



Religious Influences on Crisis Presidential Decision-Making: A New Belief in the Operational Code Analysis of George W. Bush

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Religious Influences on Crisis Presidential Decision-Making:
A New Belief in the Operational Code Analysis of George W. Bush

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A Thesis in the Field of Government
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Abstract

This investigation explores religious influences on foreign policy decision-making of American presidents in times of national crisis. It focuses on one heuristic case study, George W. Bush during the crisis of 9/11. Part One involves a plausibility probe. Since “cognitive frameworks and belief systems are the primary lenses through which presidents view the world” and religion is a variable that shapes beliefs related to political decision-making, three essential questions emerge: 1) whether religion ever changes these beliefs significantly, and if so, 2) when do these changes occur, and 3) what causes those changes? Grounded on Herbert Simon’s theory of bounded rationality, this thesis performs a counterfactual operational code analysis on President George W. Bush utilizing Jonathan Renshon’s data from “Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush” to develop empirical data that analyzes forty-eight foreign policy speech transcripts from Bush’s presidency. The comparative analysis isolates religion as an independent variable, enlisting *Profiler Plus* and the Verbs in Context System indices to determine whether there are major shifts and/or statistical significance with religion as a causal mechanism. Part Two examines George W. Bush from autobiographical, psycho-biographical, and biographical studies. I analyze religious influences throughout the president’s life from childhood to the presidency, pre-9/11 and post-9/11—proposing a causal link hypothesis of religion to crisis presidential decision-making by employing Albert Bandura’s model of triadic reciprocity in social cognitive theory. The results of this investigation challenge previous explanations on causal paths for belief change and subsequent decision-making. It introduces a new research framework to the literature of presidential decision-making by presenting a methodology to derive empirical data that examines religious influences on the political beliefs of presidents and a diagnostic model for analyzing autobiographies.

Dedication

Jamie

Allie, Hugh, and Luke

Soli Deo gloria

Acknowledgments

Dominus illuminatio mea. To my love, Jamie and our children, Allie, Hugh and Luke, this journey is rich and joyous because of you. Thank you to my thesis director Professor David Holland at Harvard Divinity School, for sage guidance in this invigorating exploration; my research advisor Dr. Donald Ostrowski, for meticulous consistency; my social science research methods professor, Dr. Doug Bond, for encouragement that increased my faith; and, my academic advisor Chuck Houston, for relating with my pursuit. To Harvard professors Dr. Christopher Robichaud, Dr. John Paul Rollert, Dr. George Wendt, Dr. Christopher Taggart, Dr. Diane Moore, Dr. Carlos Diaz-Rosillo, Dr. Muhammet Bas, Dr. Michelle Sanchez, and Dr. Mathias Risse equipped me for this investigation. Leaders and partners of JCCY, Inc., I am grateful for your support. To the Rev. David and Alice Yamashiro, Ron and June Tokuda, Ed and Jane Shiroma, Guy and Waynette Shindo, Virgil and Lori Salvador, the Rev. Dr. Sam and Nancy Webb, the Rev. Dr. Dan Chun, the Rev. Norman and Faye Nakanishi, the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Steeper, the Rev. Jimmy and Diana Yamada, the Rev. Dr. George Nagato, Dr. Hugh Dunn, Dr. Stephen Mansfield, Dr. Calvin Oishi, Dr. Jeffrey and Joanie Miyazawa, Dr. Kerry and Joni Ishihara, Dr. Roger and Stefanie Joe, Dr. Peter Lam, Ed and Mae Jung, Burt and Carolyn Chinen, Dr. Ethan and Shannon Small, Stephen and Toni Lathrop-Lee, the Rev. Terry Wong, Jamie Lee-Kwai, Suzanne Maurer, the Rev. Arlen and Melissa Nagata, David Serrone, Chaz Ontai, Darah York, Bev Singleton, Michael and Sista Beazley, Martin Arinaga, Sherrie Dodo-Aguilar, Yasuko Shiraishi, Aileen Asato, Danford Oshima, Camille Omo, Cathy Suehisa, Lee and Miltinee Yih, Jansen Wong, Dr. Yared and Alana Gurmu – *Mahalo* and *Aloha!*

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I

Introduction

Six sections comprise this introduction for religious influences on presidential decision-making: 1) Research Problem, 2) Research Question, 3) Research Design, 4) Definition of Terms, 5) Research Limitations, and 6) Theories and Hypotheses.

Research Problem

In the literature on religion, American presidents, and decision-making our focus narrows to empirical analysis for the influence of religion on American presidential decision-making in times of national crisis. Three facets facilitate circumscription: first, the necessity for a new framework of investigation; second, the fact that America's political history is rooted in religion with the president embodying blended ideological and theological ideals; and third, an underlying reliance on God as a dual source of acceptance and contention while impacting presidential choices on foreign policy.

Mark J. Rozell and Whitney Gleaves, in *Religion and the American Presidency* observe neglect in studies of religious impact on presidential actions.¹ In "Religion and the U.S. Presidency," Harold F. Bass and Mark J. Rozell point to a deficiency of "analytical frameworks appropriate for considering religion in presidential studies."²

¹ Mark J. Rozell and Whitney Gleaves, eds., *Religion and the American Presidency* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1. "Religion is a key, but largely underappreciated factor in the actions of many U.S. Presidents."

² Harold F. Bass and Mark J. Rozell, "Religion and the U.S. Presidency," in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and the American and American Politics*, ed. James L. Guth, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 492.

Gary Scott Smith examines the role of religion on the presidency in *Faith and the Presidency*, surmising a lack of precision in knowledge of how faith affects policies and action.³ Studies that delve into the inner dimensions of religion and presidential decision-making create an opening within which to address the confluence of religion and presidential politics specifically during crisis decisions that lead to war. A suggested framework that aims to probe the depths of religion and crisis presidential decision-making first requires attention to American religious history and the rise of ideals to be personified.

America's political history is rooted in religion with the president embodying amalgamated ideological and theological ideals. Gastón Espinosa's *Religion and the American Presidency*⁴ traces the emergence of democratic thinking from duress inflicted by the Anglican Church on clergy. That led to an upheaval in Christianity between England and burgeoning America—a genesis of religious implications on politics. Mark A. Noll's *In the Beginning Was the Word* describes America's reconfiguration of religion and society from “governmental coercion.”⁵ In *Sacred Borders*, David Holland points to the idea that “the state needed religion and that religion needed the state” persists as an “axiom of Anglo-American political culture.”⁶ In the complex two-level interplay

³ Gary Scott Smith, *Faith and the Presidency* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 6.

⁴ Gastón Espinosa, ed., *Religion and the American Presidency: George Washington to George W. Bush with Commentary and Primary Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009) and Mark J. Rozell and Whitney Gleaves, eds., *Religion and the American Presidency* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). Both books cover the same select thirteen presidents from George Washington to George W. Bush and both emphasize the impact of their religious upbringing upon the presidency. Each chapter is a product of a scholar who has specialized in the life of the select president by virtue of published biographies or journals, and both.

⁵ Mark A. Noll, *In The Beginning Was the Word* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 48.

⁶ David Holland. *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 90.

between church and state, Robert Bella's "Civil Religion" identifies America's version of prophets, martyrs, sacred events, rituals, and symbols⁷ undergirding "a society as perfectly in accord with the will of God as man can make it," offering a salvific "light to all the nations."⁸ Richard G. Hutcheson, Jr. follows by classifying presidents as "Priests of the National Religion"⁹ in *God in the White House*. Undeniable as it is that religion has an indelible mark on the American presidency, how much does religion influence presidents? Conflicting perspectives appeal to a need for empirical evidence.

An underlying reliance on God is a dual source of acceptance and contention while nevertheless impacting presidential choices on domestic and foreign policy. John Sutherland Bonnell, in *Presidential Profiles* highlights Christian influence on the first thirty-six presidents elicited by the "very nature of the office with its crushing burdens."¹⁰ Edmund Fuller and David E. Green's *God in the White House* noted that every president, upon being sworn in, concluded with "So help me God" implying religious gravitas on the presidency.¹¹ Randall Balmer's *God in the White House* observes terms of office from John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush warning against religion taking a centralized role in

⁷ Robert N. Bella, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* 117 (1988): 115.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Richard G. Hutcheson, Jr., *God in the White House: How Religion Has Changed the Modern Presidency* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1988), 35.

¹⁰ John S. Bonnell, *Presidential Profiles: Religion in the Life of American Presidents* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 14-15. Bonnell details religious contexts of presidents. "Three were sons of ministers. Five had married the daughters of clergymen. One had read the Bible through three times before the age of fourteen. Half a dozen had read it at least once from cover to cover and one resolved to do this annually. One compiled a scholarly selection of the moral teachings of Jesus which was widely read at the time and is found in libraries today. Family worship had familiarized them with great passages of the Bible which remained with them through life...."

¹¹ Edmund Fuller and David E. Green, *God in the White House: The Faiths of American Presidents* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1968), 2.

the presidency while acknowledging religious placement on the periphery.¹² David L. Holmes, in *The Faiths of the Postwar Presidents: From Truman to Obama* describes every U.S. president as having religion in common¹³ affecting moral foundations and ethical choices – reasonably rooted in religion – impacting decisions. Is religion implicit in presidential decisions? The causal vector of religion on presidential decisions requires empirical examination for plausibility. Assessing such a study necessitates selection of a behavioral model that provides feasibility.

Six behavioral models for American presidential decision-making exist: 1) The Operational Code, 2) Predicting Presidential Performance,¹⁴ 3) Cognitive Mapping,¹⁵ 4)

¹² Randall Balmer, *God in the White House: A History – How Faith Shaped the Presidency from John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush* (New York: HarperOne, 2008), 5, 172.

¹³ David L. Holmes, *The Faiths of the Postwar Presidents: From Truman to Obama* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 270.

¹⁴ James David Barber, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2009), 5. “‘Character’ comes from the Greek word for engraving; in one sense it is what life has marked into a man’s being. As used here, character is the way the President orients himself toward life—not for the moment, but enduringly. Character is the person’s stance as he confronts experience. And at the core of character, a man confronts himself. The president’s fundamental self-esteem is his prime personal resource; to defend and advance that, he will sacrifice much else he values. Down there in the privacy of his heart, does he find himself superb, or ordinary, or debased, or in some intermediate range? No president has been utterly paralyzed by self-doubt and none has been utterly free of midnight self-mockery. In between, the real presidents move out on life from positions of relative strength or weakness...Character, worldview [sic], and style are abstractions from the reality of the whole individual. In every case they form an integrated pattern: the man develops a combination which makes psychological sense for him, a dynamic arrangement of motives, beliefs, and habits in the services of his need for self-esteem.” Barber’s theory would suggest that though religion does not dictate the actual decisions made it would shape the set of policy priorities of a president. Thus, a president’s worldview cannot fully be evaluated unless religion is part of the formula. This is an area where additional study would enlarge the scope of understanding how religion influences the decision-making of American presidents. In 1992, Barber published another perspective of predicting presidential performance. Barber spent more than twenty-five years studying presidential character and how, through his personality assessment of four types of presidential character, determinations can be made to predict the success of future presidents.

¹⁵ Robert Axelrod explained the basic elements of his system as concepts that a person utilizes are to be marked by *points* while links identified as causal are marked by *arrows* between the concepts. The picture comprised of points and arrows is called a *cognitive map* that depicts a conceptual view of the person being studied. Robert Axelrod, ed., *Structure of Decision: The Cognitive Maps of Political Elites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 5. “The policy alternatives,” Axelrod maintains, “all of the

Content Analysis,¹⁶ 5) Personality Effects,¹⁷ and 6) A Synthesized Approach.¹⁸ The Operational Code analysis – applied earlier by Leites, George, Holsti, Walker, Schafer,

various causes and effects, the goals, and the ultimate utility of the decision maker can all be thought of as conceptual variables, and represented as points in the cognitive map.”

¹⁶ In 1977 David G. Winter and Abigail G. Stewart presented, “Content Analysis as a Technique for Assessing Political Leaders” in *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*. Winter and Stewart performed a study that examined inaugural speeches of American presidents using motive imagery coded for each of three motives: Achievement, Affiliation and Power. David G. Winter and Abigail G. Stewart, “Content Analysis as a Technique for Assessing Political Leaders” in *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*, ed. Margaret G. Herman, et al. (New York: Free Press, 1977), 45-48. “*n* Achievement, defined as a concern for excellence, is actually associated with ‘achievement behavior’ of a rather specific and narrowly defined type, namely entrepreneurial or business achievement.... Presidents high in *n* Affiliation will seek to surround themselves with advisors, and they will be loyal to them... *n* Power should fit a president for successful performance in office for it is associated with a wide variety of behaviors and characteristics that, taken together, are likely to lead to formal social power.” The example provided is of Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s first inaugural address in 1933 was of 1900 Approximate Number Words; *n* Achievement Raw Frequency was 10 and Frequency/1000 Words was 5.26 (H) – above mean (52-53).

¹⁷ Lloyd S. Etheridge, “Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1898-1968: A Test of Interpersonal Generalization Theory,” *American Political Science Review* 72 (1978): 434. Etheridge designed his study to answer the question, “Have personality characteristics of American leaders been decisive during this century.” He proposed two hypotheses “derived from interpersonal generalization theory,” a theory exemplified by Bjørn Christiansen in his classic study, *Attitudes toward Foreign Affairs as a Function of Personality*. Christiansen’s theory was that behavioral differences in interpersonal situations “produced similar behavioral differences in international situations.” See Bjørn Christiansen, *Attitude towards Foreign Affairs as a Function of Personality* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1959), 201-214. Christiansen, for example, presents his study of The Nationalism Hypothesis: An Attitudinal Analysis where he “contends that a person’s attitude toward his own nation will affect his attitudes toward foreign affairs.” He anticipates finding a “positive correlation between nationalism and a preference for certain national ways of reacting towards international conflicts” (201). Indeed, he does find correlation for nationalism in the “sense of national idealization, and patriotism.” However, they suggest different “reaction patterns toward international situations.” When national idealization is high, the “tendency to expect others to solve international conflicts” is greater. When patriotism is present, “the greater on the whole seems to be the tendency to prefer aggressive national ways of reacting in international conflict situations” (214). Etheridge’s assessment considered personality characteristics with a focus on two personality dimensions of: 1) general dominance over subordinates and 2) extroversion, observing that the *Bloc Leaders* and the *World Leaders* are “those who rated high in their tendencies to dominate their subordinates in their everyday lives” though one may be categorized as a high-dominant introvert or a high-dominant extrovert.

¹⁸ Stephen G. Walker and Lawrence S. Falkowski, “The Operational Codes of U.S. Presidents and Secretaries of State: Motivational Foundations and Behavioral Consequences,” *Political Psychology* 5 (1984): 237. Walker and Falkowski incorporated major works by James David Barber (Predicting Presidential Performance), Lloyd S. Etheridge (Personality Effects), and David G. Winter (Content Analysis) connected to Alexander George and Ole Holsti (Operational Code). According to Walker and Falkowski, “1) early childhood socialization experiences produce a constellation of needs for power, affiliation, and achievement in the individual prior to the adoption of a political belief system; 2) an individual subsequently tends to adopt a political belief system that is compatible with this constellation of motivations, 3) the activation of operational code beliefs by environmental stimuli may arouse needs

Young, Falkowski, Bond, Crichlow, Robison, Michael, Feng, Renshon, Picucci, Adler, Spahiu, Thomson and Dirilen-Gumus¹⁹ – is used in this study to investigate decision-making propensities for heads of state. The model grew out of a commission from the Rand Corporation.

In 1951 and 1953, Nathan Leites' *The Operational Code of the Politburo*²⁰ and *A Study in Bolshevism*²¹ incorporated cognition, character, and culture as a construct for understanding political elites. In 1969, Alexander L. George observed social scientists

embedded in the imagery of the belief system as the individual uses the various elements of that system to interpret and respond to a decision-making situation.”

¹⁹ Stephen G. Walker, “Evolution of Operational Code Analysis,” *Political Psychology* 11 (1990): 407-408. In addition to the foundational work of George and Holsti, application of the operational code analysis was developed by Stephen G. Walker and L. S. Falkowski, “The Operational Codes of U.S. Presidents and Secretaries of State: Motivational Foundations and Behavioral Consequences,” *Political Psychology* 5 (1984): 237-266, Joe Bond, “The Operational Codes of Kim Il Sun and Kim Jong Il,” (Master’s thesis, Purdue University, 1991), Scott Crichlow, “Idealism or Pragmatism? An Operational Code Analysis of Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres,” *Political Psychology* 19 (1998): 683-706, Stephen G. Walker, Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young, “Systematic Procedures for Operational Code Analysis: Measuring and Modeling Jimmy Carter’s Operational Code,” *International Studies Quarterly* 42 (1998): 175-190, Heather E. Michael, “Philosophical Similarities and Instrumental Differences: An Operational Code Analysis of Lester B. Pearson, Pierre E. Trudeau and Lloyd Axworthy,” (Master’s thesis, Dalhousie University, 2005), Huiyin Feng, “The Operational Code of Mao Zedong: Defensive or Offensive Realist?” *Security Studies* 14 (2005): 637-662, Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker, “Democratic Leaders and the Democratic Peace: The Operational Codes of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton,” *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (2006): 561-583, Jonathan Renshon, “Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52 (2008): 820-849, Peter Michael Picucci, “Terrorism’s Operational Code: An Examination of the Belief Systems of Al-Qaeda and Hamas,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kansas, 2008), Jonathan Renshon, “When Public Statements Reveal Private Beliefs: Assessing Operational Codes at a Distance,” *Political Psychology* 30, (2009): 649-661, Stephen G. Walker, “Anticipating Attacks from the Operational Codes of Terrorist Groups,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 2 (2011): 135-143, Eric Adler, “Cassius Dio’s Agrippa-Maecenas Debate: An Operational Code Analysis,” *American Journal of Philology* 133 (2012): 477-520, Arian Spahiu, “Franjo Tudjman’s and Slobodan Milosovic’s Operational Code and Leadership Trait Analysis,” *Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 12 (2012): 72, Robert Kevin Thomson, “Operational Code and Al-Ikhwan: An Assessment of the Evolution of the Muslim Brotherhood’s Operational Code and Possible Public Diplomacy Options for the United States,” (Master’s thesis, The University of Texas, 2014), and Ozlem Dirilen-Gumus, “Cross-cultural Comparison of Political Leaders’ Operational Codes,” *International Journal of Psychology* doi:10.1002/ijop.12264, 52 (2016): 1-10.

²⁰ Nathan Leites, *The Operational Code of the Politburo* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), xv.

²¹ Nathan Leites, *A Study in Bolshevism* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1953), 15.

accessing “cognitive psychology in order to elaborate better decision-making models for studies in world politics” necessitating attention to contexts of origination that determine operation in decision-making.²² George and Holsti formulated a typology of political belief systems suggesting ideal types of operational codes.²³ In the 1990s Stephen G. Walker and Mark Schafer automated operational code analysis with the Verbs in Context System (VICS) program. Background as such, equips us to hone our design via inquiry.

Research Question

How does religion influence the decision-making of American presidents in times of national crisis? The answer to the overarching question proposes a subset of questions that when answered comport requisite sectors to provide an answer. The first subset of questions considers the plausibility of religious influence on crisis presidential decision-making. Since “cognitive frameworks and belief systems are the primary lenses through which presidents view the world”²⁴ and religion is a variable that shapes beliefs related to political decision-making, three essential questions emerge: 1) whether religion ever changes these political beliefs significantly; and, if so, 2) when do these changes occur; and, 3) what causes those changes? The quantitative examination is designed with a second subset of questions followed by proposing a Causal Link Hypothesis Between Religion and Crisis Presidential Decision-making. The hypothesis is derived from a

²² Alexander L. George, “The Operational Code: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making,” *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (1969): 197.

²³ Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker, *Beliefs and Leadership in World Politics: Methods and Applications of Operational Code Analysis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 12.

²⁴ Jonathan Renshon, “Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52 (2008): 820.

qualitative investigation centered on George W. Bush's autobiography supplemented by secondary sources. Questions posed include: 4) do themes emerge from Bush's reflective viewpoint of his presidency, particularly during the crisis of 9/11, 5) did religious mentors play an important role throughout his life, and 6) how does the concept of American religious nationalism impact Bush's ideology? Answers to these questions suggest religious factors directly impact a particularly dominant theme—one that implies effect on cognition and subsequently create motivational biases and cognitive shortcuts in the decision-making process.

Research Design

This investigation focuses on one case study, George W. Bush during the crisis of 9/11.²⁵ By conducting a counterfactual operational code analysis on President Bush utilizing Jonathan Renshon's data called Ren from "Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush,"²⁶ I develop a new dataset called XRel. Atheizing²⁷ forty-eight foreign policy transcripts from Bush's presidency,²⁸ each speech

²⁵ Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), 75. George explains that heuristic case studies "identify new variables, hypotheses, causal mechanisms, and causal paths." The framework of this research purports to provide empirical evidence that in the case of President George W. Bush religion is likely to have played a role as a causal mechanism that influenced his foreign policy decisions after the crisis of 9/11.

²⁶ Renshon, "Stability and Change," 821-849.

²⁷ Atheizing refers to a systematic process, under the guidelines of the Criteria for Extracting Religious Rhetoric (CERR), to remove religious related words, phrases and sentences from the original transcript used by Renshon to provide a "religion free" manuscript to code in order to perform a counterfactual comparative analysis of the data using the Operational Code's Verbs in Context System indices.

²⁸ Renshon, "Stability and Change," 833. Four Phases comprise the replication of Renshon's study and subsequent development of XRel. According to Renshon, for "Phases 2, 3, and 4, all speeches were obtained from the White House Press Office (www.whitehouse.gov/news). All speeches made during the designated time period..." Two criteria were used: 1) each speech was required to reach a 1500-word

corresponds with four phases of political beliefs derived from Renshon: a) pre-presidential beliefs, b) pre-September 11th beliefs, c) post-September 11th beliefs, and d) end-of-term presidency beliefs. The comparative analysis isolates religion as an independent variable using *Profiler Plus* and Verbs in Context System indices to determine if there are major shifts and/or statistical significance with religion as a causal mechanism. The results of this investigation challenge previous explanations on causal paths for belief change and subsequent decision-making. It differentiates previous exploratory treatment of religion by introducing a new research framework to the presidential decision-making domain.

