stress that initiatives against terrorism must be conducted in an atmosphere of rule of law and with respect for universal human rights.

Recognizing the importance of multilateral counterterrorism efforts, such as those under the auspices of the United Nations, the Group of Eight, the European Union, the OSCE, the "Six Plus Two" group, and NATO-Russia, we encourage the further development of regional counterterrorism initiatives, including within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and its cooperation with the United States, that improve information-sharing, law enforcement cooperation, and border security. Of these institutions, we note that the UN Security Council Counterterrorism Committee plays a key coordinating role in the struggle against international terrorism. In support of regional cooperation, the United States is sponsoring a counterterrorism conference in June 2002 to include participation from the Central Asian and Caucasus states, Afghanistan, Turkey, China, and Russia.

We call upon all nations to implement fully the provisions of UN Security Council resolutions, including resolutions 1368, 1373, 1377 and 1390, directed against terrorism, the Taliban, and al-Qaida, and to become parties at the earliest opportunity to the twelve international antiterrorism conventions, including the Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. The United States supports conclusion of the Russian-proposed nuclear terrorism convention, and joins Russia in urging other nations to enlist in the efforts to resolve the outstanding issues related to the text. We call upon all nations to take steps to comply with the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) recommendations on money laundering and terrorist financing. We shall work to block the financial assets of named terrorists and their organizations without delay.

We underscore the need to bring to a logical conclusion efforts to eliminate the terrorist infrastructure in Afghanistan related to Usama Bin Laden, the al-Qaida organization, and the Taliban. Afghanistan should never again be a haven for terrorism. Reaffirming our support for the important role of the UN in efforts to implement successfully the Bonn Agreement, including the upcoming Loya Jirga, we share a vision of a stable, independent Afghanistan at peace with its neighbors and the rest of the world and on the road to a more prosperous future.

We recognize the links between illegal drug trafficking and terrorism and stress the importance of U.S.-Russia cooperation on counternarcotics. Both our countries are dedicated to continuing their support for regional initiatives, such as those of the "Six Plus Two" Working Group on Drugs, to encourage cooperation among member countries and to strengthen their counternarcotics capabilities. We both strongly support the Afghan Interim Authority's plan to implement its poppy ban.

Believing that the sovereignty, long-term stability, prosperity, and further democratic development of the states of Central Asia serve the strategic interests of the United States and Russia, we pledge transparency and cooperation in our relations with the states of Central Asia. An important step for ensuring their security is to eradicate terrorist activities in Afghanistan once and for all and to assist in the prevention of their reoccurrence.

We reaffirm our commitment to working with the Government of Georgia on counterterrorism issues, while upholding Georgian sovereignty, and hope that the presence of terrorists in this country will be eliminated. As members of the Friends of the UN Secretary-General on Georgia, the United States and Russia remain committed to advancing a peaceful, political resolution of the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. We pledge to work closely with all relevant parties to these conflicts to reduce military tensions, address civilians' security concerns, and foster a lasting political settlement that preserves Georgia's territorial integrity and protects the rights of all of those involved in the conflicts. We highly appreciate the contribution of the UN Security Council, concerned states, and international mechanisms which participate in peaceful efforts toward resolution of these conflicts.

We note with satisfaction the entry into force of the Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters between the United States of America and the Russian Federation, which will facilitate joint efforts on criminal and terrorist cases.

We will work to strengthen the exchange of professional know-how and experience in such areas as transportation security, hostage takeover, and airplane hijacking, among others.

We will work to strengthen national, bilateral, and multilateral measures to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, related technologies, and delivery means as an essential element of the fight against international terrorism and all those who support it.

An important step in our joint cooperation will be a meeting of our scientists in June. We will seek to develop jointly new technology to detect nuclear material that can be used to manufacture weapons for purposes of terrorism.

The U.S.-Russia Working Group on Afghanistan has proven a successful vehicle for joint efforts between the United States and Russia to counter terrorism emanating from Afghanistan. Recognizing the increased threat of terrorism originating in other regions of the world, we have directed that the Working Group's agenda be broadened, and that it be renamed the U.S.-Russia Working Group on Counterterrorism. Among other issues, this Working Group will address the threats posed by nuclear, biological, and chemical terrorism. The next meeting of the Working Group will take place in the Washington area in July 2002.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin on Developments in the U.S.-Russian Economic Relationship

May 24, 2002

At our first meeting in Ljubljana, we expressed our commitment to foster a dynamic, forward-leaning economic relationship. We applaud the tremendous efforts made over the past twelve months to realize this goal. We are encouraged by the close contacts that are forming between our business communities and our governments, and the investment and trade opportunities that are growing out of these relationships.