Operational Code Analysis Methodology

I refer to Alexander L. George's framework for identifying operational code beliefs.²⁹

The main source of my comparison comes from Jonathan Renshon's "Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush."³⁰ I use this tool because its systematic approach that enables essential controls for investigation based on the questions asked in the process of analysis. The concept of general beliefs introduce

minimum and 2) "all speeches must focus primarily on foreign policy issues, following Walker, Schafer, and Young (2003), who found that operational codes may be domain specific." Regarding Phase 1, "there was no single, authoritative source for the speeches President Bush made during the time period examined." Speeches that met the criteria were compiled from different sources made available by Renshon upon request. I have used manuscripts Renshon provided for all 48 speeches under replication data at <http://jonathanrenshon.com/Site/Data.html>.

²⁹ Stephen G. Walker, Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young, "Systematic Procedures for Operational Code Analysis: Measuring and Modeling Jimmy Carter's Operational Code," *International Studies Quarterly* 42 (1998): 175-190.

³⁰ Renshon, "Stability and Change," 820-849.

two-types of decision-making propensities: diagnostic propensities and choice propensities.³¹

Diagnostic Propensities and Choice Propensities

Diagnostic propensities, on one hand, either “extend or restrict the scope and direction of information processing and shape the decision-maker’s diagnosis of a situation.”³²

Choice propensities, on the other hand, lead a decision-maker to “favor types of action alternatives over others (but which may give way or be altered in response to decisional pressures).”³³ Propensities have already been designed to provide context for my

evaluation. For instance, P-4: CONTROL OVER HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT [AND POLITICAL OUTCOMES] “is based upon inferences from the locus-of-control research dealing with the perception of power in social relationships.”³⁴ This is designed for each of the five categories in Diagnostic Propensities and Choice Propensities,

³¹ George and Bennett, *Case Studies*, 193.

³² Ibid. Diagnostic propensities parallel philosophical beliefs and choice propensities parallel instrumental beliefs in the Operational Code Analysis. This construction provides the apparatus to support cognitive consistency theory that says, “a policymaker’s beliefs about international politics influence his or her decisions,” yet, “an individual’s beliefs and behavior are not always consistent with one another for various reasons” (193). Space is necessary for variables other than these beliefs—even though they play a critical role in the processing of information because they affect choices made. It is in this space that religion and religious beliefs finds its place in the decision-making process. See Walker, Schafer, and Young, “Systematic Procedures” for Shift propensities, in addition to Diagnostic and Choice propensities. Shift propensities are tactics that involve answers to the questions (I-3. RISK ORIENTATION, I-4a. TIMING OF COOPERATION V. CONFLICT, and I-4b. TIMING OF WORDS V. DEEDS) dealing with risk and timing. “The diversity in the types of acts attributed to the self across several categories indicates the answer to the third instrumental question regarding the leader’s *approach to calculation, control, and acceptance of the risks of political action*” (180) (italics in original).

³³ Ibid. When an individual’s beliefs and actions are consistent, confidence will increase via a causal significance when this sequence is “encountered repeatedly...by an actor over a period of time” (193-194).

³⁴ Walker, Schafer, and Young, “Systematic Procedures,” 179.

respectively. As a supplement to this comparative analysis, I will also consult Sam Robison's "George W. Bush and the Vulcans: Leader-Advisor Relations and America's Response to the 9/11 Attacks."

In this examination, diagnostic propensities will also be referred to as philosophical beliefs and choice propensities will also be referred to as instrumental beliefs. A detailed view of the Operational Code design is provided in Tables 1 and 2: namely, the Operational Code's two divisions, philosophical and instrumental beliefs with descriptive questions that set the basis for coding and interpretation (Table 1.); and, Steps in the Verbs in Context System for Coding Verbs (Table 2.), including an example from President Jimmy Carter's address to the nation on January 4, 1980.

Table 1.
The Operational Code

Philosophical

- P-1. What is the "essential" nature of political life? Is the political universe essentially one of harmony and conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponents?
- P-2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score; and in what respects the one and/or the other?
- P-3. Is the political future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?
- P-4. How much "control" or "mastery" can one have over historical development? What is one's role in "moving" and "shaping" history in the desired direction?
- P-5. What is the role of "chance" in human affairs and in historical development?

Instrumental

- 1-1. What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?
 - 1-2. How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?
 - 1-3. How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled, and accepted?
 - 1-4. What is the best "timing" of action to advance one's interests?
 - 1-5. What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one's interests?
-

Source: George 1969.

Table 2.
Steps in the Verbs in Context System for Coding Verbs³⁵

STEPS IN THE VERBS IN CONTEXT SYSTEM

1. IDENTIFY THE SUBJECT AS

SELF OR OTHER

2. IDENTIFY THE TENSE OF THE TRANSITIVE VERB AS

PAST PRESENT FUTURE

AND IDENTIFY THE CATEGORY OF THE VERB AS

POSITIVE (+) OR NEGATIVE (-)

APPEAL, SUPPORT (+1) OPPOSE, RESIST (-1)

WORDS OR OR

PROMISE BENEFITS (+2) THREATEN COSTS (-2)

DEEDS REWARDS (+3) PUNISHMENTS (-3)

3. IDENTIFY THE DOMAIN AS

DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN

4. IDENTIFY TARGET AND PLACE IN CONTEXT

AN EXAMPLE

A quote taken from President Carter's January 4, 1980 address to the nation: "Massive Soviet military forces have invaded the small, non-aligned, sovereign nation of Afghanistan..."

1. Subject. The subject is "Massive Soviet military forces," which is coded as other, that is, the speaker is not referring to his or her self or his or her state.
2. Tense and Category. The verb phrase "have invaded" is in the past tense and is a negative deed coded, therefore, as punishment.
3. Domain. The action involves an actor (Soviet military forces) external to the speakers state (the United States); therefore, the domain is foreign.
4. Target and Context. The action is directed toward Afghanistan; therefore, the target is coded as Afghanistan. In addition, we designate a context: Soviet-Afghanistan-conflict-1979-88.

The complete data-line for this statement is: other -3 foreign past Afghanistan soviet-afghanistan-conflic-1979-88.

Source: Walker, Schafer, and Young 1998.

³⁵ Walker, Schafer, and Young, "Systematic Procedures," 183. Table 2. shown as a model for application on George W. Bush.

Unit of Analysis

My unit of analysis is a case study of George W. Bush.

Definition of Research Terms

American Exceptionalism: America's distinction interpreted as a self-imposed right or privilege. The concept is rooted in the application of global sacrifice driven by a sense of global responsibility; that is, to risk more and spend more to alleviate suffering and right its own and society's wrongs in the realm of international human rights. Positively, there exists a magnetism that compels admiration of America and a yearning to be an American.³⁶ As the only superpower with the capacity and willingness to commit substantial resources, according to Harold Koh in "America's Jekyll-and-Hyde Exceptionalism," America continues to pay a high price to develop, maintain, and energize an international system that is "committed to international law, democracy, and the promotion of human rights."³⁷ Negatively, the air of superiority elicits disdain³⁸ largely due to practices of exemptionalism where, for instance, America takes liberties to operate with distinction by withholding involvement or commitment in a comparison with other nations.³⁹

³⁶ Charles W. Dunn, ed., *American Exceptionalism: The Origins, History, and Future of the Nation's Greatest Strength* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 6.

³⁷ Harold Hongju Koh, "America's Jekyll-and-Hyde Exceptionalism," in *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, ed. Michael Ignatieff (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 119.

³⁸ Dunn, *American Exceptionalism*, 6.

³⁹ Michael Ignatieff, ed., *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 116. One example attributed to American messianism arguably invokes exemptionalism that allows for more good to be done by America, who has not ratified the Convention on the Rights of a Child, the most widely ratified human rights treaty in history. America's protection of the

Theological underpinnings are rooted in the concept of American Messianism, that of redeeming the world from “the evils of tyranny by a sinless and messianic United States,” emanating from an expansionist idea propagated nationally by John O’Sullivan.⁴⁰ For example, in modern Presidential parlance, George W. Bush in his State of the Union Address on January 28, 2003 said: “The liberty we prize is not America’s gift to the world, it is God’s gift to humanity.”⁴¹

American Religious Nationalism: The concept includes “a set of conventions, derived in part from religion,” according to Sam Haselby in *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism*, that are “oriented around the way the [American] Revolution functions in American political discourse.”⁴² Pervading American designs on political and economic beliefs determine functional processes for the United States in global, state, and societal relations; reflecting a religious attitude of devotion, observance, and reverence. Atalia Omer and Jason A. Springs, in *Religious Nationalism*, expand the definition as the

rights of a child are not precluded by non-ratification however, but enlarged and enhanced by non-ratification. Consider how the United States is condemned for non-ratification when in fact, it has provided large-scale support financially and morally to children’s rights around the world, according to Ignatieff. Controversy is unavoidable. Positive action takes on a “lightning rod effect.” America maintains a dynamic tension on non-ratification internally, with its citizens, and externally, with the international community, to function positively for human rights causes consistent with the American agenda. Another example of American exceptionalism and exemptionalism convergence is when Bush met with the National Security Council at Camp David following the 9/11 attacks. According to Bob Woodward in *Bush at War*, “The president said he didn’t want other countries dictating terms or conditions for the war on terrorism. ‘At some point,’ he said, ‘we may be the only ones left. That’s okay with me. We are America’” (81).

⁴⁰ Adam Gomes, “Deus Vult: John L. O’Sullivan, Manifest Destiny, and American Democratic Messianism,” *American Political Thought* 1 (2012): 242.

⁴¹ “State of the Union Address,” <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/speech-4541>.

⁴² Sam Haselby, *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 21.

complex integration of religion and nationalism in contemporary societies,⁴³ including ideas of how institutional support, social segregation, rituals, symbols, and mythic understandings are constructed narratively; and how theology provides constructs to galvanize political ideologies.⁴⁴ American religious nationalism is grounded in the organic blend of Christian religious ideology rooted and identified in civil society.

Belief: Walker and Schafer state that “to believe something is to affirm that you know it, which implies that the believer has acquired some form of knowledge.”⁴⁵ That knowledge is called information—informed impressions stored in our brains.⁴⁶ Cognitive neuroscience is capable of detecting neurons in which these impressions reside; its connection by synapses in specific patterns form complex neural networks in the brain.⁴⁷ These networks form the “building blocks” for beliefs and belief systems from “higher-level circuits”⁴⁸ that are “reenforced [sic] by stimuli to become stable over time”⁴⁹ as stored in the brain’s memory. This knowledge is connected to neural networks of feelings in an alternate part of the brain joined by the same stimuli; this is where complex patterns are coordinated and linked to “systems of cognitions, emotions, and motivations that are

⁴³ Atalia Omer and Jason A. Springs, *Religious Nationalism* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁵ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs and Leadership*, 28.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

guided” by environmental stimuli.⁵⁰ Through the medium of language, these mechanisms allow human beings to communicate feelings, desires, and knowledge. The operational code analysis facilitates determining how those feelings, desires, and knowledge relate to the “exercise of power in human affairs.”⁵¹ This definition will be applied in the following ways: 1) When used in the context of the established operational code analysis tool as employed by Renshon on George W. Bush: “those focused on the political universe [that] structure and order reality for decision makers and help them sort the signals in their environment from the noise,”⁵² 2) When used for the purpose of the religious supplement of the operational code analysis, it will refer to a) all that is described in 1 (above) and b) an acknowledgement of God and the supernatural as a source of guidance and strength rooted in the Judeo-Christian religion (see the definition for Religion), and 3) When the actor’s beliefs aid the investigator, according to Alexander George, in explaining the “general criteria, requirements, and norms the subject attempts to meet in assessing opportunities that arise to make desirable gains, in estimating the costs and risks associated with them, and in making utility calculations.”⁵³

⁵⁰ Ibid., 29.

⁵¹ Ibid. Schafer and Walker refer to the work of Joseph E LeDoux and William Hirst in *Mind and Brain: Dialogues in Cognitive Neuroscience* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986) that “cognitive neuroscience has expanded the focus of cognitive science to include emotion and motivation, and focus explicitly on how the brain operates as integrated physiological systems to generate cognitions, emotions, and motivations” (49). Thus, operational code analysis “addresses this trilogy by focusing on beliefs (cognitions) with valences of positive and negative affect (emotion) associated with needs for power, achievement and affirmation (motivations)” (49).

⁵² Renshon, “Stability and Change,” 821.

⁵³ Alexander L. George, “The ‘Operational Code’: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making,” *International Studies Quarterly* 23 (1969): 200.

Choseness: The idea in political theology that has emerged as a catalyst for the cultivation of the modern era of geopolitical orthopraxy. It anchors concepts related to symbolic, cultural, and structural violence through legitimization via the theory of a *Herrenvolk*, a “master folk” or superior race, according to Johan Galtung in “Cultural Violence.”⁵⁴ It entails “fundamental intersections of religion and social/political/cultural [sic] life through multiple lenses,” as stated by Diane L. Moore in “Our Method.”⁵⁵ Tinted by religion and politics and viewing American presidents from the hue of decision-making in crisis, there is disproportionate global power of the office inhabited by one individual as Bryan Hehir in “Why Religion? Why Now?” points to how “religious beliefs and convictions have moved societies to cooperate and to collide.”⁵⁶

City on a Hill: Originally, Jesus said, “You are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hidden.”⁵⁷ In 1630, while on the ship *Arbella*, John Winthrop used the phrase to describe the first Massachusetts Bay Colony as the “city on a hill” adding, “the eyes of

⁵⁴ Johan Galtung, “Cultural Violence,” *Journal of Peace Research* 27 (1990): 291. His view magnifies Choseness as the cause for aggression by presenting the Chosen and the Unchosen using a Manichaeian description of a “double dichotomy with God, the Chosen Ones (by God), the Unchosen Ones (by God, chosen by Satan)” (297). Noncontiguous, the idea of a superior race has two faces: positively, toward amelioration and preservation and negatively, toward regression and destruction.

⁵⁵ Diane L. Moore, “Our Method” Religious Literacy Project, Harvard Divinity School, 2015: <http://rhp.hds.harvard.edu/how-think-about-religion>, accessed September 10, 2015. Moore observes “interpretations of secularism have been profoundly shaped by varied normative assumptions about Christianity” and that perceptions are changing from the viewpoint that religion should be cloistered to the private chambers of one’s personal life (3). I argue that the religious idea of Choseness, in spite of attempts rooted in secularism to diminish or give it a secular moniker has emanated from the mindset and demeanor of Presidents since the founding of America. It may suggest the probability that decisions in times of crisis are made from this theological default mechanism embedded in psychological wiring programmed from the earliest years of formation.

⁵⁶ Bryan Hehir, “Why Religion? Why Now?” in *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs* ed. Timothy Samuel Shah, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15.

⁵⁷ Matthew 5:14.

all people are upon us.”⁵⁸ John F. Kennedy,⁵⁹ Ronald Reagan,⁶⁰ and Barack Obama⁶¹ (as U.S. Senator) utilized “city on a hill” to reiterate the narrative splendor of America, embodied by Americans who courageously face the challenges of their time. George W. Bush alluded to “city on a hill” in his address to the nation on 9/11 when he said, with reference to America as target of the attack “because we’re the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.”⁶²

Heuristics: Rules of thumb⁶³ people use to make decisions when, as Gigerenzer et al. explains in *Heuristics*, “time is limited, information unreliable, and the future uncertain.”⁶⁴ Alternatively, Douglas Lenat in “Toward a Theory of Heuristics,” says it is “a piece of knowledge capable of suggesting plausible actions to follow or implausible ones to avoid.”⁶⁵ In order for that rule or piece of knowledge to be useful for guidance

⁵⁸ James W. Ceasar, “The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism,” in *American Exceptionalism*, ed. Charles W. Dunn (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013), 14.

⁵⁹ “City Upon a Hill,” <http://millercenter.org/president/kennedy/speeches/speech-3364>.

⁶⁰ “Farewell Address,” <http://millercenter.org/president/reagan/speeches/speech-3418>.

⁶¹ “Commencement,” <http://obamaspeeches.com/074-University-of-Massachusetts-at-Boston-Commencement-Address-Obama-Speech.htm>.

⁶² “Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks,” <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/address-to-the-nation-on-the-terrorist-attacks>.

⁶³ Andrew Lo, “Andrew Lo on ‘Bounded Rationality’ – Clarendon Lectures 13th June 1013,” YouTube video, 55:12, posted by Saïd Business School, University of Oxford, June 13, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jUrZubcSe7U>.

⁶⁴ Gerd Gigerenzer, Ralph Hertwig and Thorsten Pachur, *Heuristics: The Foundations of Adaptive Behavior* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xvii.

⁶⁵ Douglas B. Lenat, “Toward a Theory of Heuristics,” in *Methods of Heuristics*, ed. Rudolf Groner, et al. (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1983), 352.

beyond rationalization it must “specify a situation or context in which its actions are especially appropriate or inappropriate.”⁶⁶ This cognitive bias disregards a section of part of existing information, while handling ambiguity with greater proficiency than an “unbiased mind relying on more resource-intensive and general-purpose processing strategies.”⁶⁷ It is based on Herbert Simon’s *satisficing*; that is, a “good enough solution” selected from a progressive series of possibilities as a person sets an “aspiration level, chooses the first one that meets the aspiration and then terminates the search.”⁶⁸

Manifest Destiny: An American concept of political theology meaning “expansion, prearranged by Heaven,”⁶⁹ popularized by journalist John O’Sullivan between the late

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Gerd Gigerenzer and Henry Brighton, “*Homo heuristicus*: Why Biased Minds Make Better Inferences,” in *Heuristics: The Foundations of Adaptive Behavior*, ed. Gerd Gigerenzer, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 2.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 3. Gigerenzer and Brighton (6), explain how “weighting and adding can lead to overfitting—that is, to excel in hindsight (fitting) but fail in foresight (prediction). The task of humans and other animals is to predict their world despite its inherent uncertainty, and in order to do this, they have to simplify.” It is called the “take-the-best” heuristic that ignores variables, also called cues. The take-the-best heuristic is derived from the class of “one-good-reason” heuristics that “orders cues, finds the first one that allows a decision to be made, and then stops and ignores all other cues.” Compare Gigerenzer with Daniel Kahneman’s processing system found in *Thinking, Fast and Slow*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 20-21 described by Brian M. Stewart in “Before the Smoke Cleared: Decision-Making in the Immediate Aftermath of 9/11,” in *University of Miami Law Review* 68 (2014): 768 as “System 1: Automatic - operates automatically and quickly, with little or no effort and no sense of voluntary control and System 2: Effortful - allocates attention to the effortful mental activities that demand it, including complex computations. The operations of System 2 are often associated with the subjective experience of agency, choice, and concentration.” Gigerenzer’s description of the “take-the-best” heuristic provides a theoretical construct that may provide a rationale for Kahneman’s System 1 psychological operation. Connecting a religiously formulated socialization on a motivation of dominance or mastery with the “take-the-best” heuristic may deliver a consistency by which to trace a process from religion to crisis presidential decision-making.

⁶⁹ Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: Alfred A. Knoph), 24.

1830s through the 1840s,⁷⁰ to ground expansionist motivations in theological terms, at first territorially in Texas, then Oregon and Mexico. Characterized by the emergence of an independent mindset from ancestors that left England “socially outcast, politically disenfranchised, economically deprived and religiously oppressed,”⁷¹ this sacred narrative qualified the energizing of global democratic expansion. The idea recalls the “overtones of the same Calvinist millennialism that had succored the colonial wars against the French and Indians and during the American Revolution.”⁷² To O’Sullivan, the United States was a nation “fresh from the hand of God”⁷³ sent on an anointed mission to the nations, providing the potency of religious legitimacy to the ideology of expansion⁷⁴ that included violence against Native Americans, blacks, and Spaniards according to Adam Gomes in “Deus Vult.”⁷⁵ After the Civil War, President Lincoln’s rhetoric of the United States as “the last best hope of earth”⁷⁶ reframed the victory over the South in a time of mending. God’s mercy had “spared the United States for a reason:

⁷⁰ Gomes, “Deus Vult,” 237. O’Sullivan’s “‘politico-literary’ journal, the *United States Democratic Review*, was widely read within the Democracy (as the Democratic Party was then often called)... O’Sullivan continued to be active in the Van Buren and Pierce administrations before fading into obscurity after the Civil War.”

⁷¹ David T. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Manifest Destiny* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 4.

⁷² Preston, *Sword of the Spirit*, 135.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Gomes, “Deus Vult,” 238.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 170.

to save the world.”⁷⁷ In *Manifest Destiny*, Albert K. Weinberg states that the mindset of global expansionism, though assuaged periodically,⁷⁸ continued to grow in determination beyond having a place among the world leaders to being *the* world leader as God’s “chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world.”⁷⁹

Operational Code Analysis: A social science temporal methodology that evolved in three stages. Stage one, articulated by Nathan Leites in 1951 and 1953, incorporated cognition, character, and culture as a construct for understanding elites (heads of state and top government officials). It lay dormant until stage two when Alexander L. George (1969) developed the approach with quantifiable measures dealing with philosophical and instrumental analyses. It was applied manually by social scientists until stage three in the 1990s, when Stephen Walker and Marc Schafer automated it with the Verbs in Context System program.

⁷⁷ Ibid. Gomes in “Deus Vult” distinguishes between two strands of thought regarding Lincoln and O’Sullivan in light of Robert Bellah’s article on civil religion. “Lincoln represents a strand of civil religious thought that conceives of the United States as being obligated to pursue self-perfection, so that it might become a democratic exemplar to other nations. This emphasis on national self-perfection lends itself to a particular sensitivity to civil religious sin within the nation. The strand of thought of which O’Sullivan is part, by contrast, locates sin exclusively outside the borders of the United States and understands America as a purely virtuous entity obligated to work as a missionary of democracy throughout the world.” O’Sullivan’s political theology departs from orthodox Christian belief by “rejecting the Augustinian doctrine of original sin” arguing that “human beings are born without ‘a radical deficiency in the moral elements implanted by its Creator in human society’ and that to believe otherwise is incompatible with a ‘true and living faith’ in the creator” (243).