Success in our bilateral economic and trade relations demands that we move beyond the limitations of the past. We stress the importance and desirability of graduating Russia from the emigration provisions of the U.S. Trade Act of 1974, also known as the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. We note that the Department of Commerce, based on its ongoing thorough and deliberative inquiry, expects to make its final decision no later than June 14, 2002 on whether Russia should be treated as a market economy under the provisions of U.S. trade law.

We note our emerging energy relationship, which is aimed at enhancing global energy security and stability of supplies. In view of the successful advancement of the Sakhalin-I project and the opening of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium's Tengiz-Novorossiysk pipeline, we welcome implementation of more projects in the fuel and energy sector, including in the area of oil-refining and gas-processing and transportation as well as development of ports and production technology. We call for continued cooperation both on the basis of Production Sharing Agreements and other frameworks so that other multi-billion dollar joint projects can move forward. We also encourage our businesses to participate in the Commercial Energy Summit scheduled for later this year in the United States.

We continue to place high priority on Russia's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), and we reaffirm our commitment to working together to accelerate Russia's entry on standard terms. We recognize the recent release of the first draft of the Working Party report as an important milestone in Russia's accession process.

We welcome the efforts of the Russian-American Business Dialogue, established at the time of our meeting in Genoa. The joint recommendations of this private-sector dialogue have been helpful in advancing mutual efforts to normalize Russian-American business ties, strengthening corporate governance, and promoting cooperation in information technology.

We welcome as well the development of the private sector-led U.S.-Russia Banking Dialogue and its report to governments. We hope the Dialogue will foster non-discriminatory cooperation between private-sector financial institutions of Russia and the United States. Among the important areas of cooperation, we emphasize small business and mortgage lending, consumer credit, implementation of cutting-edge technologies, and training of qualified banking personnel.

We welcome the progress made in Russia to establish laws and institutions to combat money laundering. We support the efforts to jointly counter financial criminal activities, including within the framework of the Egmont Group. We attach high importance to implementation of programs enhancing cooperation in combating legalization of criminal incomes.

We note the importance of establishing a supportive tax, legal and regulatory environment for the development of small business, as well as the need to provide access to financing, and welcome the $100 million expansion of the Russia Small Business Fund of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We encourage other donors to join the United States in supporting the further expansion of this effort.

We also welcome the announcement by the United States Overseas Private Investment Corporation to back a new $100 million "Russia Private Equity Fund."

We note with satisfaction opportunities for the further development of successful and mutually beneficial cooperation in such areas as civil aviation, commercial space exploration, the International Space Station, commercial satellite launches, and joint design and production of aircraft machinery.

We hail growing aviation cooperation between our two countries under the Russian-American civil aviation agreement. Since 2001, we have achieved agreement on the opening of new economically viable routes, including cross-polar flights.

We are confident that the creation of the Russian-American Working Group on Trade and Aerospace Cooperation will foster expanded direct contacts between aerospace corporations and airlines of our countries.

We welcome the positive trends in our cooperation in the area of information technologies, which is emerging as one of the priority areas of our bilateral relationship. The introduction of U.S. companies' advanced technologies in the Russian market, including through licensed modern software applications, contributes to economic growth in Russia. We support growing cooperation through services provided by Russian companies in designing software and high-tech products on the basis of Russia's existing scientific capabilities. We welcome the Information Technology Roundtable, which is providing for a comprehensive exchange of opinion between government agencies and businesses on removing barriers to business

and protecting intellectual property rights in this area.

We note growing trade cooperation between our countries. As our trade and economic cooperation gains momentum, we might face certain contentious issues that must be addressed in a swift, transparent and constructive manner by taking account of the interests of both sides.

Already existing positive examples of cooperation between U.S. and Russian companies give us confidence that many new significant and mutually beneficial projects will be implemented in the course of our expanding economic cooperation.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin on U.S.-Russian People-to-People Contacts

May 24, 2002

In keeping with the spirit of cooperation between our two countries, we affirm the importance of strengthening contacts between our societies and citizens. We are confident that direct links between our cities, states and regions, businesses, educational, research, and medical institutions, and non-governmental organizations increase communication and promote understanding and trust between the United States and Russia.