⁷⁸ Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), 455. Weinberg describes the isolationist restraint: “when strategic and commercial ambitions prompted the administrations of Johnson and Grant to suggest a program of expansion in the Caribbean, this program met defeat largely because even expansionists objected to territorial extension” (455). Harkening Washington’s admonition that “Europe had a different set of primary interests” from America it was prudent to avoid implication “by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes” arising from unnecessary political alliances (453).

⁷⁹ Ibid., 459.

Presidential Decision-making: The act of political choices made by the American president that impact domestic and foreign policies. A particular focus is given to observing how the decision-making of George W. Bush may have changed during the crisis of 9/11 through the lens of cognition with particular influence on the effect of religion on his bounded rationality.

Religion: Generally, “the belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods” or a “system of faith” the pursuit of which reflects intense devotion.⁸⁰ A connection or attribution to a Judeo-Christian denomination including Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, Congregational, Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, et al.; this may be, more broadly, divided into Protestantism and Catholicism and varying offshoots on the side of the spectrum understood as organized Christianity. On the other side of the spectrum, it may refer to religious nationalism where roots of theism and deism have emanated. Civil Religion, introduced by Robert Bella,⁸¹ is also included within the scope of this definition; and more broadly, in coordination with the Criteria for Extracting Religious Rhetoric, any word, phrase, sentence, quotation or paragraph related to faith, prayer, sacred or any religious belief system or representation of that system.

Religious Faith: An American president’s expression of faith in God’s working in and

⁸⁰ *Oxford Dictionaries*, s.v. “Religion.”

⁸¹ Robert N. Bellah, “Civil Religion in America,” *Daedalus* 134 (2005): 40-55.

through America and in history. As expressed in the words of President George W. Bush: “We Americans have faith in ourselves, but not in ourselves alone. We do not know—we do not claim to know all the ways of providence, yet we can trust in them, placing our confidence in the loving God behind all of life and all of history.”⁸²

Religious Influence: The Dependent Variable (DV) of this study in the context of American presidential decision-making, specifically the decision-making of George W. Bush during the 9/11 crisis. The impact of moral and ethical convictions may be traced to roots precipitating and affecting the formation of Bush’s worldview, impacting his beliefs and thus, functioning as a causal vector in his decision-making process.

Religious Mentor: A mother or father, a pastor, a relative, or friend who intersected with the president before and during his presidency and purposely, intensively, and in some circumstances systematically influenced his beliefs in such a way that moral values were formed that impact his decision-making in the White House.

Religious Values: Awareness of and conviction in concepts such as justice, liberty, compassion, love, sacrifice, responsibility, hope, and redemption.

VICS (Verbs In Context System): Content analysis that assumes “a subject’s verbal statements can be used to assess his or her psychological characteristics.”⁸³ This is

⁸² George W. Bush, “State of the Union Address,” January 28, 2003.

⁸³ Schafer and Walker, “Democratic Leaders and the Democratic Peace,” 567.

accomplished by using “retrieving patterns from a leader’s public statements and drawing inferences about public behavior that are consistent with their beliefs and personalities.”⁸⁴

Worldview: The President’s “primary, politically relevant beliefs, particularly his conceptions of social causality, human nature, and the central moral conflicts of the time.... This is how he sees the world, and what his lasting opinions are about what he sees.”⁸⁵

Research Limitations

The complex processes on the organization and management of presidential decision-making – while integrating religion – is beyond the scope of this study.⁸⁶ Additionally, in Part One, while cognition in the realm of religious influences on Bush’s bounded rationality via family, clergy, teachers, and mentors is developed, the formation of heuristics that impact crisis choices on foreign policy by presidents is not expanded. In Part Two, I consider plausible causal links by applying the theory of triadic reciprocity asserting the emergence of a triadic subsystem that influences a factor of the

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Barber, *Presidential Character*, 5.

⁸⁶ Roger B. Porter, *Presidential Decision-Making: The Economic Policy Board* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 1. In Chapter 8, “Organizing the White House for presidential decision-making,” Porter emphasizes a danger (one of two that he specifies) with his study that focuses on organizational arrangements, procedures, and process of Presidential decision-making, specifically economic policy decisions. That is, “concentrating on the process by which decisions are made and advice is organized may overemphasize the importance of procedures and underemphasize the importance of people” (213). He elaborates that, “neither governmental life nor presidential decision making [sic] are mechanical” and there are critical elements in the process of decision-making that are contingent on “individual personalities and informal networks and relationships” (213). It is the domain of cognition that shapes these personalities where we consider religious influences on heuristics that enact decision-making.

superordinate triad in Bandura's model. I do not, however, provide a detailed theoretical study of how religion affects self-efficacy, beyond a suggestive observation.

Theories and Hypotheses

Herbert Simon's Theory of Bounded Rationality

This framework emerged from Herbert Simon's theory of bounded rationality – a theoretical gateway to explore where beliefs are shaped – pointing to limitations of knowledge and computing power that inhibit “making optimal choices.”⁸⁷ Simon reasons that bounded rationality is adaptive behavior within “constraints imposed by the external situation” and the decision-maker's capacity.⁸⁸ Considering stability and change in George W. Bush's political beliefs, I accept Simon's opening, as it were, to determine the influence of religion on political beliefs as derived from Renshon's study. I put forward four hypotheses using Renshon's framework as a guide that correspond with Part One: Quantitative Analysis.

Hypothesis 1: There will be major shifts in President Bush's operational code from Phase 2 and Phase 3 with religion as the independent variable in a comparison of Ren and XRel.

⁸⁷ Herbert A. Simon, “The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science,” *Political Science Review* 79 (1985): 294.

⁸⁸ Ibid. Constraints upon the decision-maker's capacity due to imposed external circumstances relate to Henry Kissinger's description of the statesman in *The White House Years*. He writes: “Any statesman is in part the prisoner of necessity. He is confronted with an environment he did not create, and is shaped by a personal history he can no longer change. It is an illusion to believe that leaders gain in profundity while they gain experience. As I have said, the convictions that leaders have formed before reaching high office are the intellectual capital they will consume as long as they continue in office. There is little time for leaders to reflect. They are locked in an endless battle in which the urgent constantly gains on the important. The public life of every political figure is a continual struggle to rescue an element of choice from the pressure of circumstances” (54).

Hypothesis 2: There will be statistically significant shifts in President Bush's operational code between Ren and XRel in Phase 3, with religion as the independent variable.

Hypothesis 3: The shifts will be in philosophical (and not instrumental) beliefs, making his diagnosis of the political universe more conflictual and less optimistic, reversing his prior beliefs.

Hypothesis 4: There would be a change in the diagnostic propensities of Bush, particularly in P-4, his control over historical development.

Albert Bandura's Theory of Triadic Reciprocity

My fifth hypothesis, the Causal Link Hypothesis Between Religion and Presidential Decision-making is derived from Albert Bandura's theory of triadic reciprocity in social cognitive theory. He states how "people are neither driven by inner forces nor automatically shaped and controlled by external stimuli. Rather, human functioning is explained in terms" that are interactive, "in which behavior, cognitive and other personal factors, and environmental events all operate as interacting determinants of each other."⁸⁹

I develop the concept that proposes support of the Causal Link Hypothesis in Part Two: Qualitative Analysis. The hypothesis is given as number 5.

⁸⁹ Albert Bandura, *Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986), 18.

Hypothesis 5: The president is more likely to initiate a strategic declaration of war⁹⁰ following an attack on American soil when the subsystem of religious triadic reciprocity (R, A, P) within the singular factor (C) of the superordinate triadic reciprocity system exerts influence causing a motivational bias in the tactical beliefs of the president when a trauma of attack (E) triggers a cognitive shortcut enacted (B) through impulses of the amygdala.

Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 4 will be tested. The interpretations describe interaction with the results toward a perspective on implications. An explanation for Hypothesis 5 is derived from the investigation. We now proceed to Methods and Results Part 1, our quantitative analysis where I replicate Jonathan Renshon's investigation, develop a new dataset, and perform a comparative analysis. The results are simultaneously revealing and challenging.

⁹⁰ A. Cooper Drury, "Economic Sanctions and Operational Code Analysis: Beliefs and the Use of Economic Coercion," in *Beliefs and Leadership in World Politics: Methods and Applications of Operational Code Analysis*, ed. Mark Schafer, et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 191. The Religious Linkage to Presidential Decision-Making hypothesis was partially adapted from the wording of Drury's hypothesis that says: "Specifically, the president is more likely to initiate an economic sanction against a target when the dyadic tension between the United States and that target increases (Hypothesis 1a). Similarly, presidents will be more likely to increase sanctions against a target when the tension level is high (Hypothesis 1b)."

II

Methods and Results Part 1: Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative portion of this investigation is comprised of five sections. Section One: An overview of Jonathan Renshon's investigation, "Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush." Section Two: Testing hypotheses with religion as the independent variable using Renshon's research design to create a new data set (XRel) for comparison. Section Three: The Criteria for Extracting Religious Rhetoric (CERR) as utilized for creating a new data set. (Appendix A includes the dataset of manuscripts using CERR for Phase 3). Section Four: Comparative analysis, results, and discussion of the results for hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 4 from Renshon's dataset and the XRel dataset. Section Five: Conclusion and implications.

Jonathan Renshon's "Stability and Change in Belief Systems" of George W. Bush In 2008, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* published "Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush" by Jonathan Renshon. His investigation examined whether or not there were significant changes in beliefs of President Bush and, if so, what caused those changes?⁹¹ Empirical data were developed on the "strategic and operational beliefs of George W. Bush as a means of examining the theoretical basis of how and why core beliefs change."⁹² Four phases of Bush's political career, precisely the impact of change on his foreign policy, were analyzed: 1) pre-

⁹¹ Renshon, "Stability and Change," 820.

⁹² Ibid.

presidential, 2) nine months in office prior to September 11, 2001, 3) six months immediately following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and 4) two years into his second term as president.⁹³ Renshon's purpose was to address questions both regarding Bush's belief systems and how they influenced his decision-making by deriving conclusions from the data that would challenge "traditional interpretations of the Bush presidency" and glean further insights "into causal mechanisms that underlie belief change."⁹⁴

Table 3.
Time Periods under Examination

Phase	Time Period
1. From governor to president – the campaign	1998 → January 19, 2001 (day prior to Inauguration Day)
2. Pre-September 11 th presidency	January 20, 2001 (Inauguration Day) → September 10, 2001
3. Post-September 11 th presidency	September 11, 2001 → March 11, 2002 (six-month period following September 11 th)
4. End-of-term presidency	January 20, 2007 (two years into second term of presidency) → July 20, 2007

Source: Renshon, "Stability and Change," 828.

Renshon confronts the theory of cognitive consistency and the application of that theory as the bedrock of social and cognitive psychology. That is, motivational biases that originate from beliefs, emergent from Herbert Simon's theory of bounded rationality, may not be as stable if it can be shown that beliefs indeed do change, especially after shocking or traumatic experiences. Data show that there were statistically significant changes in Bush's beliefs as a result of the effect of role change from governor to

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

president from Phase 1 to Phase 2.⁹⁵ Further, changes were significant from Phase 2 to Phase 3 attributed to the terrorist attacks on 9/11 where Bush's view moved from P-1 (definitely friendly) in Phase 2 to somewhat friendly in Phase 3, affecting a more pessimistic view in realizing his political goals.⁹⁶ Between Phase 3 and Phase 4, no significant learning took place from the standpoint of the political science perspective to indicate a shift or attribute a change in Bush's belief system.

Since "cognitive frameworks and belief systems are the primary lenses through which presidents view the world"⁹⁷ and religion is a variable that shapes those frameworks and beliefs relating to decision-making, four pertinent questions emerge: 1) whether religion ever changes these beliefs significantly, and if so, 2) when do these changes occur, 3) where do those changes take place and 4) what causes those changes? This section builds on Renshon's investigation and develops empirical data for the influence of religion on the strategic and operational beliefs of President George W. Bush as a means of examining the theoretical basis for how and why religion influences change in Bush's core belief systems, and subsequently impacts his crisis decision-making in foreign policy.

Empirically, beliefs provide the formation of heuristic constructs through the theory of bounded rationality "for analyzing both novel and common situations," according to Renshon, toward "imposing order on what would otherwise be

⁹⁵ Ibid., 833-835.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 835.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 820.

overwhelming amounts of information”⁹⁸—particularly applicable during periods of national trauma, shock, or crisis. Whereas Renshon recognizes that beliefs “must take a central place in one’s analysis as either independent or mediating variables,” I am interested in viewing religious impact on those beliefs with religion being the “antecedent” independent variable or mediating variable in the formation of beliefs.

Utilizing the “operational code,” a construct that is a subset of one’s beliefs about the political universe, I analyze the influence of religion on belief change. “These beliefs structure and order reality for decision makers” states Renshon, to “help them sort the signals in their environment from the noise.”⁹⁹ These beliefs impact the interpretation of information, perception of the social environment and formulation of choices.¹⁰⁰

The four periods Renshon selected develop a natural experiment to examine the effects of three classes of events; that is, three independent variables on presidential beliefs, namely: a) belief change when one’s role changes, b) belief change with traumatic shock, and c) belief change while learning in office.¹⁰¹ I am particularly interested in traumatic shock from the terrorist attack of 9/11 and how religion impacted Bush’s beliefs during that time. However, I will test all four phases to see the overall influence of religion throughout the same time periods used by Renshon that function as my control variable.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 821.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Substantively, did religion influence the perceptions derived from changed beliefs following 9/11 that may have altered Bush's decisions about foreign policy? Did he become more cooperative or more conflictual in the processing of his strategy? Did religion cause him to be more cautious or more risky? Was the timing of his actions determined by his beliefs and was the severity of his tactical plans affected by religion? If so, how? Answers to these questions imply causal weight on foreign policy choices President Bush made in his plans against the Taliban in Afghanistan and the war in Iraq, his persuasion to gain support from the U.S. House and Senate, and his appeal to the likes of the United Nations; events that set in motion shifting geopolitical movements that ushered current realities today by using such as the withdrawal of troops from Iraq under the Obama administration and subsequent vacuum that bred terrorists groups such as ISIS.

Theoretically, I seek to elevate the role of religion on the influence of presidential politics and decision-making by using empirical data to construct, supplement, complement, or contradict quantitative and qualitative research that supports the influence of religion on presidents. The findings in this analysis give compelling insights on the aforementioned inquiries.

Utilizing Renshon's Research Design to Create a New Data Set

My exploration utilizes Jonathan Renshon's dataset for two purposes: replication of the test and development of a new dataset. I take the entire collection of 48 presidential speeches and atheize them; that is, remove all religious rhetoric from the speeches according to the guidelines provided by the Criteria to Extract Religious Rhetoric

(CERR) designed for this experiment. Each transcript is read and, according to CERR words, phrases, sentences, and sections are highlighted line by line. Next, each highlighted section is converted to bold font on a separate Word file for the transcript collection of each phase. Another file is then created called the Extract file where the transcript is atheized (XRel). At that point, it is ready for input in the *Profiler Plus* program¹⁰² one speech at a time. Once two separate databases are prepared for coding (Renshon and XRel), *Profiler Plus* generates the raw data that are used to derive the mean of each set per phase and placed in a comparative form (presented in Table 4).

As stated in the Introduction, I put forth four hypotheses using Renshon's framework as a guideline to develop applicable hypotheses for this research design:

Hypothesis 1: There will be major shifts in President Bush's operational code from Phase 2 and Phase 3 with religion as the independent variable in a comparison of Ren and XRel.

Hypothesis 2: There will be statistically significant shifts in President Bush's operational code between Ren and XRel in Phase 3, with religion as the independent variable.

Hypothesis 3: The shifts will be in philosophical (and not instrumental beliefs), making his diagnosis of the political universe more conflictual and less optimistic, reversing his prior beliefs.

¹⁰² Renshon used *Profiler Plus 5.7.0* for his 2008 publication and I use a newer version *Profiler Plus 5.8.4*. The data from Renshon's Phase 1, Phase 2, Phase 3, and Phase 4 were successfully replicated by using his replication materials provided at <http://jcr.sagepub.com>. The new XRel data set developed for this investigation measures according to the data published in Renshon's article.

Hypothesis 4: There would be a change in the diagnostic propensities of Bush, particularly in P-4, his control over historical development.

Criteria for the Extraction of Religious Rhetoric

The purpose of Criteria for the Extraction of Religious Rhetoric is to provide guidelines toward a systematic process in extracting religious related words, phrases and sentences from the original transcript used by Renshon providing a “religion free” manuscript to code in order to perform a counterfactual comparative analysis of the data using the Operational Codes Verbs in Context System Indices. The guidelines are provided below.

- “Faith” is left in the text when used in reference to people’s faith in one another or a person’s faith in a cause that is not rooted in religion.
- “Faith” is removed when used in reference to God or a religious concept or practice.
- When “faith” is used in the context of democracy, manifest destiny, religious nationalism, or civil religion, the sentence in which it is used is removed.
- Description of religious symbolism or typology is removed.
- “Evil empire” and comparable references (“evil” as viewed from the perspective of “Manifest Destiny” and O’Sullivan’s political theology) are removed, including the sentence that includes it.
- “Spirit” is left in the text when used in reference to describe a quality in a person or people.
- “Spirit” is removed from the text when it is referred to religiously.

- Religious gathering places are removed from the text (e.g., Churches, synagogues, mosques, temples, etc.)
- References to God are removed.
- References to sacred texts are removed (e.g., Bible, Torah, Koran, etc.).
- “Prayer” and descriptions of other religious activities are removed.
- When “religion” or a religious reference is used in a list, “religion” or the religious reference is removed.
- When a religious reference is related to the context of a statement or sentence, the statement, sentence, or sentence combination is removed.
- Quotations from religious leaders and references of religious leaders are removed.
- “Good” is removed when used in a phrase or sentence as the opposite of “evil.”
- Islamic extremist groups such as al Qaeda are removed when it is stated in a phrase or sentence with “Islam” or “religion” or with reference to religious practice and ideology. It is left in the text when it is used as a terrorist group (Hezbollah, Taliban, etc.).
- “Holy,” “sacred,” “blessings,” “worship,” “souls,” “martyr,” and similar religious terms are removed from the text.
- When a sentence explains the meaning of a religious word, phrase, or reference from the previous sentence, but does not contain a religious word, phrase, or reference, it shall be removed.
- When “sheikh” is described by the pronoun “tribal” in “tribal sheikh,” it is removed from the text as an Arab word used in a Muslim context.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ *Oxford Dictionaries*, s.v. “Sheikh.” Defined as an “Arab leader, in particular the chief of head or a tribe, family, or village” or a leader of a Muslim organization.

- A “section” is the sentence that contains a religious statement, phrase, quote, or reference.

All misspelled words that remained in the Renshon manuscript dataset used for coding are unchanged. Captions normally recommended for removal in optimum coding that remained in the manuscript data set before coding Renshon’s analysis have been left in my data set for reliability. When sections of the text are extracted under the Criteria for the Removal of Religious Rhetoric, the texts should normally still meet Renshon’s minimal threshold of 1500 words,¹⁰⁴ unless a deficiency is nominal.¹⁰⁵

The focus of this project is to concentrate on each phase of Renshon’s examination and measure it next to the newly created XRel data. An illustration is that of an old-fashioned camera that required negatives in the photo processing. The XRel

¹⁰⁴ Renshon, “Stability and Change,” 845. The 1500-word minimum, according to Renshon, was the first standard utilized for each speech act. Intuitively, “the mean score for the combined speeches would not weigh one speech more heavily than another.” Though “recent efforts have preaggregated the speeches into one ‘big speech,’ and as such are not so concerned about individual speech length (as long as each speech act contains between 10 and 15 verbs that can be coded in VICS; Schafer and Walker, “Beliefs and Leadership” 2006, 43-44), the methodological issue of how one should compile content data for operational code analysis,” Renshon continues, “reflects an important substantive issue.” If, on the one hand, “it is conceptualized as a stable personality trait, it is defensible to aggregate many smaller speech acts for purposes of analysis, because there should not be significant shifts in the operational code over time.” On the other hand, because his article aims to “investigate whether there is change in GWB’s operational code, the stability of these beliefs cannot be taken for granted.” Therefore, “because it allows the use of statistical analysis,” Renshon uses mean scores instead of aggregate scores.

¹⁰⁵ In Phase 3, all manuscripts of the 15 speech Extract file meet the 1500-word minimum with the exception of 7) President Signs Defense Appropriations Bill Jan. 10, 2002 with a word count of 1442 post-extraction and 14) President Rallies Troops Oct. 17, 2001 with a word count of 1301 post-extraction. Both speeches, however, meet the 15 coded-verbs minimum requirement per speech act as recognized by Renshon, “Stability and Change” (2008, 845) and stated by Schafer and Walker, “Beliefs and Leadership” (2006, 44). The 58 and 199 word count deficiency from the extracted version of speech 7 and 14, respectively, is nominal. Phase 2 includes a sample size of 6 speeches in the Extract file, where 3 of 6 speeches fall below the 1500-word minimum: 4) Remarks at Christening for the USS Ronald Reagan March 4, 2001, with a word count of 1422 post-extraction, 5) Remarks by the President to the Troops February 13, 2001, with a word count of 1495 post-extraction, and 6) Inaugural Address Jan. 20, 2001, with a word count of 1336 post-extraction. Speeches 4, 5, and 6 have word count deficiencies of 78, 5, and 164, respectively. The relatively low word-count deficiency and nearly identical results from the Ren and XRel analysis in Phase 2 may indicate nominal impact of not meeting the minimum criteria of 1500 words. Given the larger sample size and comparable word count deficiency in Phase 3, it is unlikely that there is more than nominal impact on the comparison between Ren and XRel.

dataset is a type of constructed “negative” to illuminate if there indeed exists influence of religion in the President’s beliefs and, as a result, in his decisions.

Results of Comparative Analysis

Hypothesis 1 says there will be major shifts in President Bush’s operational code from Phase 2 and Phase 3 with religion as the independent variable in a comparison of Renshon’s dataset (Ren) and the XRel dataset. It is partially supported by the data. There was clearly a change in the relationship between Ren and XRel in instrumental beliefs (choice propensities). Two beliefs in particular, the I-2 and I-4a shifted and moved Bush’s categorical propensity on the index. Such a shift would be considered “a reinforcement,”¹⁰⁶ according to Renshon, a “dimension that is relevant and often overlooked.”¹⁰⁷ Both reflect the influence of religion. Yet, remaining consistent with Renshon’s treatment of P-1 in his dataset from Phase 1 (+.37) and Phase 2 (+.51), where he did not consider a categorical shift a major shift, I remain consistent with his standard of interpretation. Nevertheless, two shifts did transpire and remain supportive of the plausibility of religious influence on the decision-making of Bush and as a result the plausibility of religious influences on the decision-making of American presidents during times of crisis, more broadly.

¹⁰⁶ Renshon, “Stability and Change,” 826. “Statistical significance reveals whether a change has occurred,” but Renshon points to a third dimension that is also significant, namely, a type of change. Such significance may be perceived in one of two ways: reinforcement or reversal. A prior belief may be that “the world is friendly” while a reinforced belief may say, “the world is *very* friendly.” That is the application of what we see in the changes in the instrumental beliefs of George W. Bush when Ren data is compared with the XRel data.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

Table 4.
The Operational Code of George W. Bush (Ren and XRel)

		Phase 1 (n = 4)		Phase 2 (n = 6)		Phase 3 (n = 15)		Phase 4 (n = 13)	
			XRel		XRel		XRel		XRel
P-1	Nature of the Political Universe	+ .37	+ .37	+ .51	+ .50	+ .21	+ .22	+ .29	+ .30
P-2	Realization of Political Values	+ .20	+ .19	+ .29	+ .28	+ .06	+ .08	+ .13	+ .13
P-3	Predictability of Political Future	.12	.12	.14	.14	.11	.11	.11	.12
P-4	Control Over Historical Development	.33	.33	.33	.34	.32	.32	.25	.26
P-5	Role of Chance	.96	.96	.95	.95	.96	.96	.97	.97
I-1	Strategic Approach to Goals	+ .51	+ .52	+ .53	+ .54	+ .40	+ .44 (-1.60)	+ .49	+ .49
I-2	Tactical Pursuit of Goals	+ .29	+ .28	+ .25	+ .26	+ .13	+ .18 (-1.45)	+ .19	+ .19
I-3	Risk Orientation	.14	.14	.19	.19	.21	.24 (-1.57)	.26	.26
I-4	Timing and Action								
	a. Cooperation/Conflict	.49	.49	.49	.47	.59	.54 (1.60)	.51	.51
	b. Words/Deeds	.38	.38	.58	.56	.65	.62 (1.42)	.53	.54
I-5	Utility of Means								
	a. Reward	.14	.14	.18	.18	.17	.19	.15	.15
	b. Promise	.26	.27	.13	.14	.05	.05	.04	.04
	c. Appeal/Support	.36	.36	.46	.45	.48	.48	.56	.55
	d. Oppose/Resist	.11	.11	.08	.08	.08	.08	.11	.11
	e. Threaten	.09	.08	.05	.06	.07	.06	.02	.02
	f. Punish	.05	.06	.11	.10	.16	.14	.12	.12

Note: Data in bold denote notable changes. Values in parentheses are t-statistics for change from between data sets as a two tailed paired t-test calculation. No asterisk denotes statistical non-significance at the $p \leq .10$. XRel = Dataset of the operational code of George W. Bush with religious references extracted using the Criteria for the Extraction of Religious Rhetoric (CERR) presented in this study.

There were no statistically significant shifts in President Bush's operational code comparisons in Phase 3 with religion as the independent variable in Renshon's data and the XRel data, at the .1, .05, or .01 levels. Therefore, Hypothesis 2, that there will be statistically significant shifts in President Bush's operational code between Renshon's data and XRel data in Phase 3, with religion as the independent variable, is not supported.

There were no shifts in the philosophical beliefs, with religion as the independent variable, making Bush's diagnosis of the political universe more conflictual and less optimistic, reversing his prior beliefs. As a result, Hypothesis 3 is not supported. In contrast to reports that indicate "philosophical beliefs are more prone to change than instrumental beliefs,"¹⁰⁸ the comparison with XRel shows that religion affected Bush's instrumental beliefs while the philosophical beliefs remained static. Since the change in all 5 instrumental beliefs occurred in the aftermath of 9/11, they are the only changes in the entire comparative analyses (all 4 Phases)—suggesting a concentrated influence of religion on the decision-making of Presidents regarding their political tactics during moments of trauma, shock, or crisis.

Discussion of Comparative Analysis

Based on this investigation's definition of "Religion" coordinated with the Criteria for the Extraction of Religious Rhetoric and subsequent development of the XRel dataset, the only change in the operational code of George W. Bush in the comparative analysis between datasets (Ren and XRel) took place after the crisis of 9/11, Phase 3. Precisely,

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 827.

the change is seen in President Bush's choice propensities (See Table 5. The Operational Code Profile for President George W. Bush).

Hypothesis 4 says there would be a change in the diagnostic propensities of Bush, particularly in P-4, his control over historical development. This hypothesis proposes a probable expectation according to previous studies that have provided results stating "philosophical beliefs are more prone to change than instrumental beliefs"¹⁰⁹ in American presidents Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, as well as Chinese heads of state Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and Hu Jintao. It is not supported. The opposite change occurred where there was change in the choice propensities—a result that challenges the results of previous studies when religion is considered. Interestingly, the insufficient support of the hypothesis leads to consideration of other possible suggestions. For example, there is a likelihood that a fundamental difference in the type of religious influence exerted upon Bush during 9/11 is distinct from the effects of religious influence exerted on Mao Zedong during the Korean War, had a comparative study been conducted.¹¹⁰

Table 5 provides a magnified view of Phase 3, the comparative data and the interpretation of that data as it corresponds with the Verbs In Context System index.

Renshon's data indicates that with religion, Bush remains definitely cooperative in

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Changes in philosophical beliefs were observed in Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and Hu Jintao. In a study by Walker, Schafer and Young, "Systematic Procedures for Operational Code Analysis: Measuring and Modeling Jimmy Carter's Operational Code" (1998, 185-186), Carter's cooperative view of the political universe decreased after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in a statistically significant way. Zedong's philosophical beliefs changed to a higher degree of hostility and confrontation during the Korean War, as observed by Feng's examination in "The Operational Code of Mao Zedong: Defensive or Offensive Realist?" (2005, 656-658).

¹¹⁰ I recognize the atheistic nature of Mao Zedong and his Marxist/Communist ideology, but making the point of comparative feasibility suggests the development of future investigative frameworks that may provide evidence supporting religious influences on the decision-making of international elites.

Table 5.
The Operational Code Profile for President George W. Bush During Phase 3

<u>Diagnostic Propensities</u>		<u>Score</u>		<u>Interpretation</u>
		<u>Ren</u>	<u>XRel</u>	
P-1	Nature of the Political Universe	+.21	+.22	Somewhat Friendly
P-2	Realization of Political Values	+.06	+.08	Mixed (Pessimistic/Optimistic)
P-3	Predictability of Political Future	.11	.11	Very Low Predictability
P-4	Control Over Historical Development			
	a. Self's Control	.32	.32	Low Control
	b. Other's Control	.68	.68	High Control
P-5	Role of Chance	.96	.96	Very High Role
I-1	Strategic Approach to Goals	+.40	+.44	Definitely Cooperative
I-2	Tactical Pursuit of Goals	+.13	+.18	Mixed Conflict/Cooperation to Somewhat Cooperative
I-3	Risk Orientation	.21	.24	Low Predictability
I-4	Timing and Action			
	a. Cooperation/Conflict	.59	.54	Medium Flexibility
	b. Words/Deeds	.65	.62	Medium/High Flexibility to Medium Flexibility
I-5	Utility of Means			
	a. Reward	.17	.19	High Utility
	b. Promise	.05	.05	Low Utility
	c. Appeal/Support	.48	.48	Very High Utility
	d. Oppose/Resist	.08	.08	Low Utility
	e. Threaten	.07	.06	Low Utility
	f. Punish	.16	.14	Medium Utility

Template derived from Walker, "Forecasting the Political" 2000, 22. Customized for Phase 3 of the George W. Bush Ren/XRel operational code analysis.

relation to his strategic approach to goals at +.40 (I-1), but compared to the XRel data at +.44, to a lesser degree if the influence of religion was removed. Bush believes that a definitely cooperative orientation is the best strategy in the political universe post-9/11 (See Table 6. The Operational Code Verbs in Context System Indices). In other words, Bush is more conservative in his definite cooperation because of religion. The actual rhetoric of Bush provides a reason why he would be less cooperative with religion (Ren) than without religion (XRel).

In the speech “President Bush Speaks to United Nations on November 10, 2001,”¹¹¹ compare an excerpt from both Ren and XRel (text in bold is extracted according to CERR as read in XRel).

Ren: **“I also thank the Arab Islamic countries that have condemned terrorist murder. Many of you have seen the destruction of terror in your own lands. The terrorists are increasingly isolated by their own hatred and extremism. They cannot hide behind Islam. The authors of mass murder and their allies have no place in any culture, and no home in any faith.**

XRel: Many of you have seen the destruction of terror in your own lands. The terrorists are increasingly isolated by their own hatred and extremism.

In this implementation, I suspend reality to ponder the interstices of Ren and XRel as if Bush were utilizing the rhetoric of Ren and XRel simultaneously before the U.N. What would each speech reveal about him? The data comparison is so close and both have Bush in the definitely cooperative parameter, only less cooperative in Ren. Why does it read as if Bush is making a case for more cooperation by thanking Arab Islamic countries in Ren? This may be understood by reading the XRel version after reading Ren. I apply an interpretive move where hermeneutically, religious context provides clarity. Religion

¹¹¹ “U.S. President Bush’s Speech to United Nations,” last modified November 10, 2001, <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/11/10/ret.bush.un.transcript/index.html>.

in Phase 3 has reached a new level in the rhetoric with Bush providing a religious setting for extremists in relation to Islam in his attempt to rally bi-lateral support from the U.N. to achieve his goals for protection of Americans. Arab Islamic countries have spoken out against terrorism. Bush's slightly more conservative view in Ren may be attributed to awareness. Devoid of this religious explanation, seeing the devastation of terror would leave Bush with more difficulty grasping why or how terrorists are being isolated. Context provides knowledge and knowledge increases awareness. Lack of context diminishes awareness. Religion provides context and therefore elicits more awareness—the absence of which may lead to higher cooperation (XRel), but more vulnerability due to ignorance. Therefore Bush is slightly less cooperative (in the “definitely cooperative” parameter) in Ren.

Consider another post-9/11 speech from Phase 3 that supports how Bush, though “definitely cooperative,” may be less so in Ren from “Remarks by the President on the U.S.S. Enterprise”¹¹² delivered on December 7, 2001. President Bush says:

Ren: There is a great divide in our time, not between religions or cultures, but between civilization and barbarism. People of all cultures wish to live in safety and dignity. The hope of justice and mercy and better lives are common to all humanity. Our enemies reject these values, and by doing so, they set themselves not against the West, but against the entire world. Our war against terror is not a war against one terrorist leader or one terrorist group. Terrorism is a movement, an ideology that respects no boundary of nationality or decency. The terrorists despise creative societies and individual choice, and thus they bear a special hatred for America. They desire to concentrate power in the hands of a few, and to force every life into grim and joyless conformity. **They celebrate death, making a mission of murder and a sacrament of suicide.**

XRel: People of all cultures wish to live in safety and dignity. The hope of justice and mercy and better lives are common to all humanity. Our enemies reject these values, and by doing so, they set themselves not against the West, but against the

¹¹² “Remarks by the President on the USS Enterprise on Pearl Harbor Day,” last modified December 7, 2001, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011207.html>.

entire world. Our war against terror is not a war against one terrorist leader or one terrorist group. Terrorism is a movement, an ideology that respects no boundary of nationality or decency. The terrorists despise creative societies and individual choice, and thus they bear a special hatred for America. They desire to concentrate power in the hands of a few, and to force every life into grim and joyless conformity.

Religious rhetoric in this instance provides the bookends to Bush's description of the ideological designs of terrorists as a halting threat to the yearnings of mankind for security, justice, and mercy. On the one hand void of religion in XRel, the rhetoric reinforces the requirement toward being definitely cooperative in counteracting the forces of terror. On the other hand, what affect does religion have on the strength or weakness of Bush's definite cooperativeness? Ren says it is weakened. Using my interpretive rationale of religious contextualization's effect on awareness, we may observe both statements as describing 1) the magnitude of what is at stake and 2) the malevolence of "sacred killing," respectively. In the first religious statement, we are on the brink of relegating our society toward reversion to barbarism if we do not act. In the second religious statement, the diabolical nature of terrorism twists what is evil and in the heart of terrorism that which is evil is actually good. The seriousness of what is at stake causes Bush to be more conservative in his definite cooperation for the sake of caution. He must be more deliberate, more calculated in his cooperation.

The Ren data reveal that at .40 in Phase 3 (I-1 Direction of Strategy) it remains in the definitely cooperative section. It is also the lowest reading in comparison to Phase 1 at .51, Phase 2 at .53, and Phase 4 at .49, and closest to the threshold of .375 on the index—the threshold for somewhat cooperative. How does Bush's rhetoric sound before

9/11 and after 9/11 as it corresponds with the data? During the “Inaugural Address on January 20, 2001”¹¹³ Bush says in Phase 2:

Through much of the last century, America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations. **Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country, it is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along.** And even after nearly two hundred and twenty-five years, we have a long way yet to travel.

Bush is optimistic about the challenges that lay ahead and communicates an upbeat spirit of cooperation for the spread of democracy as the “inborn hope of our humanity”—a responsibility entrusted to him and all Americans. One year later, following the 9/11 attacks, during the “State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002,”¹¹⁴ Bush speaks with a hopefulness drawn from the reservoir of calamity in Phase 3:

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity, a moment we must seize to change our culture. **Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good.** And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace. All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

Though Bush is still in the definitely cooperative section of the VICS index he is closest to somewhat cooperative in comparison with the remaining Phases. The 9/11 attacks brought the reality of evil to the forefront of Bush’s presidency. In the face of evil cooperation necessitated greater tactical awareness by mobilizing millions in the counter activities of service, decency and kindness. Remove religion from the above speech and the XRel manuscript says:

¹¹³ “First Inaugural Address,” <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/speech-3645>.

¹¹⁴ “State of the Union Address,” <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/speech-4540>.

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity, a moment we must seize to change our culture. And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace. All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

XRel at .44 in I-1 clearly moves the index to the definitely cooperative area.

Counterfactually, this shows that though the opportunity to bring lasting peace still remains in the wake of cataclysm, the exclusion of religion leaves a void for the cause (evil) of the disaster and the application (acts of good) to enact transformative progress.

Tactical pursuit of goals (I-2) focuses on the leader's beliefs about intensity when he is pursuing tactics.¹¹⁵ Bush's belief increases from .13 (Ren) to .18 (XRel). The index tells us that with religion he is at the threshold of mixed belief between conflict and cooperation to somewhat cooperative. It matches his diagnostic propensity (P-2) that says he has a mixed belief between pessimism and optimism when it comes to the realization of his political values at .06. Without religion he is firmly in the somewhat cooperative category of the index in choice propensity. The religiously extracted or atheized comparative speeches provides a retro-forecast of Bush's political beliefs that would be somewhat cooperative during and following 9/11 without religion and to a lesser degree, with religion. Operationally, in XRel Bush would be somewhat cooperative in his attempts to "get others to say or do something they would not otherwise say or do."¹¹⁶ With religion he would be less likely to do so.

¹¹⁵ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs and Leadership*, 35.

¹¹⁶ Schafer, Walker and Young, "Systematic Procedures," 180.

Religion has a grounding effect on tactical pursuits. Once again we compare Ren and XRel. In Bush's "State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002"¹¹⁷ he reminds Americans that this is a moment of opportunity. That is why America is working with Russia and China and India like never before, along with allies in Europe and Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The purpose for cooperation is to prove terror cannot stop the growth of freedom. Then he says:

Ren: Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. **We've come to know truths that we will never question: evil is real, and it must be opposed.** Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. **And many have discovered again that even in tragedy, especially in tragedy, God is near.**

XRel: Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism.

Religion adds gravitas to the decision—a grounding of Bush's vantage point that evil exists and at the same time that God is present. Therefore, Bush is more calculated in persuasiveness and cooperation with others because of religion.

Bush's risk orientation (I-3) also increases by .03 without religion but it remains low in that same parameter in the index with or without religion at .21 and .24, respectively. He attributes low predictability to others (at P-3) and low predictability in political risk orientation about himself, thereby affecting how he acts. A way of counteracting risk aversion may be via increased diversification of action whereby the distribution of choices diminishes risk that may be attributed to one action.¹¹⁸ For

¹¹⁷ "State of the Union Address."

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 36.

example, a plan of attack against Iraq while waging war in Afghanistan is a form of diversification. Another example would be attempts at gaining multilateral support from the United Nations while leaving room for unilateral action by the United States in case the United Nations is unwilling or takes too long to garner support for America.

Renshon explains that instrumental beliefs did change with philosophical beliefs in the operational code of Jimmy Carter, Lyndon Johnson, and Fidel Castro, but the magnitude of those changes were low.¹¹⁹ That is, “the changes either (a) did not change the ‘rank order’ of the utility of means (I-5) or (b) did not move the Verbs in Context System (VICS) score into a different verbal category (e.g., ‘cooperative’ to ‘very cooperative’).”¹²⁰ An exception to the aforementioned, the XRel data comparison provided evidence of two shifts in the instrumental beliefs, I-2 and I-4a.

Finally, I-4 provides insight into how Bush manages two kinds of risk: 1) I-4a tells us Bush has a medium flexibility on how he takes action with a view toward cooperation and conflict. In other words, that is how Bush balances the risk of “domination by others against the risk associated with deadlock as an outcome.”¹²¹ He does so toward a greater inclination with religion and to a lesser degree without religion. 2) Bush balances risks of doing too much against the risk of not doing enough¹²² in I-4b with a medium to high degree of flexibility with religion and to a lesser degree that moves him on the index to medium flexibility without religion. Religion has influenced

¹¹⁹ Renshon, “Stability and Change,” 827.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 844.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹²² *Ibid.*

both his perception of cooperation and conflict along with his descriptions of flexible favorability, more so with religion than without. Analyses as such implore us to ask a challenging question on direction of religious causation.

How are possible vectors of causation distinguished? If this experiment shows that Bush is more conflict-prone in the presence of religious rhetoric, how do we know that it is religion causing the confrontational impulse and not the confrontational impulse that is causing the religious language? Is religion the cause of Bush's response or is his response causing the use of his religious rhetoric? Perhaps when we feel ourselves under existential threat we are more likely to speak religiously rather than that our tendency to think religiously makes us more inclined to perceive existential threat.

I assert that religion causes the confrontational impulse. We speak religiously when we feel ourselves under existential threat because we think religiously about the existential threat. My argument demonstrates this by initially assuming that the confrontational impulse of Bush causes religious language. The unfolding of this assumption leads to: 1) Perspectives of religious association to confrontational impulses pointing to religion as causal; 2) The intuition of operational code analyses' use of language reinforces the primacy of religious wording as vector and not vice-versa; and, 3) Research from neuroscience on the intersection of knowledge and fear affirm that words form knowledge and information successively in neural systems that elicit emotive reactions in the amygdala and thus, confrontational instincts.

Assuming confrontational impulses cause the use of religious language infers a premise: an impetus precipitates the impulse. What precipitates confrontational instincts? Where does the causal vector linking impulses with the expression of religious language

go? We must first answer the question about the cause of confrontational instincts before we understand the direction of where those instincts proceed. Precipitation determines direction. Is religion associated with threatening scenarios in the life of George W. Bush? If so, it would follow that religious association with threats are expressed by relating those threats with religious language. How, specifically, is religion associated with threats according to Bush's exposure to religion throughout his life?

Two perspectives of religious association provide plausible answers by way of a thought experiment: consider, a) negative experiences by Bush with religion that have caused threatening impulses where he associates religion in a confrontational way; and b) positive exposure to Bush about America's civil religion that provoke confrontational feelings when the religious nationalism of America is threatened. The first perspective sets a broad platform for negative religious association, revealing biographically Bush's outlook on religion. The second viewpoint is specific. Adding the variable of religious nationalism makes it possible to see how his political ideology is shaped by religion, why threats to America evoke responses from him, and what religious terminology is deemed useful for political maneuvering.

Religion, in both cases, provides the antecedent of confrontational impulse. Therefore, if the confrontational impulse causes the use of religious language, I have reasoned that by precipitation the confrontational impulse is formed by religion in the first place. That is, religion causes the use of confrontational employment of religious rhetoric and religion causes the confrontational impulse that uses religious rhetoric, as it were, one additional step in the logical process.

The logic is illustrated in a four-level material conditional explanation (See Figure 1.). Our initial assumption begins when a confrontational impulse (C) exists, then

Diagram 1.

Directional Causation: Religion, Confrontational Impulses, and Religious Rhetoric

$$C \rightarrow RR$$

$$R \rightarrow C \rightarrow RR$$

$$(R \rightarrow C) \rightarrow (C \rightarrow RR)$$

$$(RR \rightarrow R) \rightarrow (R \rightarrow C) \rightarrow (C \rightarrow RR)$$

C = Confrontational Impulse

R = Religion

RR = Religious Rhetoric

use of religious rhetoric (RR) follows with C as the antecedent and RR as the consequent.