Over the past decade, direct ties between Americans and Russians have grown rapidly, and they continue to broaden and deepen, including through joint business ventures and trade and economic relationships, academic and cultural exchanges, and cooperative efforts aimed at protecting the environment and developing new medical technologies and cures for the most deadly diseases. Such cooperation now goes beyond programs, projects, and agreements financed by our governments; our primary role in the future should be to support this trend by removing legal, bureaucratic, and other impediments. Recognizing the mutual benefits of travel for our private and official visitors, the United States and Russia are committed to streamlining visa practices and taking additional steps to facilitate travel. To this end, we have agreed to reduce substantially visa fees for participants in student and school exchanges.

We note that government-supported partnerships between American and Russian institutions are flourishing: they include 94 Russian-American sister cities, 8 hospital partnerships, and 37 university partnerships. In addition, more than 100 U.S.-Russian community and institutional partnerships have been forged between local governments, judges, businesses, professional associations, and other non-governmental groups.

We also recognize the strong ties between American and Russian regions and cities, especially the Russian Far East and the U.S. West Coast. Thanks to existing intergovernmental agreements, Native American and Russian citizens can visit their relatives in Alaska and Chukotka visa-free. In an effort to stimulate more of these regional ties, we have just begun a new program which will use U.S.-Russian partnerships to facilitate cooperation, strengthen civil society and media, and improve the business climate in the Russian Far East and the Volga Federal District.

Government-supported exchange programs that send Russians to the United States and Americans to Russia have also grown exponentially over the past decade. Under these programs, more than 50,000 Russian students, scientists, legislators and others have been hosted by families and communities in all 50 American states. Last year alone, about 1,000 Russian entrepreneurs visited the United States to exchange experiences and develop mutually profitable ties with their American hosts; these business exchanges are set to increase significantly this year. Meanwhile, thousands of American scholars, scientists, business people, health care professionals, language teachers, and other experts from many walks of life have spent time in virtually every region of Russia, working side-by-side with their Russian colleagues.

We will also continue to support our partnership in the critically important area of health care. Our priorities are fighting such infectious diseases as tuberculosis, improving maternal and child health in order to reduce

maternal and child mortality, and combating cardiovascular disease. The United States and Russia are committed to preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS. In three regions in Russia, we are currently carrying out health education programs aimed at high-risk populations. We are pleased to note that funding will now be provided for an HIV/AIDS prevention program in a fourth site—St. Petersburg and Leningrad Oblast. In addition, joint programs for the treatment of tuberculosis within the framework of the World Health Organization are now underway in a number of Russian regions.

We will promote further expansion of contacts in such areas of cooperation as information technology, the natural and social sciences, and areas of fundamental research, such as fusion energy and high-energy physics.

A viable and independent media sector is an integral component of democracy in both our countries. Accordingly, we initiated the Media Entrepreneurship Dialogue in November. This dialogue has brought together American and Russian media professionals in a business-to-business partnership to exchange experience in resolving problems facing the media, including those of ensuring the development of commercially viable independent media. We welcome the successful development of this dialogue. We also welcome a new partnership starting this year that will bring together Moscow State University's journalism school with an American school of journalism to develop curricula and materials used for training media managers and journalists.

The availability and use of the Internet in both the United States and Russia has increased dramatically in recent years, greatly facilitating communication between our two peoples. Both governments will do all in their power to create the conditions for information to flow freely within and between our two countries.

Both of our countries are rich in the vast territories they cover and in the diversity of their populations. Respecting the spiritual, cultural, and ethnic legacies of our nations, we affirm our commitment to universal values in the sphere of human rights and religious freedoms. We will seek to promote a climate of mutual tolerance and respect between different creeds and beliefs. To advance these goals, new initiatives are being developed to support Russian and American non-governmental organizations.

Our governments intend to promote further cultural interchange between our two countries, including the organization of exchanges between national museums, theaters, operas, ballets, orchestras, and individual artists. In addition, we will seek to promote activities that will enable American and Russian scholars, artists, and ordinary citizens to learn more about one another's history, language, and culture. We encourage the establishment of new contacts between American and Russian organizations such as the agreement between the State Hermitage Museum and the S. Guggenheim Foundation.