Second, when religion exists (R), confrontational impulses (C) follow and consequently,

religious rhetoric follows. R is the antecedent of C. C is the consequent of R and the

antecedent of RR. That explanation is illustrated, third, when R and C are nested as the

antecedent and C and RR are nested as the consequent. Fourth, RR and R are nested as

the antecedent of a nested R and C while R and C function as both the consequent and

antecedent of C and RR, explaining how religious rhetoric forms religious knowledge

and understanding thus allowing for religion to affect confrontational impulses.

Confrontational impulses, in turn, elicit the use of religious rhetoric. Religious rhetoric

therefore functions as both the antecedent and consequent. Thus, confrontational

impulses that utilize religious rhetoric do not stand alone as a determinant but regress to religion, while religion regresses to religious rhetoric. Next, consider what lies beneath the rationale of operational code's at-a-distance construct.

Grasping the intuition of operational code's at-a-distance construct in political psychology undergirds use of language, providing empirical insights into the beliefs of the president. Religion causes the confrontational impulse that in turn utilizes religious language—pointing us in the direction of religious causation. According to Schafer and Walker, “Beliefs” and “belief systems” in the operational code method are grounded on the affirmation that to believe something is to know it, implying the acquisition of knowledge.¹²³ This knowledge, called information, is “informed impressions stored on our brains,”¹²⁴ also known as a neural network. Epistemology and neuroscience form a nexus toward religious causation of confrontational impulses. Joseph LeDoux, in *Synaptic Self*, explains that plasticity in the brain's systems is a “capacity for synapses to record and store information,” encoding experiences in the learning process.¹²⁵ Though these “neural knowledge networks are not beliefs or belief systems, per se,” they are building blocks of “higher level circuits and systems of neural network patterns.”¹²⁶ Stability of neural network patterns is strengthened by stimuli remaining in the brain's memory.¹²⁷

¹²³ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs and Leadership*, 28.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Joseph LeDoux, *Synaptic Self: How Our Brains Become Who We Are* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 9.

¹²⁶ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs and Leadership*, 29.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Applying the same intuition to George W. Bush, his political beliefs or belief systems according to the operational code are grounded on the affirmation that to believe something implies that he has acquired knowledge upon which his beliefs are based. Informed impressions have been stored in his brain, in his neural network. They are “higher level circuits and systems of neural network patterns” on which Bush’s beliefs or belief systems are built.¹²⁸

Taking the application one step further, we insert the variable of religion into the rationale in relation to Bush. If he has acquired religious knowledge upon which his political beliefs are based, informed religious impressions reside in his neural network. His neural networks, inclusive of religion, are the building blocks on which his political beliefs are built. Schafer and Walker elaborate that “we become aware of these linkages and mechanisms in varying degrees through the medium of language,” thus enabling human beings “to communicate to others what each of us knows, feels and wants.”¹²⁹ The entire process begins with knowledge. Knowledge is formulated by words and in this instance, religious words.

My assertion that religion is the antecedent, and therefore the cause of Bush’s confrontational impulse argues that even if Bush’s confrontational impulse caused the use of religious language, an antecedent of religion generating that instinct originates in religion. This logical construct takes us to a neurological consideration that explains how the amygdala triggers confrontational impulses in relation to threats and how religion evokes the use of religious language, politically.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 29.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

As part of the brain system, the amygdala “controls freezing behavior and other defensive responses in threatening situations” with synapses that are wired to respond to dangers both instinctively and through learned experiences.¹³⁰ LeDoux states that efficiency is evidenced in the natural system to “accommodate learning about new dangers,” to detect new dangers by creating “a synaptic substitution whereby the new stimulus can enter the circuits that the prewired ones used.”¹³¹ According to LeDoux, the basic activity of the amygdala operates in this way:

It involves the synaptic delivery of information about the outside world to the amygdala, and the control responses that act back on the world by synaptic outputs to the amygdala. If the amygdala detects something dangerous via its inputs, then its outputs are engaged. The result is freezing, changes in blood pressure and heart rate, release of hormones, and lots of other responses that either are preprogrammed ways of dealing with danger or are aspects of body physiology that support defensive behaviors.¹³²

An examination of President Bush’s childhood and young adult life may uncover clues from his experiences that have either hardwired synaptic patterns in his neural system or augmented his neural system through modification of different learning experiences. “Learning, and its synaptic result, memory,” in LeDoux’s words, “play major roles in gluing a coherent personality together as one goes through life.” We are interested in Bush’s religious learning and the effects of crisis that suggest the formation of confrontational impulses that were projected into the future on 9/11.

I contend that religion causes the confrontational impulse by inversion—assuming the confrontational impulse of Bush causes religious language. The unfolding of this

¹³⁰ LeDoux, *Synaptic Self*, 7.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*, 8-9.

supposition leads to: 1) Perspectives of religious association to confrontational impulses pointing to religion as causal; 2) The intuition of operational code analyses' use of language reinforces the primacy of religious wording as vector and not vice-versa; and 3) Research from neuroscience on the intersection of knowledge and fear affirm that words form knowledge and information, successively, in neural systems that elicit emotive reactions in the amygdala, and thus confrontational instincts.

Conclusion of Comparative Analysis

This quantitative exploration provides researchers an empirical glimpse at the plausible influence of religion on presidential beliefs and subsequent decision-making. Jonathan Renshon's article "Stability and Change in Belief System: The Operational Code of George W. Bush" was used as a model for replication and developing a new XRel dataset for a comparative analysis between speeches of President Bush's transcripts used by Renshon and the same transcripts of President Bush, only this time with all religious references removed according to the guidelines of Criteria for Extracting Religious References (CERR).

Five sections comprised this section of my investigation. Section One: An overview of Jonathan Renshon's investigation, "Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush." Section Two: Testing hypotheses with religion as the independent variable using Renshon's research design to create a new data set (XRel) for comparison. Section Three: The Criteria for Extracting Religious Rhetoric (CERR) as utilized for creating a new data set. Section Four: Comparative analyses, discussion of the results for hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 4 from Renshon's dataset and the

XRel dataset. Section Five: My conclusion. Possible implications and suggestions for further research, follows.

In “George W. Bush and The Vulcans,” Sam Robison states that following 9/11 Bush became more “conflict-oriented and hostile toward the rest of the world, and is more pessimistic regarding the realization of his goals.”¹³³ Based on the XRel data comparison with Renshon’s dataset using this framework, it seems plausible to imply that religion is at least partially a cause for his change of beliefs toward a more constrained view of the political universe.

Another inference may be the convergent tri-level impact of trauma, religion, and the shifting of stability on the internal/external locus of control. According to the data on Bush (Ren and XRel) his locus of control remained stable in Phase 1 (.33/.33), Phase 2 (.33/.34) and Phase 3 (.32/.32) at a low level, only to shift lower in Phase 4 (.25/.26). Is there a possible implication that another dimension of external control may relate to something other than chance affecting the surrounding circumstances? Is it possible that an external locus of control may include faith in God? That is to say, “I am not in control (internal), but God is in control of my destiny, my future and the political environment or universe (external).” Does Phase 4 reflect a more resigned President Bush, to his faith—his faith in God? Such considerations may comprise future exploration.

This quantitative analysis provides opportunity to probe the causal links that explain how, specifically, Bush’s beliefs changed through the influence of religion, and resulted in the declaration of war. An observer may notice, however, that change influenced by religion as the independent variable only registered in Phase 3, leading to

¹³³ Robison, “George W. Bush,” 121.

the question, “Is religion really a factor?” If religion is a constant, as I will demonstrate in the qualitative analysis of Methods and Results Part 2, perhaps it has a conserving force that limits change in beliefs like an anchor that has a grounding affect—resistant to change in political beliefs. I contend that even if religion is a constant, it is not resistant to change, particularly in crisis. Political belief change is stimulated by crisis on the bedrock of religion. The causal relationship between the crisis of 9/11 and Bush’s religious expression affirms religious grounding that seemed dormant in Phases 1, 2, and 4, but is activated in Phase 3. That is, crisis stimulates religiousness in Bush as religious characteristics reciprocally enliven features in the cognitive and personal factor of Bush as will be presented, both bi-directionally and interactively in a triadic structure inclusive of additional factors explained by Albert Bandura’s social cognitive theory. We now consider religious influences on George W. Bush in an exploration that provides support for a new hypothesis.

Table 6.
The Operational Code (Verbs in Context System Indices)

P-1: Nature of the Political Universe								
Hostile								Friendly
Extremely	Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very	Extremely
-1.0	-.75	-.50	-.25	0.0	+.25	+.50	+.75	+1.0
P-2: Realization of Political Values								
Pessimistic								Optimistic
Extremely	Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very	Extremely
-1.0	-.75	-.50	-.25	0.0	+.25	+.50	+.75	+1.0
P-3: Predictability of Political Future								
Very Low		Low		Medium		High		Very High
0.0		.25		.50		.75		1.0
P-4: Control Over Historical Development								
Very Low		Low		Medium		High		Very High
0.0		.25		.50		.75		1.0
P-5: Role of Chance								
Very Low		Low		Medium		High		Very High
0.0		.25		.50		.75		1.0
I-1: Direction of Strategy								
Conflict								Cooperation
Extremely	Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very	Extremely
-1.0	-.75	-.50	-.25	0.0	+.25	+.50	+.75	+1.0
I-2: Intensity of Tactics								
Conflict								Cooperation
Extremely	Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very	Extremely
-1.0	-.75	-.50	-.25	0.0	+.25	+.50	+.75	+1.0
I-3: Risk Orientation								
Risk Averse								Risk Acceptant
Very Low		Low		Medium		High		Very High
0.0		.25		.50		.75		1.0
I-4a: Flexibility of Tactics (between Cooperation and Conflict)								
Very Low		Low		Medium		High		Very High
0.0		.25		.50		.75		1.0
I-4b: Flexibility of Tactics (between Words and Deeds)								
Very Low		Low		Medium		High		Very High
0.0		.25		.50		.75		1.0
I-5: Utility of Means (Appeal/Support, Promise, Reward, Oppose/Resist, Threaten, Punish)								
Very Low		Low		Medium		High		Very High
0.0		.08		.16		.24		.32

Source: Walker, "Forecasting the Political" 2000, 10-16.

III

Methods and Results Part 2: Qualitative Analysis

Religious influence on the formation of George W. Bush derives evidence through autobiographical, psycho-biographical, and biographical studies as the qualitative aspect of this research. I evaluate religious influences throughout the president's life from childhood to the presidency, pre-9/11 and post-9/11, and propose a causal link hypothesis of religion to crisis presidential decision-making. The analysis is divided into three phases. Phase one is an analysis centered on President Bush's second autobiography *Decision Points*, the most explicit primary source document encompassing his life leading up to the presidency and his entire time in office. His previous autobiography *A Charge to Keep*, written with his communications director Karen Hughes was used for his first presidential campaign and provides complementary material as a primary source. Phase two includes supplementary material that analyzes religious influences on Bush from childhood to the presidency, pre-9/11 and post-9/11.

In addition to *Decision Points* and *A Charge to Keep*, I have chosen seven biographies that give auxiliary material on Bush's religious influences: namely, *Bush* by Jean Edward Smith, *A Man of Faith* by David Aikman, *The Faith of George W. Bush* by Stephen Mansfield, *In His Father's Shadow* by Stanley A. Renshon, *Bush at War* by Bob Woodward, *God and George W. Bush* by Paul Kengor, and *George W. Bush and the Redemptive Dream* by Dan P. McAdams. Details of religious influences are presented during seven periods of Bush's life: a) pre-teen, b) teen, c) young adult (18-25), d) adult (26-40), e) governor, f) president pre-9/11, and g) president post-9/11. Phase three

proposes a causal link hypothesis that provides a nexus between the religious upbringing and subsequent background of President Bush and his decision to declare war after 9/11.

On the matter of declaring war, I have chosen to restrict my examination to President Bush's declaration of war on terror immediately following 9/11, meaning the attack on Afghanistan and the subsequent fall of Kandahar. As much as the initial stages on the war in Iraq were set by the initiation of the Afghan war and given the rationale for going to war in Iraq was formulating, it is beyond the scope of this research to address those critical issues.

Phase 1: Autobiographical Analysis of George W. Bush's *Decision Points*

My autobiographical analysis of George W. Bush in *Decision Points* provides observations from a religious perspective focused on 1) finding the total number of religious references, 2) deciphering whether those references are positive or negative, 3) finding how many positive (POS) and negative (NEG) references were related to religious mentoring (*M*), respectively, 4) noting the impact of American religious nationalism (ARN), 5) recognizing religious causal vectors (RCV), and 6) observing emergent themes (T). The *Decision Point* analysis is available in Appendix 2.

The total number of religious references offers a general view of religious-related content that suggests the relative importance of religion to the president from his reflective vantage point. Deciphering between positive and negative poses the query, "Given the context of the statement, is President Bush's articulation of the religious reference positive or negative?" Coded accordingly, it allows us to see what the president's overall sense of religion is throughout his life and presidency from the content

he chose to include. Recognition is also given to religious mentors as potential influencers in the decision-making plausibility.

Noting the impact of American religious nationalism prepares us to observe the areas of concentration in terms of time frame for comparison with changes in beliefs evidenced in the quantitative analysis, thus providing a plausible explanation for religious influence on that change via religious causal vector. Lastly, themes are aggregated in order to discern if there exists any one or several dominant themes that may provide a reciprocal influence related to religion.

Table 7.
Summary of Religious References by Comparison in *Decision Points*

479 Pages in <i>Decision Points</i>
530 Religious references in <i>Decision Points</i>
183 in 530 (35%) Positive experiences with religious reference
36 in 530 (7%) Negative experiences with religious reference
93 in 530 (18%) Positive references to religious mentoring
93 in 183 (51%) Positive references to religious mentoring to positive experience
1 in 530 (.02%) Negative references to religious mentoring
1 in 36 (3%) Negative references to religious mentoring to negative experiences
14 in 530 (3%) American religious nationalism with religious reference
4 in 530 (.08%) American religious nationalism without religious reference
18 in 530 (3%) American religious nationalism with or without religious reference
530 in 479 (1.11) Religious references per page in <i>Decision Points</i>
100 in 530 (19%) Religious references in chapter 1
20 in 93 (22%) Positive experiences with a religious reference in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8*
14 in 36 (39%) Negative experiences with a religious reference in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
15 in 93 (16%) Positive references to religious mentoring in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
120 Religious references from Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
120 of 530 (23%) Religious references from Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
12 in 18 (67%) American religious nationalism with or without religious references in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8

*Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 include the timeframe of 9/11 and immediately following

Themes of *Decision Points*

There are six religiously related themes presented by Bush in *Decision Points*: 1) Seeking mentors,¹³⁴ 2) Jesus' "kindness to suffering strangers...[and] His ultimate act of sacrificial love" (thematically included Bush's presidential speeches),¹³⁵ 3) Guiding principles are the core of Bush's decision-making process and are vindicated over time,¹³⁶ 4) Human dignity, human rights, freedom and democracy,¹³⁷ 5) Bush is habitual in nature,¹³⁸ and 6) Protection of Americans.¹³⁹ One theme out of the six is most prominent: Protection of Americans. Under the thematic umbrella Protection of Americans, eight sub-themes emerge. They are, a) Protect Americans and defend freedom,¹⁴⁰ b) Protect Americans by preemption,¹⁴¹ c) Protect America for years to

¹³⁴ George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2010), 23. It was his *modus operandi*. His father was his most influential political mentor who also was a spiritual example. He followed the example of former presidents, like Lincoln, by reading biographies as part of his study of history. His religious mentors in varying degrees included Billy Graham, Tim Keller, Mark Craig, Kirbyjon Caldwell, John Paul II, Bob Williams, Tony Evans, and Stan Fornea. T.D. Jakes is listed as a friend and Bush's reflection does not indicate influence, but that he, Jakes, put his faith in action.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 32. Such themes relate with his perspective of human rights and foundationally, the call to fight for freedom in his championing of democracy.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 110-111, 123.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 126. Bush's habitual nature has grounded him through spiritual disciplines. His habitual characteristic speak to the theory of cognitive consistency. His ability to remain disciplined and keep on point during his campaigns and presidential speeches may be attributable to his habitual nature—providing support to the consistency of his beliefs and rhetoric according to the operational code analysis intuition.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 129, 151-154. Protect Americans by devising "a strategy to bring the terrorists to justice so they would not strike again." Also a requirement is waging war against terrorists by putting America "on a war footing." The guiding principle of protecting America is foundational in the future decisions Bush made in foreign policy.

come,¹⁴² d) Protect America at all costs,¹⁴³ e) Protecting Americans is grounded in Constitutional authority,¹⁴⁴ f) Protecting America is a just cause,¹⁴⁵ g) Protecting America is tied to the spread of democracy,¹⁴⁶ h) Protecting America is related to the cause and alleviation of human suffering,¹⁴⁷ and i) Protecting America is the foundation of American foreign policy with respect to the war of terror.¹⁴⁸ As the dominant theme of *Decision Points*, protecting America is a foreign policy decision attributed by Bush. In the next section, I present how American religious nationalism supports Bush's theme of protection.

Implications of American Religious Nationalism

There are eighteen references to American religious nationalism (with or without religious references) in *Decision Points*. Twelve in the eighteen are concentrated in chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8, the sections that describe the attacks of 9/11 and the decisions Bush made in the aftermath, including his thematic focus on protecting America. That is,

¹⁴² Ibid., 137. Protecting America, perceived by Bush as more than just his protection over the nation, included leading a new generation to protect the nation for years to come. This shows evidence of his instinctive foresight and depth of understanding the implication of the attack and hence, his actions as a means of follow-up.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 151.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 155.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 199.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 224.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 336. Rationale: "societies mired in poverty and disease foster hopelessness. And hopelessness leaves people ripe for recruitment by terrorists and extremists." National security is connected to human rights, according to Bush's reasoning, and justifies the allocation of funds.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 397. A theme of protecting America emerged from his time at the Camp David Chapel where he made his decision. Protecting the country became his primary agenda. Out of this, the Bush Doctrine was forged and, as a result, American foreign policy relating to the Afghan War and Iraq War.

67% of his references to American religious nationalism suggest a correlation to the influence of his decision-making following 9/11. What might be the meaning of these suggestions? This observation corresponds with the evidence discovered in the Operational Code Analysis comparison data of stability and change between Renshon's dataset and the XRel dataset, particularly in the instrumental beliefs of Bush, thereby connecting religious influences on foreign policy presidential decision-making during the 9/11 crisis and beyond.

Table 8.
American Religious Nationalism with or without Religious Reference Per Chapter in
Decision Points

Chapter 1: Quitting	2	^ARN x 2
Chapter 2: Running	1	ARN
Chapter 3: Personnel	0	
Chapter 4: Stem Cells	0	
Chapter 5: Day of Fire	5	^ARN, ARN x 4
Chapter 6: War Footing	0	
Chapter 7: Afghanistan	3	ARN x 3
Chapter 8: Iraq	4	ARN x 4
Chapter 9: Leading	0	
Chapter 10: Katrina	1	ARN
Chapter 11: Lazarus Effect	0	
Chapter 12: Surge	1	ARN
Chapter 13: Freedom Agenda	1	^ARN
Chapter 14: Financial Crisis	0	
Epilogue	0	

12 in 18 (67%) American religious nationalism with or without religious references in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8

ARN American religious nationalism with religious reference in text

^ARN Implied American religious nationalism without religious reference in text

Thus far, I have presented evidence on the influence of American religious nationalism upon the decision-making of George W. Bush in times of national crisis. Next, we turn

our attention to religious mentors and the development of Bush's personal faith. I refer to Bush as George W. in a distinction from his father George H.W. Bush.

Phase 2: Religious Influences on George W. Bush

By centering our focus on Bush's autobiography *Decision Points*, I reconstruct religious influences with special attention to religious mentors throughout his life by using primary and secondary sources. I consult seven biographies (in addition to *A Charge to Keep*) of George W. Bush, detecting religious influences during seven periods of his life. The purpose is to determine the bases for underlying patterns that relate to the causal vectors leading to his crisis decision-making on foreign policy. Seven periods are included as religious influences: 1) as a pre-teen, 2) as a teen, 3) as a young adult (18-25), 4) as an adult (26-40), 5) as Governor and during the Presidential campaign, 6) as President pre-9/11 and 9/11, and 7) as President post-9/11 pre-declaration of war.

Period 1: Religious Influences as a Pre-Teen

George W. Bush grew up in a home with a strong religious heritage. President Bush's great-great-great grandfather Obadiah Bush succeeded in the California Gold Rush in 1849 but died on his way back East in 1851.¹⁴⁹ His son, James Smith Bush, had leanings to enter the ministry, yet, due to his father's sudden passing and the need to care for the family, he became a lawyer after graduating from Yale.¹⁵⁰ Sorrow from the early passing

¹⁴⁹ Aikman, *A Man of Faith*, 17.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

of James Bush's wife, Sarah Freeman,¹⁵¹ eighteen months after their wedding brought him back to his initial draw to spiritual matters and he became an Episcopalian priest.¹⁵² James was married a second time to Harriet,¹⁵³ a descendent of Samuel Prescott, who rode with Paul Revere from Boston to Lexington in 1775 trumpeting the famous warning, "The British are coming."¹⁵⁴ He served as Navy chaplain in South America and the Caribbean, gaining a reputation as courageous person who charged others to always do the right thing.¹⁵⁵ He was a rector in San Francisco followed by a stint in New York. While on Staten Island, James was influenced by teachings that challenged his earlier beliefs moving him toward Universalism by way of The International Metaphysical League and Transcendental Movement in New England.¹⁵⁶

James Bush's second son, Samuel Prescott Bush, graduated from Thaddeus Stevens College of Technology in Lancaster, Pennsylvania before attaining success as a corporate executive. He also engaged in politics as a member of the Democratic Party.¹⁵⁷ Samuel Prescott's son, Prescott, George W. Bush's grandfather, set the standard where according to David Aikman, "faith, family, and friends were constant major

¹⁵¹ Stephen Mansfield, *The Faith of George W. Bush* (New York: Penguin Group, 2003), 6.

¹⁵² Aikman, 18.