Through the centuries, Russia's great poets, novelists, painters, composers, and scientists have made brilliant contributions to world civilization, and Americans find their own lives enriched by learning more about this cultural legacy. Similarly, Russians have shown a great interest in learning more about American contributions to the arts and sciences. Increased appreciation of each other's cultures will help advance relations between our two nations into the future.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin on the New U.S.-Russian Energy Dialogue

May 24, 2002

Successful development of the global economy depends on timely and reliable energy delivery. In this context, we welcome the fact that the Russian Federation has confirmed its role as a major world energy provider. In order to strengthen our overall relationship and enhance global energy security and international strategic stability, we have agreed to launch a bilateral energy dialogue.

Through this Dialogue we seek to:

- Develop bilateral cooperation in the energy sphere on a mutually beneficial basis in accordance with our respective national energy policies.
- Reduce volatility and enhance predictability of global energy markets and reliability of global energy supply.
- Facilitate commercial cooperation in the energy sector enhancing interaction between our companies in exploration, production, refining, transportation and marketing of energy, as well as in implementation of joint projects including those in third countries.
- Encourage investment aimed at the further development and modernization of the fuel and energy sector of Russia, including expansion of oil and gas production in Eastern Siberia, the Far East, and offshore areas.
- Promote access to world markets for Russian energy, including through the commercial development and modernization of Russia's port and transportation infrastructures, the electric power and gas sectors, and oil refining capabilities.
- Foster science, technological, and business cooperation in the use of unconventional energy sources, and energy-efficient and environmentally clean technologies.
- Cooperate in elaboration and development of new ecologically safer nuclear power technologies.

We intend to discuss energy issues at our future bilateral meetings, and direct that these issues be integrated into our bilateral agenda, at all levels of our governments. In this context, we welcome the creation of the Russian-American Working-level Group on Energy Cooperation.

We are encouraged that our commercial cooperation occurs not only in Russia and neighboring areas such as the Caspian region, where multiple pipelines and joint upstream investments in the energy sector strengthen the sovereignty, prosperity, cooperation, and global economic integration of all participating states. We also welcome our commercial cooperation in the United States and in other countries where our companies' and their international partners' experience, technology, and capital can be joined to provide the commercially reliable energy supplies which are essential to fostering prosperity and global stability.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Remarks to Community and Religious Leaders in Moscow

May 24, 2002

Thank you all very much. Mr. Ambassador, thank you and Lisa for opening up your modest home. [*Laughter*] I bet every Ambassador that represents the United States wishes they lived this way. But we appreciate your taking on this very important assignment, and that is to represent our country here in Russia.

I'm honored that Laura was traveling with me today. Trips always seem to go so much better when she is by my side, so I'm really glad you got to meet Laura. I like to tell the story in America that when I married her, she was a public school librarian who didn't like politics and didn't particularly care for politicians. [*Laughter*] And then she got stuck marrying one. [*Laughter*] But she's doing a great job for our country, and I'm real proud of her.

And I'm proud of the team I put together as well. I've got a great national security team, headed by Colin Powell and by Condi Rice and Andy Card. And I'm honored they're traveling with me, and I'm honored you have a chance to meet them as well.

And thank you all for coming. For those of us, the Spaso House—at least those of us who've paid attention to international politics—the Spaso House was always viewed as a refuge for freedom. And I'm so privileged to give you a few comments here in this historic setting, where so much history was written.

You know, I'm aware that during World War II, Russian, American diplomats and soldiers met here as allies. It's kind of an interesting part of the history of this house. And during the cold war, this is where many of you came, refuseniks and human rights activists. You're always welcome here, and we're glad you're here.

Our Nation stands for freedom. That's what we're fighting off the terrorists about. We believe so strongly in freedom, we're willing to defend it at all costs. The Soviet era is gone. The cold war, I hope, is past us. And today President Putin and I signed an historic document. It was more than just a document that reduces nuclear weaponry, although that in itself is good. It's a document that says there's a new era ahead of us, that instead of being stuck in the past, these two leaders are willing to take two great countries forward in a new relationship built on common interests and cooperation, and cooperation on all fronts—the idea of working together to make the Russian economy strong and vibrant so people can make a living, so people have hope about putting bread on the table for their families; the cooperation of fighting terror; the cooperation of promoting peace. But the best cooperation also must be based on common values, as well as common interests.