¹⁵³ Mansfield, 6.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Mansfield, 7.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 19-20.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 21.

landmarks.”¹⁵⁸ Prescott’s marriage to Dorothy Walker, the daughter of G.H. Walker and a top-ranked women tennis player, preceded his service as Senator of Connecticut (1952-1962).¹⁵⁹ Dorothy and Prescott practiced their faith by saying grace before meals, attending church and praying together daily.¹⁶⁰ She became the spiritual “backbone” of the Bush family and as George W.’s grandmother, influenced him by her example as a woman who prayed. He remembers Ganny, as they called her, tucking him into bed, tickling his back when she said nightly prayers.¹⁶¹ Dorothy said she learned from her own mother that “prayer was an important part of one’s daily life.” It is an example that her grandson emulated.

George W.’s love for his father, George H.W. Bush, the third son of Prescott and Dorothy, is displayed in his lifelong loyalty to him. In *George W. Bush and the Redemptive Dream*, Dan McAdams notes how strongly George W. identifies with his father by following in his footsteps in careful detail through observation and replication.¹⁶² It may be inferred that an indelible spiritual impression would also be left from father to son. A standout at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, a World War II hero and stellar Yale College scholar athlete, George H.W. Bush epitomized chivalrous manhood to his son. Unbeknownst to George H.W., he set another example

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 22-23.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 24.

¹⁶¹ Bush, *Decision Points*, 10.

¹⁶² Dan P. McAdams, *George W. Bush and the Redemptive Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 114. McAdams specifies attending the same schools, becoming a fighter pilot as his father did and following his father into the oil business (114). He also specifies how, as his father got engaged to his mother Barbara of Smith College, George W. formed an engagement to Cathy Wolfman, also from Smith College—though the relationship never materialized in marriage (73).

for young six-year-old George W. In 1953, George W.'s sister Robin was diagnosed with leukemia. George W. watched his father's daily routine. What he learned left an impression. "When Dad was home, he started getting up early to go to work. I later learned he was going to church at 6:30 every morning to pray for Robin."¹⁶³ These references to prayer are connected to the president's actions in office. They are also connected to the psychology of trauma and the antidote of routine.

Stanley A. Renshon's *In His Father's Shadow* explains that "short of the death of a parent, that of a sibling can be particularly devastating."¹⁶⁴ Such trauma has devastating long-term effects psychologically. In reference to the elapsing of time with Robin's passing George W. reflects on being "sad and stunned...Minutes before I had had a little sister, and now I didn't. Forty-six years later," he recalls vividly, "those moments remain the starkest memory of my childhood, a sharp pain in the midst of an otherwise happy blur."¹⁶⁵ He learned never to take life for granted.¹⁶⁶ His vivaciousness reflects such an awareness coupled by his extroversion. Amidst Bush's spontaneity, he is also known for his discipline, his punctuality, and exercise program. His devotional and prayer life should also be noted.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 6.

¹⁶⁴ Stanley A. Renshon, *In His Father's Shadow* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 35.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 36.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Period 2: Religious Influences as a Teen

The Bush family attended the First Presbyterian Church in Midland before moving to Houston. At St. Martin's Episcopal Church, George W. served communion at the eight A.M. service.¹⁶⁷ He affirms, "I loved the formality, the ritual, the candles, and there, I felt the first stirrings of a faith that would be years in the shaping."¹⁶⁸ By the time he went to Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, Bush went to church because it was mandatory.¹⁶⁹ Familiar with the Christian religion, his faith nonetheless did not seem to motivate him internally, resultant in his life choices. He does, however, acknowledge the genesis of his beliefs that would eventually grow to influence his political decisions.

Period 3: Religious Influences as a Young Adult (18-25)

At Yale, Bush had a rude spiritual encounter that scarred him. He introduced himself to the Yale College chaplain, William Sloan Coffin, Jr. Since Bush knew Coffin was familiar with his father, he thought Coffin might provide him with words of comfort after George H.W. Bush lost to Democrat Ralph Yarborough in the 1964 Senatorial bid in Texas. The reality of his father's pending loss so grieved George W. that he "sat by himself, with his head facing the wall, so people wouldn't notice the tears in his eyes when the results were announced."¹⁷⁰ Hoping to receive consolation by Coffin, Bush

¹⁶⁷ Bush, *A Charge to Keep*, 19.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Bush, *Decision Points*, 31.

¹⁷⁰ David Aikman, *A Man of Faith* (Nashville: W. Publishing Group, 2004), 42.

heard the chaplain say that his father had been “beaten by a better man.”¹⁷¹ It was devastating for an eighteen-year-old. Bush never attended chapel at Yale.¹⁷² George W.’s distaste for Coffin’s version of Christianity may have been caused by the prickly encounter. He did, nevertheless, go to church when he visited his parents, as he says, “to avoid irritating” his mother.¹⁷³ His awareness of God and feeling of need for God may not have completely subsided, though at times his actions implied incognizance.

Period 4: Religious Influences as an Adult (26-40)

After graduating from Harvard Business School in 1975, George W. moved back to Midland and met Laura Welch, who would become his wife. After getting married at First United Methodist Church in Midland, George and Laura regularly attended services following the birth of their twins, Barbara and Jenna.¹⁷⁴ George W. enjoyed the fellowship and moments of reflection. He read the Bible occasionally seeing it as a type of self-improvement course.¹⁷⁵ Religion was more of a tradition rather than spiritual experience.¹⁷⁶ It was the prelude to several events that would transform his spiritual life and subsequently alter his fundamental perception of himself and the world during his presidency—a transformation that impacted his crisis decision-making.

¹⁷¹ Bush, *Decision Points*, 14.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

David Aikman describes how the slow and steady emergence of George W.'s faith requires an understanding of Midland. George W. came to love the place where most of his childhood memories were anchored. He wasn't born there, but he certainly was raised there. Upon returning to Midland following Harvard, he found it a place "where he came to spiritual maturity and began the long walk that led eventually to the White House."¹⁷⁷

During the mid 1980s the oil industry took a downturn and many in Midland were struggling. It was during that time that an "eccentric, even controversial evangelist showed up in April 1984."¹⁷⁸ Arthur Blessit made a name for himself by carrying a twelve-foot cross for over 36,067 miles around the world.¹⁷⁹ He held a seven-day evangelistic crusade in the Chaparral Center while local stations aired his sermons. George W. heard him on the radio and sought to meet with him. Bush met Blessit along with Jim Sale, a Midland oil landman at the Holidome restaurant of the local Holiday Inn on Tuesday, April 3. Bush said: "I want to talk to you about how to know Jesus Christ and how to follow him."¹⁸⁰ Blessit explained the biblical basis for salvation through faith in Christ, held hands with Bush and Sale, and prayed together. He led Bush in the "Sinner's Prayer" which is a "confession before God of the need for salvation through

¹⁷⁷ Aikman, *A Man of Faith*, 66.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

Jesus Christ and a request for forgiveness and acceptance of that salvation.”¹⁸¹ One year later, Bush met with another evangelist—the most famous preacher in the modern era.

The Reverend Billy Graham and his wife Ruth would visit the Bush family in Kennebunkport, Maine each year.¹⁸² Two churches would feature Graham, St. Ann’s Episcopal and the First Congregational Church. In the evenings, the Grahams would gather with the Bushs to dialogue on topics of spirituality.¹⁸³ In 1985, the focus was on belief in the person of Jesus Christ.¹⁸⁴ George W. was captivated.¹⁸⁵ He talked to Graham about Barbara and Jenna and how he thought reading the Bible could make a person better. Billy responded, “There’s nothing wrong with using the Bible as a guide to self-improvement,” he said. “Jesus’ life provides a powerful example for our own. But self-improvement is not really the point of the Bible. The center of Christianity is not the self. It is Christ.”¹⁸⁶ George W. described his encounter as Graham planting a mustard seed in his soul, “a seed that grew over the next year. He led me to the path, and I began walking.”¹⁸⁷ That weekend, Bush’s faith “took on new meaning.” He recommitted his

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Jean Edward Smith, *Bush* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016), 42.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Bush, *Decision Points*, 31.

¹⁸⁷ Bush, *A Charge to Keep*, 136.

heart to Jesus Christ.”¹⁸⁸ Interestingly, 19% of all religious references in *Decision Points* are found in chapter 1 where the encounter with Graham is described.

Table 9.
Religious References Per Chapter in *Decision Points*

Chapter 1: Quitting	100
Chapter 2: Running	20
Chapter 3: Personnel	14
Chapter 4: Stem Cells	35
Chapter 5: Day of Fire	41
Chapter 6: War Footing	6
Chapter 7: Afghanistan	43
Chapter 8: Iraq	30
Chapter 9: Leading	50
Chapter 10: Katrina	23
Chapter 11: Lazarus Effect	31
Chapter 12: Surge	75
Chapter 13: Freedom Agenda	47
Chapter 14: Financial Crisis	10
Epilogue	5
100 in 530 (19%) Religious references in chapter 1	

George W.’s personal faith combined with religious mentors and American religious nationalism were instrumental in his decision-making. Thus far, with the exception of Chaplain Coffin at Yale, the religious influences in Bush’s life, including Ganny, George H.W. Bush, Arthur Blessit, and Billy Graham have positively impacted him. They set the foundation for religious mentors who guided Bush as governor and president, including his crisis decision-making during 9/11 and its aftermath.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

Period 5: Religious Influences as Governor and During the Presidential Campaign

Numerous religious influences entered George W.'s life during his two terms as governor and during his first presidential campaign. Some of these relationships carried over to the White House including three ministers: Mark Craig, Kibyjon Caldwell, and James Robison. Close proximity is evident between spiritual guidance via clergy to major decisions in Bush's political career suggesting correlation of influence on his choices.

At the start of George W. Bush's second term as Governor of Texas murmurings were heard about the possibility of his running for president of the United States. The idea of the presidency enveloped him. "I thought about it, talked about it, analyzed it, and prayed about it," he says, but he needed clarity.¹⁸⁹ The Reverend Mark Craig, a family friend and pastor from Dallas, was invited to speak at First United Methodist Church, where Bush and his family attended. Craig spoke from the book of Exodus relating God's call to Moses, a call to action. Moses' initial response was doubt and excuses. "He hadn't lived a perfect life; he wasn't sure if people would follow him; he couldn't even speak that clearly," Bush recalls his sentiments.¹⁹⁰

Craig described how God assured Moses of divine power to actualize his calling. Then Craig challenged the congregation to apply the message to their lives by charging them to take action. Craig declared how "the country was starving for moral and ethical leadership."¹⁹¹ It was the opportune time to "do the right thing, and for the right

¹⁸⁹ Bush, *Decision Points*, 36.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 61

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

reason.”¹⁹² Bush says: “Mother leaned forward from her seat at the other end of the pew” and mouthed, “he is talking to you.”¹⁹³ A calm came over him. It was a turning point. Bush called the Reverend James Robison, an evangelist who provided prayer support and guidance to the governor¹⁹⁴ and also hosted *LIFE Today*, a Christian television talk show.¹⁹⁵ “I’ve heard the call,” Bush told him. “I believe God wants me to run for president.”¹⁹⁶ Clearness of his call led to a distinct mentor to whom Bush confided.

The Reverend Kirbyjon Caldwell is arguably the most instrumental religious influencer in the life of Bush as suggested both by what is known and perhaps significantly by what is purposefully not known. Bush notes that in the holding room backstage of the first presidential debate in Boston he called Caldwell and they prayed together—“Kirbyjon asked the Almighty to give me strength and wisdom.”¹⁹⁷ According to Bush, Caldwell’s voice provided him with so much “comfort and calm” he made the telephone prayer with Caldwell a tradition throughout the campaign and presidency.¹⁹⁸ Bush and Caldwell grew closer throughout the presidency as is seen in their frequent and timely interaction during the trauma of 9/11.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 62.

¹⁹⁴ Aikman, *A Man of Faith*, 113.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, *Bush*, 98.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Bush, *Decision Points*, 75.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

Period 6: Religious Influences as President Pre-9/11 and 9/11

On the eve of 9/11, during the nine months following Bush's presidential inauguration, the decision of stem cells occupied much of his attention. That period reveals a standard of the decision-making process Bush employs and the way religious influences impact those choices. His method begins with guiding principles. These principles are derived by "listening to experts on all sides of the debate, reaching a tentative conclusion, and running it past knowledgeable people. After finalizing a decision," he says, "I would explain it to the American people," and finally, "set up a process to ensure that my policy was implemented."¹⁹⁹ A moral dilemma challenged the president. The only way to extract embryonic stem cells is to destroy the embryo.²⁰⁰ "Could the destruction of one human life be justified by the hopes of saving others?" he asked.²⁰¹

Jay Lefkowitz, John Paul II, and Father Ed "Monk" Malloy were religious influences on the president's decision. Jay Lefkowitz, committed to his Jewish faith, was a lawyer from New York and the general counsel of the Office of Management and Budget. He provided Bush with background material on the dilemma from all sides of the debate.²⁰² In July of 2001, President Bush and Laura visited Pope John Paul II who "understood the promise of science—the Holy Father himself was stricken with Parkinson's. Yet he was firm in his view that human life must be protected in all its

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 110-111.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 110.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid., 111.

forms.”²⁰³ The president also sought advice from Father Ed “Monk” Malloy of Notre Dame.²⁰⁴

The method of guiding principles provides insight into Bush’s decision-making. Does religion play a role in the formation of his guiding principles? First, his faith and conscience led him to conclude that human life is sacred.²⁰⁵ Second, God created man in His image and therefore every person has value in His eyes.²⁰⁶ Third, it seemed to Bush that an unborn child, still depending on its mother, “is a separate and independent being worthy of protection in its own right.”²⁰⁷ In this moral dilemma, Bush sought religious guidance. If religion does play a role in the formation of his guiding principles, the causal vector of religious influence via presidential rhetoric may be supported if this same rationale is applied to foreign policy decision-making during the crisis of 9/11.

On the morning of 9/11, before or during the attacks, George W. does not specify spending time with a religious mentor. He does, however, begin the morning reading the Bible as part of his daily routine.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Ibid., 116.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 113.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 112.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 126.

Period 7: Religious Influences Post-9/11 and Pre-Declaration of War

On September 14, following the “Day of Fire” and immediate aftermath, President Bush held a National Day of Prayer and Remembrance at the National Cathedral. He summoned religious leaders of many faiths: Imam Muzammil Siddiqui of the Islamic Society of North America, Rabbi Joshua Haberman, Billy Graham, Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, and Kirbyjon Caldwell.²⁰⁹ Bush saw this moment as an opportunity to comfort Americans “through the mourning process”²¹⁰ seen “from a spiritual perspective, that it is important for the nation to pray.”²¹¹ When the service concluded, he flew north to New York City, to Ground Zero. George W. invited one religious leader to fly with him—Kirbyjon Caldwell. Bush recollects, “I had seen the footage of New York on television, and I knew the devastation was overwhelming. It was comforting to have a friend and a man of faith by my side.”²¹²

On the relationship between President Bush and the Reverend Caldwell, David Aikman makes a compelling observation:

Caldwell has stayed overnight in the White House several times since January 2001, and his relationship with George W. appears to many White House insiders to be perhaps the closest spiritual friendship the president has maintained since taking office. Interestingly, Caldwell was the only close spiritual friend who would not speak to me privately about George W.’s faith while I was writing this book and the only prominent figure whom the president specifically omitted from a list of close friends or relatives who were encouraged to agree to be interviewed for this book. When I speculated to one senior White House official that it was

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 146.

²¹⁰ Woodward, *Bush at War*, 67.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Bush, *Decision Points*, 147.

because Caldwell was George W.'s closest prayer friend since he became president, he nodded in agreement.²¹³

Prima facie, it may seem as though President Bush has a trusted confidant in Caldwell as well as other religious leaders whom he invited to the White House and called upon for prayer. At the same time, Bush puts a premium on loyalty. It is impossible to tell comprehensively what goes on in their private discussions as much as it is challenging to accurately describe how religion influences presidential crisis decision-making. There does exist, however, evidence that religion does influence decision-making, as in the case of President Bush and the crisis of 9/11. In the next phase of this qualitative investigation, I propose a hypothesis for a causal link between religion and crisis presidential decision-making by implementing a modification of Albert Bandura's social cognitive theory, integrating it with Herbert Simon's theory of bounded rationality.

Phase 3: Causal Link Hypothesis of Religion to Crisis Presidential Decision-making

I propose a hypothesis that traces a causal inference between religion and crisis presidential decision-making. The Causal Link Hypothesis imagines what could possibly take place within the mysterious "black box"²¹⁴ of causal links between religion and

²¹³ Aikman, *A Man of Faith*, 118.

²¹⁴ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs and Leadership*, 25. "Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin argued many years ago that those of us interested in understanding foreign policy decisions needed to get inside the 'black box' of the decision-making process. Doing so, they pointed out, required a focus on the agents involved in the process. This agent-centered approach differed significantly from the broader, structural approaches that had marked the study of global politics prior to their revolutionary work." Reference is made to: Richard C. Snyder, Howard W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, *Foreign Policy Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962). One aspect in the agent centered approach of Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin that relates to this investigation is attention to the nature of motivational analysis where "motivated behavior has an inner-outer nature: there is a condition internal to the behaving organism (the individual human being) and 'something' in the external situation which is wanted, and the two are linked" (139). The motivations of an actor or official decision-maker may be derived by asking diagnostic questions that elicit "a psychological state of the actor in which energy is

President Bush's declaration of war on terror based on an extension of Albert Bandura's triadic reciprocity in reciprocal determinism of social cognitive theory.²¹⁵

Albert Bandura's Theory of Triadic Reciprocity (Expanded)

Reciprocal determinism involves the triad of behavior, cognitive and other personal factors, and environmental influences that "all operate interactively as determinants of each other."²¹⁶ The "mutual action between causal factors," according to Bandura, describes the concept of reciprocity (See Diagram 2).²¹⁷ Determinism therefore signifies the "production of effects by certain factors, rather than in the doctrinal sense of actions being completely determined" by sequential causes operating "independently of the individual."²¹⁸

The interaction of factors between the triad "within a unified causal structure"²¹⁹ provides space for interactions within factors that make up each part of the triad. A possibility of blended, interactional conditions that enact varying effects is inclusive in

mobilized and selectively directed toward aspects of the setting." Processes are therefore enacted that lead to "the initiation, maintenance, and direction of activity" (140). Further, it is asserted that motives are learned: first, "learning associated with membership in a culture and in a larger social system called society;" and second, "learning associated with membership in a governmental institution" (140).

²¹⁵ Albert Bandura, *Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986), 24-25.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

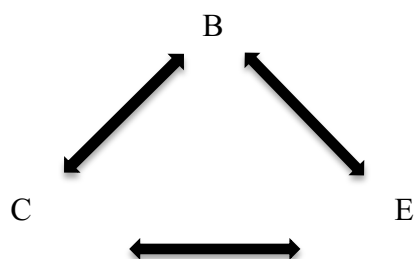
²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ Albert Bandura, *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Self-Control* (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1997), 6-7.

the concept of multiple interacting influences.²²⁰ Space exists, therefore, in the framework of the triadic reciprocal causation theory to include subsystems. That is, a subsystem within a factor may also be triadic—a triadic reciprocity within a factor of a superordinate triadic reciprocity. What characterizes reciprocity in terms of time, influence, and direction?

Diagram 2.
Bandura's Schematization of Triadic Reciprocal Causation



B = Behavior
C = Cognitive and other personal factors*
E = Environmental events

Source: Bandura, 1986.

*Bandura uses the letter P to describe “Cognitive and other personal factors.” I replace P with C to represent “cognitive” and will use P for “personal faith” in the religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity in developing the Causal Linkage Hypothesis schematization.

“Reciprocity,” Bandura specifies, “does not mean simultaneity of influence.”²²¹

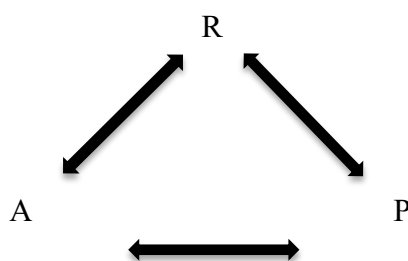
Bidirectional influences interact negatively and positively over time—as time is

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid., 25.

necessary “for a causal factor to exert influence.”²²² This investigation provides evidence of a religious triadic subsystem (R, A, P) that operates within the cognitive and personal factor (C) point of the superordinate triad (B, C, E) (See Diagram 3).

Diagram 3.
Determinants in a Religious Subsystem of Triadic Reciprocal Causation



R = Religious mentors
A = American religious nationalism
P = Personal faith

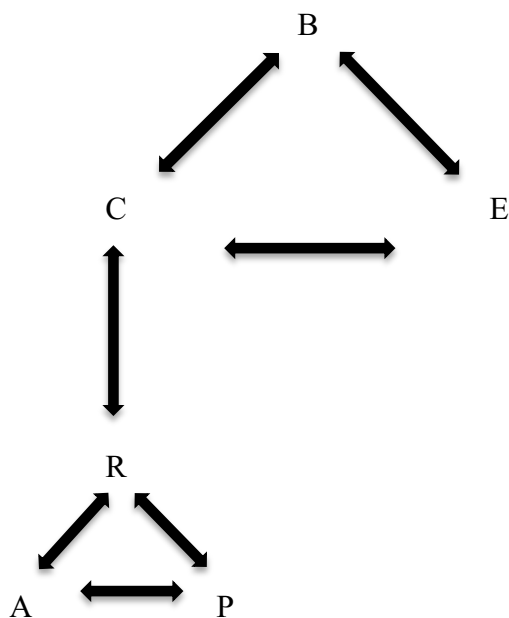
Subsystem of Religious Triadic Reciprocity

Religious subsystem triadic reciprocity, comprised of religious mentors (R), American religious nationalism (A), and personal faith (P) interact in the human functioning within the “cognitive and personal” factor (C) (See Diagram 4). In turn, there is a reciprocal interaction between behavior (B), cognitive and personal (C) factors, and environmental events (E) in the superordinate triad. In this model, the religious subsystem fits as an integral component within the framework of social cognitive theory. This schematization

²²² Ibid.

creates a theoretical construct to propose the Causal Link Hypothesis between Religion and Crisis Presidential Decision-making.