And I want you to know that we hold the values in America dear, and you know that. We hold dear what our Declaration of Independence says, that all have got uninalienable rights, endowed by a Creator—not endowed by the ones who wrote the Declaration of Independence but by a Creator, a universal Creator. I want you to know that I believe all governments have a duty and responsibility to protect those rights, those unalienable rights.

In Soviet times, people heroically defended those rights with incredible courage, and you earned the respect of a lot of people—a lot of people—by doing so. Many of you now are active in a modern Russia, and I want to thank you for staying active and involved in this important society, starting with making sure that freedom is protected by rule of law. And we agree completely, and we hope we can help, because rule of law is essential for a modern society to thrive and to succeed.

I applaud your commitment and your patriotism. I love the fact that you love your country. I love mine, and you love yours, and that's incredibly healthy and important. You understand that free nations and a free Russia require strong civic and religious institutions, committed to democratic values.

Russia's on the road to democracy, but it's important, as she does so, that she embrace the values inherent in democracy. In the past, I know you know that we have been committed to helping institutions which promote those values through direct Government assistance, and we will continue to do so. We believe it's for the good of Russia. We believe it will help Russia develop in a way that will be—enable Russia to become a lasting friend. And that's what I'm interested in. I'm interested in friendship and peace and mutual development.

Most Russians want and expect what most Americans want and expect, and that's important for the Russian people and the American people to understand, a Government—starting with a Government that works for citizens, that represents everyday citizens, not a corrupt elite. And that's important.

People want a society ruled by law, not by special privilege, special circumstance; a law where people are treated equally, regardless of their religion, ethnicity, income level. In a multiethnic society, people must work toward tolerance and reject extremism. It's important in America, just like it's important here in Russia. And this is a multiethnic society, to the credit of Russia, just like America is a multiethnic society, which makes our country strong. We're bound together by common values. And so can Russia be bound by the same values.

To reach these goals, societies need fair laws and, as importantly, fair enforcement of law. They need independent media that is respected by the Government. I remind those who sometimes get frustrated with the media that even in America, elected officials sometimes don't agree what's written about them—maybe especially America, for all I know. [*Laughter*] But it's important for those of us who value democracy to promote an independent media.

Opposition parties must be free to associate and must be free to speak their minds. In order for a democracy to be strong, there has to be competition of ideas, a free discussion of ideas, and an airing of philosophy in an open way. Freedom of religion and separation of church and state are so important, so important so that people can worship as

they choose, Jews, Muslims, and all Christians, and all religions.

Free societies have all got to meet the great challenges we face in ways consistent with values. That's what I'm here to tell you that's in my heart. That's what I want you to know about this administration, that we're not only committed to fighting terrorism—and we will. We are. We were under attack in America.

In Germany yesterday I said, September the 11th was just a fine—just as clear a dividing line in our history, in our Nation's history, as Pearl Harbor. It was. America at one time was protected by two oceans—we seemed totally invulnerable to, for example, the wars that took place here in Russia or on the European Continent—and all of a sudden found ourselves attacked, because we love freedom, because we respect religion, because we honor discourse. And you need to know that we're going to defend ourselves and defend that which we hold dear and, at the same time, protect civilization itself.

But in Afghanistan, we've shown, I believe, how to do it in a way that's commiserate with our values—that, on the one hand, we're plenty tough, and we will be. We've got a military we're going to use, if we need to, to defend freedom. But on the other hand, we delivered a lot of medicine and a lot of food. We hurt thinking not only that the children in Afghanistan could not go to school; we cried for the fact that people were starving in the country. We have rebuilt schools. We have also provided medicine and food.

Russia is building hospitals in Afghanistan. That's incredibly positive, we think. Nations are not only contributing military forces, but we're working to build a state that can function on her own, a state at peace in the neighborhood, and a state where people have got hope and a chance to survive, where moms and dads can raise their children in peace.

And that's important for you to know as well. You know, a lot of the time, people talk about the tough talk. But you've got to understand, we also have got a soft heart when it comes to the human condition. Each individual matters to me. Each individual has got worth and dignity.

The experience in Afghanistan has taught us all that there's lessons to be learned about how to protect one's homeland and, at the same time, be respectful of the—on the battlefield. And that lesson applies to Chechnya. The war on terror can be won, and at the same time, we have proven it's possible to respect the rights of the people in the territories, to respect the rights of the minorities.

We are—I represent a great nation, and Russia is a great nation. Both of us share a lot. We've got a big resource base. We've got people who are very smart. I remind Vladimir Putin that the great resource of Russia is the people of Russia. The resource of this country is the brainpower of this country. And when they get the system right, that encourages individual growth and entrepreneurship; that brainpower is going to flourish, and so will commerce, and so will opportunity. And while that happens, both nations must respect the multiethnic character of our lands. That, too, makes us great. And how we promote that multiethnicity, and how we respect human rights is another way we'll be judged by history.

We'll be judged by history on how we defend our freedoms. We'll be judged in history by how we help our people prosper and grow. And we'll be judged by history as to whether or not we defend the universal values that are right and just and true.

I want to thank you for that commitment to those values. I appreciate your stance for freedom. I appreciate your love of your country. I appreciate your understanding there is a universal and gracious God.

May God bless you all. May God bless Russia. And may God bless the United States. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:40 p.m. at Spaso House. In his remarks, he referred to Ambassador Alexander Vershbow and his wife, Lisa; and President Vladimir Putin of Russia.

Statement on House of Representatives Action on Appropriations Legislation

May 24, 2002

The House did a great service today for our men and women in uniform fighting the war against terror, for homeland security, and for fiscal discipline. The House also

showed our enemies that America is united and determined to fight and win this war on our terms.

A combination of recession and the need to spend what it takes to win the war have put the Federal budget into deficit. As we do what is necessary to prevail in the war and protect our homeland, the Congress must restrain other Government spending so we can return to a balanced budget soon.

The House has shown that a responsible budget can be enacted, and the Senate should follow suit. I expect the Senate to only spend on what is necessary to fight the war and for our immediate emergency needs. With our Nation now at war, now is not the time for unnecessary spending on lower priority items.

The House bill is a successful model for budget and spending bills: Fund our most basic priorities without increasing the deficit or undermining our efforts to return to a balanced budget. I am especially grateful to Speaker Hastert and Chairman Young for their leadership, and to all the Members of Congress who voted for this package.

Statement on the Proposed "Citizen Service Act of 2002"

May 24, 2002

I commend House Select Education Subcommittee Chairman Peter Hoekstra and Ranking Member Tim Roemer for their bipartisan leadership in introducing H.R. 4854, the "Citizen Service Act of 2002." In January, I called upon all Americans to dedicate at least 2 years—the equivalent of 4,000 hours—over the course of their lives in service to others, and I laid out policies for fostering service all across the country and around the world. Increasing opportunities for all Americans to participate in meaningful service activities is a priority of this administration, and the bipartisan sponsors and cosponsors of the "Citizen Service Act of 2002" are leading that effort in the House of Representatives.

Programs such as Learn and Serve America, Senior Corps, and AmeriCorps offer Americans a variety of ways to help meet important community needs through service. Through their hard work on the "Citizen Service Act of 2002," Chairman Hoekstra and Congressman Roemer are helping to strengthen and improve these programs based on the principles and reforms I outlined earlier this year. I also look forward to working with the Senate and to signing the "Citizen Service Act of 2002" this legislative session.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

May 19

In the afternoon, the President returned from Camp David, MD, to Washington, DC.

May 20

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Miami, FL. In the evening, he returned to Washington, DC.

The White House announced that the President will welcome International Democrat Union leaders to Washington, DC, on June 10.

The President announced his appointment of Marilyn Carlson Nelson as Chairperson of the National Women's Business Council.

May 21

In the morning, the President had CIA and FBI briefings.

The President announced his intention to nominate Seth Cropsey to be Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau.

The President declared a major disaster in Illinois and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms, tornadoes, and flooding on April 21 and continuing.

May 22

In the morning, the President traveled to Berlin, Germany. While en route aboard Air

Force One, he had a CIA briefing. After arriving in the evening he had dessert at a Berlin restaurant with Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany and Mayor Klaus Wowereit of Berlin. Later, he met Mrs. Bush, who arrived from Prague, the Czech Republic.

May 23

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush were welcomed by President Johannes Rau of Germany and his wife, Christina Rau, at Bellevue Palace.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Moscow, Russia.

The President announced his intention to appoint Charles H. Williams to be Director of the Office of Multifamily Housing Assistance Restructuring, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the Panel of Arbitrators of the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes: Fred Fisher Fielding; O. Thomas Johnson, Jr.; Daniel M. Price; and Davis R. Robinson.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the Panel of Conciliators of the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes: H. Douglas Barclay; Oscar M. Garibaldi; Steven M. Lucas; and Charles E. Roh, Jr.