Diagram 4.
Religious Triadic Subsystem in the Cognitive Factor



Causal Link Hypothesis

Hypothesis 5: The president is more likely to initiate a strategic declaration of war²²³

following an attack on American soil when the subsystem of religious triadic

²²³ A. Cooper Drury, "Economic Sanctions and Operational Code Analysis: Beliefs and the Use of Economic Coercion," in *Beliefs and Leadership in World Politics: Methods and Applications of Operational Code Analysis*, ed. Mark Schafer, et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 191. The Religious Linkage to Presidential Decision-Making hypothesis was partially adapted from the wording of Drury's hypothesis that says, "Specifically, the president is more likely to initiate an economic sanction against a target when the dyadic tension between the United States and that target increases (Hypothesis 1a). Similarly, presidents will be more likely to increase sanctions against a target when the tension level is high (Hypothesis 1b)."

reciprocity (R, A, P) within the singular factor (C) of the superordinate triadic reciprocity system exerts influence causing a motivational bias in the tactical beliefs of the president when a trauma of attack (E) triggers a cognitive shortcut enacted (B) through impulses of the amygdala.

Heuristics are engaged through life experiences in the interplay of religion and crisis within the development of the president, providing sub-optimum rules of thumb that are satisfactorily accepted by the president. Herbert Simon's theory of bounded rationality is supported by the act of *satisficing* in crisis presidential decision-making through the formation of motivational biases and cognitive shortcuts when a religious worldview legitimizes war as a response toward an "evil" adversary, propagating the spread of "good" through democratic idealism. In this concept, a theme is indicative.

A dominant theme that emerges from the religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity (R, A, P) becomes an integral part of the cognitive and personal factor in the superordinate triadic reciprocal model (B, C, E) plausibly causing a president to declare war upon the crisis of attack on American soil? In the case of President Bush, the bi-directional interactive factors of religious mentors, American religious nationalism, and personal faith produced the determinant characteristic of protection. How does this interaction take place? In the next section, I provide an answer detailing an interactive process. In addition to my concluding thoughts I suggest further ideas that may lead toward additional research considerations.

IV

Discussion and Conclusion

In this section, I 1) conclude that the idea of protection is implied interactively through the religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity that includes religious mentors, American religious nationalism, and personal faith. Protection, thus, in the case of George W. Bush and 9/11 emerges as the causal link that forms the ideological nexus between religion and crisis presidential decision-making; 2) describe how the characteristic of protection affects self-efficacy as part of the superordinate triadic reciprocity in Albert Bandura's cognitive and personal factor (C) plausibly interacts with the other two factors, specifically, the environmental event of an attack (E), as in the trauma of 9/11, and how it triggers a response in the amygdala bi-directionally eliciting a behavioral act (B) of protection—in the form of a declaration of war; 3) provide examples for how the theory of triadic reciprocity is exemplified in President George W. Bush; 4) explain how triadic reciprocity may be applied broadly in determining religious causation using the Causal Link Hypothesis between Religion and Crisis Presidential Decision-making in studies of past, current, and future presidents or heads of state—and by doing so, discovering potential causal links that provide predictive clues on the decision-making of elites and, 5) suggest areas where further investigation on religion and presidential decision-making may be expanded by utilizing this framework.

Protection: The Nexus between Religion and Presidential Decision-making

Protection is implied interactively through the religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity between religious mentors, American religious nationalism, and personal faith—suggesting evidence of religious causation. That is, applying Bandura’s reciprocal determinism, religious mentors shape the way George W. Bush views the world in light of an attack. American religious nationalism also provides a lens by which he sees an assault. Likewise, his personal faith interacts with the idea of protection against violence.

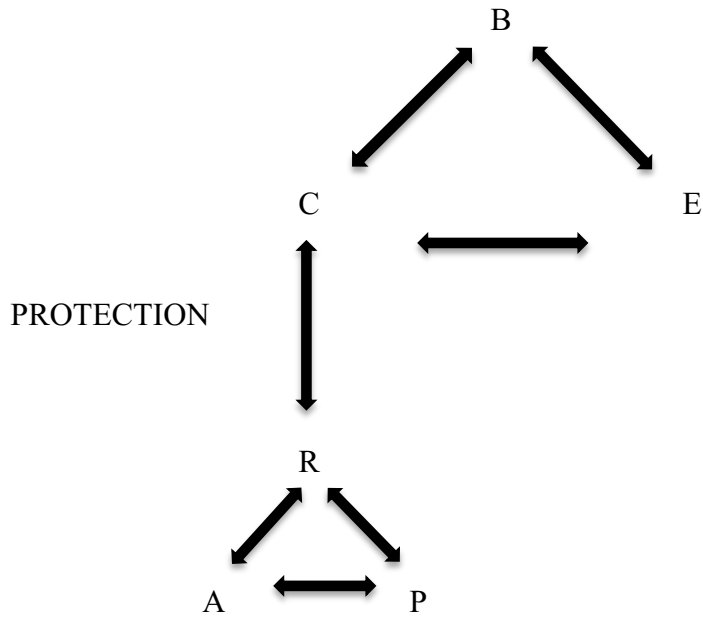
Interactively, the ideas influence each of the factors from the triad and the experiences associated with each factor of the triad reciprocally influence each other. None of these are required by Bandura to take place in a set period of time.²²⁴ The interaction takes place collectively while aspects of each factor develop through the social learning process in varying levels of concentration. For example, all three factors in the triad may interact to provide a rationale for the instinct to protect Americans following an attack. Reasoning from personal faith, protecting American identity, along with moral and ethical justification through mentors may interact simultaneously in the decision-making process by Bush.

Thus, protection in the case of George W. Bush and 9/11 becomes the causal link that forms the ideological nexus between religion and crisis presidential decision-making based on the dominating theme in the analysis of Bush’s autobiography *Decision Points*. In the realm of protection, an anchor concept of social cognitive theory that explains the enablement of protection emerges—self-efficacy. In *Self-Efficacy*, Bandura designates efficacious people as “quick to take advantage of opportunity structures and figure out

²²⁴ Bandura, *Social Foundations*, 25.

ways to circumvent institutional constraints or change them by collective action.”²²⁵ How may this operate? The nucleus of interactivity aids in understanding the plausible religious explanation that runs the engine of Bush’s protection in the superordinate triad of cognitive and personal factors, behavior, and environmental events; take into account the religious triadic subsystem’s insertion of protection in Diagram 5.

Diagram 5.
“Protection” between Religious Subsystem and Cognitive Factor



Social cognitive theory, interested in conditions that determine general and specific conduct “rather than championing only variability in behavior”²²⁶ provides room

²²⁵ Bandura, *Self-Efficacy*, 6.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

to imagine plausible interactivity in a triadic substructure. By asking how religion influences the crisis decision-making of George W. Bush in his declaration of war, we attend to religious conditions that suggest causation. Interactivity within a person forms bi-directional factors that influence one's "motivation and behavior within a system of reciprocal causation," according to Bandura, that involve personal determinants.²²⁷ Individually, religious mentors may or may not point to protection as a dominant theme. In the same way, American religious nationalism and personal faith, singularly, may or may not point to protection. Interactively, however, the theme of protection does emerge in the aggregate. Hence, I take each factor – religious mentors, American religious nationalism, and personal faith – and propose how it relates to protection. Then I observe how bi-directionally they suggest why protection is the dominant theme in the triad. I now consider religious mentors and protection.

Religious Mentors and Protection

Throughout his life, Bush, a natural leader, possessed a protective bent. Partly, protection is included in his personality, possibly a trait as the oldest child. He was also well cared for throughout his life, inheriting an invisible safety net of economic support and social privilege he knew intrinsically, adding to his self-assurance. Yet, he grew up with the twist that he needed to make it on his own first, financially, to fit into the family template. Further, within the Bush clan the emphasis to use such known advantages for public service was also strongly instilled. Privilege carved a path to access.

²²⁷ Ibid.

Prominent religious leaders were in reach and religious role models personified the messages they delivered. That is why Bush respected the likes of Graham, Caldwell, and Craig with a willingness to internalize what they said and, in certain instances, operationalize the actions rooted in the religious ideas they conveyed. On the effects of mentoring, Bandura states: “Some complex skills can be mastered only through the aid of modeling.”²²⁸ This applies to our case. Religious mentors instill a protective instinct.

Religious mentoring from the Christian perspective always has the underlying theme of shepherding. That is, as Christ (called the Good Shepherd) looks after the care and protection of his sheep in a self-sacrificial manner,²²⁹ so a mentor watches over his or her mentee—in this way personifying the character and actions of Christ. Implicitly, protection of the weak, the innocent, the destitute, and the broken are consistent themes of Christian teaching.²³⁰ For instance, Bush described his thoughts about 9/11 saying “I was looking at a modern-day Pearl Harbor. Just as Franklin Roosevelt had rallied the nation to defend freedom, it would be my responsibility to lead a new generation to protect America.”²³¹ Bush, possessing a rescuer mentality²³² continued by anticipating conflict for those who may be vulnerable. “My second concern was about backlash against Arab and Muslim Americans.” He acknowledged, “I had heard reports of verbal harassment against people who appeared to be Middle Eastern...I made plans to convey

²²⁸ Ibid., 20.

²²⁹ John 10:11.

²³⁰ Psalm 82:3-4; Proverbs 24:11-12; John 10:15.

²³¹ Bush, *Decision Points*, 137.

²³² Paul Kengor, *God and George W. Bush: A Spiritual Life* (New York: Regan Books, 2004), 50.

that message [that the government's responsibility was to guard against discrimination] by visiting a mosque."²³³ But the theme of protection emerging from religion alone does not unidirectionally move Bush to declare war. There are other factors in the matrix of reciprocity. One factor is American religious nationalism.

American Religious Nationalism and Protection

"The sacred status of the nation" as stated by Sam Haselby in *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism*, may be one way in general to describe American religious nationalism.²³⁴ Or, as Haselby quotes Alexis de Tocqueville, he found the "tight weave of patriotism and Protestantism in the cloth of American political culture remarkable."²³⁵

Blending the sacred with the formation of political structures was a necessity in the early stages of forging a national character and identity. Geographically, the connection with Bush is remarkable. The fact that George W. Bush was born in Connecticut into a legacy at Yale and his Methodist connections in Midland, Texas opens a window to view how American religious nationalism affected his voracious yearning to protect America and Americans. This is evident by the interplay of religious mentors and his personal faith from the context of the religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity. The construction of Bush's identity is deeply intertwined by both Yale and Methodism. A historic backdrop

²³³ Ibid., 141-142. Bush was mindful of the "ugly aspects of America's history during war. In World War I, German Americans were shunned, and in some extreme cases jailed. In World War II, President Roosevelt supported placing huge numbers of Japanese Americans in internment camps." In that meeting with Bush in the Cabinet Room was Norman Mineta, U.S. Secretary of Transportation, a Japanese American who had been interned during World War II as a ten-year old boy.

²³⁴ Sam Haselby, *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 245.

²³⁵ Ibid., 246.

suggests why he made this statement upon the attack of 9/11: “My first reaction was outrage,” Bush states, that “someone had dared attack America.”²³⁶

Bush’s reaction strikes a chord intoning a sacrilegious act. The offensive attack is appalling not because it is violating and disrespectful, the audacity is irreverent and profane. Where does this sense of consecrated exceptionalism originate? Tacitly, “Other countries may be attacked, but not us. Who would ever dare to attack the world’s hallowed bastion of freedom, the United States of America?”

America’s religious national identity, embedded by John Winthrop’s “City on a Hill”²³⁷ nearly 150 years earlier, began to coalesce in Connecticut, specifically on the campus of Yale College in the latter part of the 18th century. The revolutionary spirit took shape in the writings of the Connecticut Wits led by Timothy Dwight and John Trumbull. Both were students and later tutors at Yale graduating as teenagers in 1769 and 1767, respectively. They are credited with starting America’s first nationalist movement.²³⁸ Edmund Burke described them as the “first champions of an independent United States” who used their literary skills to write “some of the most popular literature of the

²³⁶ Bush, *Decision Points*, 127.

²³⁷ Larry Witham, *A City upon a Hill: How Sermons Changed the Course of American History* (New York: HarperOne, 2007), 19. Upon departure from Southampton, England in April 1630, the *Arbella* was the first of ten ships heading to Massachusetts. On the *Arbella* was the Puritan lawyer John Winthrop. He was the spiritual and political leader for the community of 1,000 Puritans hoping to set an example for Puritans who remained in England. Mindful of their responsibility, he encouraged them with these words: “For wee must Consider that wee shall be as a Citty upon a Hill, the eies of all people are upon us; soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our god In this worke wee have undertaken and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world, wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evill of the ways of god and all professours for Gods sake.”

²³⁸ Haselby, 53.

Revolution.”²³⁹ They gave a convergent voice to the divergent spirit of the times by forming cohesion in America’s identity.

Timothy Dwight, the grandson of theologian Jonathan Edwards, became the “preacher-president”²⁴⁰ of Yale in 1795 and utilized his platform to lead the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to enlarge the “empire”²⁴¹ of America through global missionary expansion.²⁴² The underlying premise: to show how “the national empire became the community through which one sought salvation. They had reinterpreted Christianity to sanctify nationalism.”²⁴³ In this, the articulation of the nation’s global reach is presented and the establishment of a corporative missionary apparatus based on religious ideologies is utilized—an infrastructure upon which future foreign policy initiatives would be derived. American expansionism was born. Synthesize the good works of humanitarian reach with the undercurrent of political leverage and a systematic utilitarian mechanism for both nation and empire building is constructed.

Was Bush cognizant of this on the morning of 9/11? Did he realize that a president’s finest opportunity for service and legacy arguably came during crisis –

²³⁹ Ibid., 54.

²⁴⁰ Witham, *A City Upon a Hill*, 87.

²⁴¹ Haselby, 55. “‘Empire’, however, could also mean simply a sovereign polity. This is the sense of the word George Washington used in 1783, when he called the United States of America a ‘rising empire.’ It is the same sense of the word James Madison invoked in the Fourteenth Federalist (1787), when he wrote of the United States as ‘one great, respectable, and flourishing empire.’ In this sense, the United States was an empire before it was a nation.”

²⁴² Ibid., 58. “By 1840, the ABCFM would support missionary endeavors in India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), China, Burma, Singapore, Siam (Thailand), the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), Athens, Beirut, Persia, Cyprus, Syria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and among the Zulus in Southern Africa. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions would become, probably, the greatest transnational enterprise of the nineteenth-century America.”

²⁴³ Ibid., 68.

namely, war? Yes and no. It probably was not on his mind when he received the shocking news while reading to a second grade class at Emma E. Booker Elementary School in Florida. His visceral reaction may be traced to his implicit awareness of America's identity—that Americans were under attack, and that he was the president in command of the nation God had anointed—necessitating protection. That is the reason why upon climbing the steps to the lectern at the National Cathedral to address the nation in mourning he prayed, “Lord, let your light shine through me.”²⁴⁴ His intent was to “mourn the loss of life, remind people there was a loving God, and make clear that those who attacked our nation would face justice.”²⁴⁵ In other words, he later states, “our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.”²⁴⁶ Here, his personal faith and American religious nationalism interplay. There's more to the story of religious nationalism and Bush that add to understanding his protective instinct as cause for declaration of war.

Bush's connection to the Methodism in Midland also provides a clue into America's religious nationalism and how he would view himself and his role as president during the crisis of 9/11. Methodism also has roots in the origins of America's religious nationalism. David Hempton, in *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century* describes Methodism as “an unsettling movement led by unsettled people.”²⁴⁷ The champion of

²⁴⁴ Bush, *Decision Points*, 146.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ David Hempton, *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 157. Hempton states that, “Even Methodism, which originated in England, achieved its most striking growth rates in the United States” (137). “By the end of the eighteenth century there were around 100,000 members of Methodist societies in Great Britain, around 20,000 in Ireland and about 65,000 in the United States. Half a century later there were over half a million Methodist members in Britain and well over a

Methodism in America was Francis Asbury, an Englishman ordained by John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, before arriving in 1771.²⁴⁸ Asbury reached into the far regions of the frontier. According to Mark A. Noll in *America's God*, for 30 years Asbury traveled through every state of the Union on an annual basis.²⁴⁹ He embodied the spirit of nation building, namely, the spirit of perseverance amidst austere conditions of the frontier—a place in which he thrived—all the while disinterested in politics.²⁵⁰ His work included extensive training and replication of ministers. Itinerant preachers also known as circuit riders would travel vast miles to minister to people in their homes. Both the circuit riders and those they served were hard-pressed.²⁵¹

American religious nationalism emerges, in part, through Methodism's resolve that says "nothing will stop us from fulfilling our call. The greater the odds, the more resolute we become." Haselby includes a 19th-century saying, popular during thunderstorms: "There's nobody out tonight but crows and Methodist preachers."²⁵² In the rhetoric of Bush post 9/11 we hear the same resolute tone when "The President Discusses the War on Terrorism on November 8, 2001"²⁵³ saying:

million in the United States. By then Methodism was the largest non-Anglican religious tradition in Britain and the largest religious denomination in the United States" (155).

²⁴⁸ Haselby, 137.

²⁴⁹ Mark A. Noll, *America's God* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 330.

²⁵⁰ Haselby, 129.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 129.

²⁵³ "President Discusses War on Terrorism," last modified November 8, 2001, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011108-13.html>.

It has been different lately. I know the people in New York are scared because of the World Trade Center and all, but if we're scared, we are giving the terrorists all the power. In the face of this great tragedy, Americans are refusing to give terrorists the power. Our people have responded with courage and compassion, calm and reason, resolve and fierce determination. We have refused to live in a state of panic, or a state of denial. There is a difference between being alert and being intimidated, and this great nation will never be intimidated.

Courage and perseverance in America hearkens to the Methodist resolve to survive – more than survive, thrive amidst hardship even devastation. Bush continues: “We wage war to save civilization, itself. We did not seek it, but we must fight it, and we will prevail.”²⁵⁴ This same grit came hand in hand with relatability and compassion for both Methodists and Bush in American religious nationalism.

Asbury and his circuit riders were adept at connecting with people on a level that makes a group feel you identify with them while maintaining a distinction of self that provides a respectful detachment, even awe—an eccentric characteristic they accentuated. Some of the itinerants, possessing divinely acquired rhetorical skills mesmerized enormous audiences by both afflicting them with conviction of sin and consoling them with the message of love and hope to be found in Jesus Christ.²⁵⁵ This quality is likened to the charisma many effective politicians own, including Bush. Identification says, “I know you, I am you, I’ve got your back”—eliciting trust. Bush built a rapport with the nation reeling from attack in the “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People”²⁵⁶ on September 20, 2001:

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Haselby, 133.

²⁵⁶ “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People,” last modified September 20, 2001, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came, where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever. And I will carry this. It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end.

The dichotomy of nationalist expansion from the East Coast elite's missionary endeavor and the westward evangelistic migration of Methodism's rugged determination formed a national identity replete with religion, specifically with Protestantism at the center. Gentry sophistication and down home "rough and ready" living may characterize the distinctions of New England and Texas, respectively—the two places that had the greatest influence on Bush's life. His identification with two portions of America and the blend of political and religious ideology are deeply ingrained in his person. When one's identity is at stake, an instinct of protection activates. When that identification involves others and more so a nation, the drive for protection may be immeasurable.

Thus far, we have observed two factors of the religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity in relation to protection, namely religious mentors and American religious nationalism. Now we turn to the third factor, personal faith, in order to be sufficiently equipped to appreciate the bi-directional interaction between the triadic factors and perceive why protection emerged as the dominant theme for Bush during 9/11. Further, an explanation of how protection influences the cognitive and personal factor in the superordinate triadic reciprocity is possible, offering a reasonable link as to how the concept of protection, derived from religion, conceivably led Bush to declare war.

Personal Faith and Protection

To say that personal faith is just that – personal – may not tell us much. At the same time it reveals a great deal. Nothing can be more intimate than a person’s faith. Faith is the essence of what motivates an individual and constructs within her or him what is to be believed and why it is to be believed. As a result, faith provides the filter of the mind and heart that translates perceptions into understanding and guides the inner self on processing knowledge toward an application that is consistent with such belief.

Religiously, a person’s faith might be placed variably, in a higher power, a powerful leader, a sacred set of scriptures or a combination. In some instances, a person’s faith may be in no religion at all, thus forming a type of religious practice of no religion. In the case of George W. Bush, his faith is clearly placed in God—God as revealed in the Judeo-Christian tradition, namely, the triune God as revealed in the Bible—distinctly, in evangelicalism. Where in his personal faith would the theme of protection be found? The answer fills the final opening of our inquiry into the religious subsystem’s triad—personal faith in connection with the theme of protection. We attend to Bush’s transformation through evangelicalism. I provide a summary of Bush’s evangelical conversion, a focus on two segments in David W. Bebbington’s quadrilateral of evangelicalism that points us to a credible reason for Bush’s protection, and personal faith statements that tell how his faith moved him following the 9/11 attacks.

Bush credits the turning point of his personal faith to an encounter with the leading figure of evangelicalism, the Reverend Billy Graham. He says:

I was humbled to learn that God sent His Son to die for a sinner like me. I was comforted to know that through the Son, I could find God’s amazing grace, a

grace that crosses every border, every barrier and is open to everyone. Through the love of Christ's life, I could understand the life-changing power of faith.²⁵⁷

How is a transformational faith experience seen through the lens of evangelicalism to be understood? Bebbington, in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, provides a quadrilateral describing the distinctions of evangelicalism. They are, “*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in the effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of evangelicalism.”²⁵⁸ Two of the four distinctions propose the emergence of protection from personal faith for George W. Bush: activism and crucicentrism. Activism addresses protection from the perspective of animated expression. Crucicentrism speaks of protection from the viewpoint of experiential understanding.

Bebbington elaborates activism as aggressively spreading the gospel, including all the work required to make the message of the gospel accessible to people. Preaching, teaching, pastoring, counseling—all the work associated with ministerial duties. Furthermore, philanthropic works, societies, orphanages, and humanitarian aide are also a part of activism.²⁵⁹ Bush's “Compassionate Conservatism” would fit under the banner of activism for an evangelical.