May 24

In the morning, the President met with personnel at the U.S. Embassy. He then participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at Russia's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a lunch at the Kremlin hosted by President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and his wife, Lyudmila. Later, they took a walking tour of the Kremlin and Cathedral Square.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a dinner hosted by President Putin and Mrs. Putin at Novo Ogarevo, the Putins' residence in Moscow.

The President announced his intention to nominate Kim R. Holmes to be Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations.

The President announced his intention to nominate Diana E. Furchtgott-Roth to be a Director of the Federal Housing Finance Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate Armando J. Bucelo to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Securities Investor Protection Corporation.

The President announced his intention to appoint Peter McPherson as a member of the Board for International Food and Agriculture Development.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the Advisory Committee on the Arts, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts: Rosemary Ramirez Barbour, Joan Stevens Eller, Thomas Miller Ferguson, Donna S. Hall, Shenikwa D. Nowlin, James Henderson Shacklett III, and Joseph P. Watkins.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the Commission on Presidential Scholars: Scott Allen Bundgaard, Jeanne Rolfe Ferst, Michael Anthony Galiazzo, Robert Earl Moss, John Frederick Mueller, Laura Emberton Owens, and Dorothy Jean Potter.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted May 21

David Scott Carpenter,
of North Dakota, to be U.S. Marshal for the District of North Dakota for the term of 4 years, vice Brian C. Berg, term expired.

James Robert Dougan,
of Michigan, to be U.S. Marshal for the Western District of Michigan for the term of 4 years, vice Barbara C. Jurkas, term expired.

James Thomas Roberts, Jr.,
of Georgia, to be U.S. Marshal for the Southern District of Georgia for the term of 4 years, vice John W. Caldwell, term expired.

James Michael Wahlrab,
of Ohio, to be U.S. Marshal for the Southern District of Ohio for the term of 4 years, vice Roy Allen Smith, term expired.

Submitted May 22

Jay S. Bybee,
of Nevada, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit, vice Procter R. Hug, Jr., retired.

Timothy J. Corrigan,
of Florida, to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Florida (new position).

James C. Dever III,
of North Carolina, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of North Carolina, vice W. Earl Britt, retired.

Tony P. Hall,
of Ohio, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as U.S. Representative to the United Nations Agencies for Food and Agriculture.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released May 19

Statement by the Press Secretary on the Senate vote approving the "Freedom Consolidation Act"

Fact sheet: President Bush Announces Initiative for a New Cuba

Released May 20

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Ari Fleischer

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice on the President's trip to Europe and Russia

Statement by the Press Secretary: President Bush Hosts the International Democrat Union

Announcement: Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge To Speak at the World Economic Forum Tuesday

Released May 21

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Ari Fleischer

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Illinois

Announcement of nominations of U.S. Marshals for the Southern District of Georgia, the Southern District of Ohio, the Western District of Michigan, and the District of North Dakota

Released May 22

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Ari Fleischer

Transcript of remarks by Secretary of State Colin L. Powell on arrival in Berlin, Germany

Announcement of nominations for U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Illinois, U.S. Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit, and U.S. District Judges for the Middle District of Florida and the Eastern District of North Carolina

Released May 24

Fact sheet: U.S.-Russian People-to-People Cooperation

Fact sheet: Russian-American Business Dialogue

Fact sheet: Russian-American Media Entrepreneurship Dialogue

Fact sheet: United States Overseas Private Investment Corporation's Investment Fund for Russia and Eurasia

Fact sheet: United States Government Nonproliferation/Threat Reduction Assistance to Russia

Fact sheet: U.S.-Russia Air Transport Agreement

Fact sheet: U.S.-Russia Banking Dialogue

Fact sheet: United States-Russia Commercial Energy Relations

Announcement of nomination of U.S. Marshal for the District of Utah

Acts Approved by the President

Approved May 20

H.R. 2048 / Public Law 107–179
To require a report on the operations of the State Justice Institute

H.R. 2305 / Public Law 107–180
Criminal Justice Coordinating Council Restructuring Act of 2002

H.R. 4156 / Public Law 107–181
Clergy Housing Allowance Clarification Act of 2002

Approved May 21

S. 378 / Public Law 107–182
To redesignate the Federal building located at 3348 South Kedzie Avenue, in Chicago, Illinois, as the "Paul Simon Chicago Job Corps Center"