One may struggle to criticize the application of helping someone in need. It does not take becoming an evangelical to perform good deeds. But, combine activism with

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 3.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 12.

crucicentrism and the combination might lead to a type of unnerving abandon that empowers someone internally to take bold actions that both mystify and potentially infuriate observers in the name of Christianity. Bebbington explains crucicentrism as “the standard view of Evangelicals...that Christ died as a substitute for sinful mankind. Human beings...were so rebellious against God that a just penalty would have been death.”²⁶⁰ Christ’s death on the cross takes the place of a repentant sinner who, by faith, personally receives God’s forgiveness. Christ’s atonement is thus appropriated to the believer who is then given access to a personal relationship with God. “The implications of the cross for life” provides a “bond between the atonement and the quest for sanctification,”²⁶¹ pursuing a process of Christ-like living. What happens to someone upon digesting this theology, experientially?

When a person is convinced he is condemned as a sinner and lacks the resources within himself to rescue himself, hopelessness sets in that leads to desperation, even fatalism. Upon realizing God has provided a path to forgiveness, through his Son Jesus, a divine swivel turns despair into hope. For the evangelical “the motive for spiritual growth was gratitude for Calvary [the place where Christ died on the cross].”²⁶² Bush reflects this thankfulness by freely expressing his beliefs in a political environment that disdains explicit religious expression as disregard for civility in the public square. Through his business endeavors in oil, as part owner of the Texas Rangers, and as Governor of Texas,

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 15.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 16.

²⁶² Ibid.

Bush's faith impacted his life much more than in the four walls of church, affecting even his political decisions. Bush states the impact faith has on his life:

I build my life on a foundation that will not shift. My faith frees me. Frees me to put the problem of the moment in proper perspective. Frees me to make decisions that others might not like. Frees me to try to do the right thing, even though it may not poll well.²⁶³

From where does the freedom George W. describes emanate? An evangelical says it comes from experiencing a personal relationship with God and the priorities formed due to the primacy of that relationship. Honoring God, according to a perceived direction as given by divine guidance, is believed to provide lucidity amidst complex variables of political favor or disapproval. Self-assurance is buttressed relationally. As in any healthy relationship, consistent communication is necessary. In evangelical Christianity, communication with God is exercised through reading and study of the Bible and prayer. A man of habit, Bush began each day with prayer and Bible reading.²⁶⁴

There is another aspect of Christianity that evangelicals emphasize, the third person of the triune God, the person of the Holy Spirit, who indwells believers. That is, upon trusting in Christ as Savior, the Holy Spirit indwells the Christ-follower to guide that person.²⁶⁵ Immaterial and esoteric, when a prompting is made known, confirmed by a

²⁶³ Bush, *A Charge to Keep*, 6.

²⁶⁴ Paul Kengor, *God and George W. Bush: A Spiritual Life* (New York: Regan Books, 2004), 161.

²⁶⁵ John 14:16-17. "And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another advocate to help you and be with you forever—the Spirit of truth..." 1 Corinthians 3:16, "Don't you know that you yourselves are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in your midst?" 1 Corinthians 6:19, "Do you not know that your bodies are temples of the Holy Spirit, who is in you, whom you have received from God? You are not your own..." 2 Timothy 1:14, "Guard the good deposit that was entrusted to you—guard it with the help of the Holy Spirit who lives in us."

non-contradictory Scripture, often affirmed by a religious mentor—a believer, in an act of obedience to God, is compelled to take action.

In the case of Bush, obeying these promptings was so personal he risked being misunderstood to honor the relationship with Christ he believed to be most valuable. At the core, his decisions were not solely a political matter, but spiritual, according to his beliefs. Through prayer, amidst the fog of the 9/11, Bush described his personal faith and his decision for protection:

I stepped into the presidential cabin and asked to be alone. I thought about the fear that must have seized the passengers on those planes and the grief that would grip the families of the dead. So many people had lost their loved ones with no warning. I prayed that God would comfort the suffering and guide the country through this trial. I thought of the lyrics from one of my favorite hymns, “God of Grace and God of Glory”; “Grant us wisdom, grant us courage, for the facing of this hour.” While my emotions might have been similar to those of most Americans, my duties were not. There would be time later to mourn. There would be an opportunity to seek justice. But first I had to manage the crisis. We had suffered the most devastating surprise attack since Pearl Harbor. An enemy had struck our capital for the first time since the War of 1812. In a single morning, the purpose of my presidency had grown clear: to protect our people and defend our freedom that had come under attack.²⁶⁶

If protection is the emergent theme of George W. Bush’s autobiography, how is it derived conclusively from triadic reciprocity? The answer relates with the concept of self-efficacy in Bandura’s social cognitive theory’s superordinate triadic reciprocity. But first we must see the religious triadic subsystem of religious mentors, American religious nationalism, and personal faith converging on a decision point as exemplified by Bush. Is there an example that demonstrates the animation of the Religious Linkage Hypothesis?

²⁶⁶ Bush, *Decision Points*, 129.

Case Studies of Bush's Subsystem of Religious Triadic Reciprocity

In presenting Bush's religious triadic subsystem three examples demonstrate how the bi-directional interaction leads to A) a decision on strategic declaration of war, B) a decision to continue fighting the war on terror for the sake of freedom, and C) a decision to run for the office of American president. The first example fits within the timeframe of our case study, the 9/11 attacks and the war in Afghanistan. The second example came five years later in 2006. The third example precedes Bush's presidency. My purpose for including the second and third examples is to demonstrate the interplay of the religious triadic subsystem as an emergent pattern of Bush's decision-making model.

The clearest example of religious triadic reciprocity in Bush's declaration of war is in a religious causal vector. A religious causal vector points to religion influencing the decision-making of President Bush – in the direction of protection, strategically, in the first case; in the direction of protection, continuously, in the second case; and, hinting at the need for protection in the third, retrospective case. Observe the convergence of a religious mentor, American religious nationalism, and personal faith interwoven in Bush's process of decision. Each factor of the triad is identified in parentheses.

Case Study 1 of Bush's Religious Triadic Subsystem

On Sunday, September 16, five days after 9/11 President Bush and Laura attended the services at Evergreen Chapel (personal faith) in Camp David, joined by members of the Navy and Marine Corps and the national security team.²⁶⁷ Navy Chaplain Bob Williams (religious mentor) addressed questions that people were asking such as: "Why? How

²⁶⁷ Bush, *Decision Points*, 190.

could this happen, God?”²⁶⁸ According to Bush, “Bob said the answer was beyond our power to know. ‘Life is sometimes a maze of contradictions and incongruities,’ [Bob] acknowledged. ‘Yet we could take comfort in knowing that God’s plan would prevail (American religious nationalism – implying, “God’s plan [for America] would prevail”).’ He quoted a passage from St. Ignatius of Loyola: ‘Pray as if it all depends on God, for it does. But work as if it all depends upon us, for it does (personal faith).’”²⁶⁹ Bush describes the galvanizing effect this message had on his decision-making. He and Laura boarded Marine One following the service to fly back to Washington. “By that afternoon,” he says, “I had reached one of the defining decision points in my presidency: We would fight the war on terror on the offense, and the first battle front would be Afghanistan.”²⁷⁰ Religion influences his decision to fight the war, strategically on the offensive.

Clearly, from this sermon the president received affirmation – “God’s plan would prevail.” The implied interpretation by Bush suggests that God’s plan is to protect America, His chosen nation, and thus, the plan of America’s war footing derived from Bush, would triumph.²⁷¹ Proximity between Bush’s interpretation of events and integration of God’s movement in the midst of the circumstances reveals the implicit nature of acceptance that indeed, America is exceptional, a hallmark of American religious nationalism. Thus, America may be confident in taking the offensive in fighting

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 232.

terror, to be known as the Bush Doctrine. Bush is clear that it all depends on God²⁷² and he will place America on a war footing as though it all depended on the citizens. His decision was strong and as a foreign policy was influenced by a catalytic ecclesiastical moment defined by religion encased in the religious triadic subsystem. Significantly, this interactivity set in motion the push to operationalize his strategic decision. Bush acted upon his moment of spiritual clarity almost immediately.

Bob Woodward's *Bush at War* reports that on Monday, September 17, at 9:35 A.M., Bush and the National Security Council (NSC) reconvened in the Cabinet Room.²⁷³ Woodward states: "It was not clear to the others what the crucible of Camp David had yielded"²⁷⁴ as critical ideas were hashed out by the principals of the NSC. Those present included Dick Cheney, Condoleeza Rice, Colin Powell, Donald Rumsfeld, George Tenet, Andy Card, and Paul Wolfowitz. Bush began: "The purpose of this meeting is to assign tasks for the first wave of the war against terrorism. It starts today."²⁷⁵ Bush elaborated: "The attorney general, the CIA and the FBI will assist in protecting America from further attacks. The new policy would stress preemption of future attacks, instead of investigation, gathering evidence and prosecution."²⁷⁶ But, there is a wrinkle in the historical record that confronts this notion of a religious causal vector.

²⁷² Ibid., 233.

²⁷³ Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 97.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

An interview with Bush reveals his exact remembrance upon hearing the words from Andrew Card, on September 11, 2001. America is under attack. Bush recalls thinking, “They had declared war on us, and I made up my mind at that moment that we were going to war.”²⁷⁷ Bush determined to go to war on the day of the 9/11 attacks. Later that same day he spoke to the nation with words including, “Terrorism against our nation will not stand.”²⁷⁸ Bush’s recollection of his predisposition was, “What you saw was my gut reaction coming out.”²⁷⁹ One may argue that Bush did not consult his religious beliefs about his decision to go to war. It was his drive to fight back that generated his warring inclination. Therefore, a case may follow that a religious vector is not attributable to his decision to go to war. Closer observation however, reinforces the influential vector of religion as viewed in the religious triadic subsystem.

The intuition of this examination addresses instinctive reactions as a form of motivational biases and cognitive shortcuts derived from religion in the president’s decision-making process. In other words, religion is a part of his cognition that resulted in the instinct to go to war as a means of protection. Furthermore, his encounter with Chaplain Bob Williams highlights the influence of religion on how he would initiate a strategic declaration of war—preemptively, on the offensive. I will consider another example.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 15.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 16.

Case Study 2 of Bush's Religious Triadic Subsystem

On February 22, 2006 two bombs destroyed the Askariya shrine at the Golden Mosque of Samarra, one of the holiest sites in Shia Islam.²⁸⁰ The bombings were a tipping point between the sectarian violence that grew between the Sunni and Shia Muslims, displaying a weak Iraqi government following the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. Bush stated, "The sectarian violence had not erupted because our footprint was too big. It happened because al Qaeda had provoked it. And with the Iraqis struggling to stand up, it didn't seem possible for us to stand down."²⁸¹ The crisis included the decision to withdraw troops and leave the work of five years following 9/11 to go unfinished, risking the very protection Bush vowed to provide. Another alternative involved continuing in the region that remained destabilized by al Qaeda and risk more American lives while spending more money for the sake of protection. The rationale being just war and the spread of freedom, the values Bush trumpeted immediately following 9/11.

A religious causal vector that once again points in the direction of protection is wrapped in the religious triadic subsystem of a religious mentor, American religious nationalism, and personal faith. These factors are evident in Bush's description. "I drew strength from family, friends, and faith. When we visited Camp David, Laura and I loved to worship with military families at the base's chapel (personal faith). The chaplain in 2006, forty-eight year-old Navy Lieutenant Commander Stan Fornea (religious mentor), was one of the best preachers I've ever heard. 'Evil is real, biblical, and prevalent,' he said in one sermon. 'Some say ignore it, some say it doesn't exist. But evil must not be

²⁸⁰ Bush, *Decision Points*, 361.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 363.

ignored, it must be restrained.²⁸² Stan quoted Sir Edmund Burke, the eighteenth-century British leader: ‘The only thing needed for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.’²⁸³

According to Bush, Stan believed that freedom was the answer to evil, but a high price came with that freedom.²⁸⁴ Bush states that Chaplain Fornea’s optimism and sense of hope lifted his spirits (personal faith)²⁸⁵ in spite of the immeasurably painful price to persevere. Bush reflected on the decision-making crisis Lincoln faced during the Civil War: “Lincoln had to cycle through one commander after another until he found one who would fight. He watched his son Willie die in the White House and his wife, Mary Todd, sink into depression. Yet thanks to his faith in God and his deep belief that he was waging war for a just cause (American religious nationalism), Lincoln persisted.”²⁸⁶ Bush decided to stay the course. His religious mentor Stan Fornea communicates a poignant message that bi-directionally interacts with his personal faith while at the same time being understood through a validation of American religious nationalism derived from Lincoln’s resolve of a just war. Once more convergence within the subsystem of religious triadic reciprocity operates and influences a foreign policy decision by Bush.

The situation worsened. Pressure mounted. In August 2006, “a senior Marine Corps intelligence officer in Anbar wrote a widely publicized report concluding that the

²⁸² Ibid., 368.

²⁸³ Ibid., 368.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

province was lost.”²⁸⁷ Unexpectedly, the situation began to turn as the people who lived in Anbar “had a look at life under al Qaeda, and they didn’t like what they saw.”²⁸⁸ Tribal sheikhs banded and fought to take back the province from al Qaeda. A breakthrough moment encouraged thousands to volunteer for the cause of freedom.²⁸⁹ Such change of events would not have materialized if it were not for Bush’s propensity toward decision-making via the paradigm of religious triadic subsystem. Thus far we have seen Bush’s strategic decision to wage war on the offensive against Afghanistan immediately following 9/11 and five years later to remain engaged in Iraq till a significant advancement occurred. In the next case study, a similar configuration in Bush’s decision-making emerges – one that further supports my assertion of religious influence – an event prior to his presidential campaign.

Case Study 3 of Bush’s Religious Triadic Subsystem

A pattern of Bush’s religiously inflected political decision-making is reinforced by an interview Stephen Mansfield conducted with James Robison. Noteworthy, the event described was preceded by Bush’s encounter with Pastor Mark Craig (religious mentor) at Highland Park Methodist Church who poignantly stated that people are “starved for leadership, starved for leaders who have ethical and moral courage.”²⁹⁰ It was there that

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 383.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Mansfield, *Faith in George W. Bush*, 107.

Bush sensed a direction to run for president.²⁹¹ What followed allows us to see American religious nationalism, religious mentors, and personal faith operating bi-directionally in the interaction of a triadic religious subsystem. This time there is a blending of two religious mentors along with an eerily revealing premonition.

Robison, a dynamic evangelist, possessed an uncanny ability for networking – members of the evangelical clergy who did not normally work together would agree to associate while held together by the bond of his leadership.²⁹² He proved himself valuable during Ronald Reagan’s 1980 presidential run by harnessing the conservatives of the Religious Right, banding them with politicians who also held conservative leanings.²⁹³ During the encounter in Bush’s office, Robison “was surprised to find political strategist Karl Rove there as well, and even more surprised at what Bush was about to say. ‘My life is changed,’ the governor said. ‘I had a drinking problem. I won’t say I was an alcoholic, but it affected my relationships, even with my kids. It could have destroyed me. But I’ve given my life to Christ.’” Robison (religious mentor),²⁹⁴ who had heard rumors of Bush’s conversion, was struck by the sincerity he sensed. He was not prepared though, for what came next. “‘I feel like God wants me to run for president,’ Bush said (personal faith). Something is going to happen, and at that time, my country is going to need me (American religious nationalism). I know it won’t be easy, on me or my family, but God

²⁹¹ Ibid., 108.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., Bush and Robison had known each other during the 80s where Robison did not project that George W. had the makings of president. Robison’s eyes were opened when he realized Bush won the Texas governorship. The meeting that ensued became the groundwork of a long-lasting mentorship relationship that grew even beyond Bush’s presidency.

wants me to do it.”²⁹⁵ Bush describes the inner workings of his decision-making pattern and three religious factors galvanize his choice.

In this instance, from the perspective of religious mentorship both the Reverend Mark Craig and the Reverend James Robison serve as religious mentors. Craig preaches and Bush hears the call of God. Robison engages and Bush testifies the call of God. Bush’s personal faith is reflected in the personalization of the biblical message where he receives it as God directly speaking to him in his life circumstance. Further, Bush decides to verbalize and act upon the spiritual sense that he feels. American nationalism is identified in Bush’s description of need. His loyalty, his internal constitution that fuels his disposition must be made available for America and he is ready to report for duty.

These examples showcase the operationalization of the religious triadic subsystem in the decision-making process of Bush before and during his presidency. In three cases they support the dominant theme of protecting Americans in spite of circumstances that evolved over the course of approximately six years spanning three events. This leads to the inquiry: how does protection in the religious subsystem affect George W. Bush’s self-efficacy in the superordinate triadic system?

Religion Energizes the Nucleus of Self-Efficacy

By inserting the religious triadic subsystem into the superordinate triadic system, we explain theoretically how religion influences the decision-making process. Since we have added the subsystem to the superordinate triadic system, we now take Bandura’s model and personalize it to Bush. Directly, we call it President George W. Bush’s superordinate

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 109.

triadic reciprocity that receives insertion by his religious triadic subsystem, specifying the time of the 9/11 attacks and his declaration of war.

By making these personalized assertions we now formally replace environmental events (E) with “9/11 Attacks,” behavior (B) with “Amygdala,” and cognitive and personal factors (C) with “Protect America.” Whereas the religious triadic subsystem produced protection as the dominant theme, according to Bush’s autobiography, I utilize this thought experiment to uncover how “Protect America,” “9/11 Attacks,” and “Amygdala” bi-directionally affect Bush’s self-efficacy. “Amygdala,” for this exercise is understood to be the place in neuroanatomy between the brain stem and neocortex where the emotional center of the brain is based and the “fight and flight” instinct is triggered.²⁹⁶ Further, my assumption of Bush’s response to the 9/11 attacks in relation to the reaction in his amygdala is fight, based on his rhetoric and subsequent actions.

One outstanding clue from the operational code analysis between Ren and XRel provides both focus and a challenge. The P-4 typology under philosophical beliefs (diagnostic propensities) tell us that there is no change in Bush’s view of controlling the unfolding or development of history. Bush’s rating on the indices shows (see Table 5 on page 40) low control of self at .32 and high control of other at .68. This tells us that Bush views others as having more control over historical development than he sees himself in control of the political universe.

This may be an eye opening assessment considering his religious and political expressions that convey a sense of higher control of self in historical development.

²⁹⁶ Andrew Lo, “Andrew Lo on ‘Bounded Rationality’ – Clarendon Lectures 13th June 2013,” YouTube video, 55:12, posted by Saïd Business School, University of Oxford, June 13, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jUrZubcSe7U>.

Consider the change in the I-4 typology of the instrumental beliefs (choice propensities). His tactical choices under timing and action show him more cooperative and flexible during the 9/11 attacks and immediately after with variations of .59 (Ren) and .54 (XRel) in timing and action where the reading shows him at medium flexibility in cooperation and at .65 (Ren) and .62 (XRel). That shows a higher flexibility in the use of his words and deeds under timing and action.

A low reading on the locus of control P-4 that attributes more control to others and a more cooperative reading on tactics as seen in I-4 may be explained by Bush's drive, derived from the religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity. Protecting America corresponds with I-4 in utilizing more cooperative tactics, words and deeds to attain that objective—religion making him more flexible and cooperative to achieve protection. On the other hand, how do we explain the static position where his locus of control that corroborates with self-efficacy is low?

The data show no differentiation between Ren and XRel. That is, religion has no affect on his self-efficacy—not in Phase 1, Phase 2, Phase 3, or Phase 4 (see Table 4). In Phase 3, especially, I anticipated a change. None was found. There does exist, however, a plausible explanation that reasonably suggests a low score on locus of control/self-efficacy that corresponds strongly with religion. The concept of God-efficacy does not register either in the operational code analysis or in Bandura's triadic reciprocity, but in the consideration of religious influences it necessitates conceivable attribution.

A religious person who believes in God, specifically in the case of Bush, acknowledges they have a role to play in the unfolding of life events. Another reality from a spiritual perspective is acknowledged, however, for an evangelical Christian that

believes God moves supernaturally in the circumstances of humanity. In essence, Bush's low-level locus of control or self-efficacy may be ascribed to his personal faith—a God-efficacy, where God controls what goes on around him and Bush is the agent used by God to fulfill the mandate he has been charged to keep. As Jean Edward Smith writes about Bush: “Not since Woodrow Wilson has a president so firmly believed that he was an instrument of God's will.”²⁹⁷ That is how religion might energize the nucleus of self-efficacy in the superordinate triad of reciprocity—the insertion of God-efficacy to the plausible make up of Bush's philosophical beliefs and instrumental beliefs.

Describing how the characteristic of protection as part of the superordinate triadic reciprocity of Albert Bandura's cognitive and personal factor (C) plausibly interacts with the other two factors. Specifically, the environmental event of an attack (E), as in the trauma of 9/11, and how it triggers a response in the amygdala bi-directionally eliciting a behavioral act (B) of protection in the form of a declaration of war. This may be referred to as energizing a nucleus of self-efficacy. How does this relate to the Causal Link Hypothesis?

Application of the Causal Link Hypothesis

The theory of triadic reciprocity may be applied broadly in determining religious causation using the Causal Link Hypothesis between Religion and Crisis Presidential Decision-making in studies of past, current, and future presidents or heads of state. By doing so, discovering potential causal links that provide predictive clues on decision-making of elites is conceivable. The findings of this examination open plausibility to a

²⁹⁷ Smith, *Bush*, 227.

religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity that may be inserted into the cognitive and personal factor of Bandura's superordinate triad. A researcher may utilize the model produced to focus on religious mentors, personal faith, and American religious nationalism as factors. The key feature to observe for unveiling the religious causal link would be themes that the political elite under investigation deems important. Once the themes are identified, the investigator may use the data to determine the theme that emerges most frequently, possibly under a characteristic broad theme, to be labeled inclusive of the sub-themes that correspond accordingly. The dominant theme becomes the causal link in the religious subsystem of triadic reciprocity.

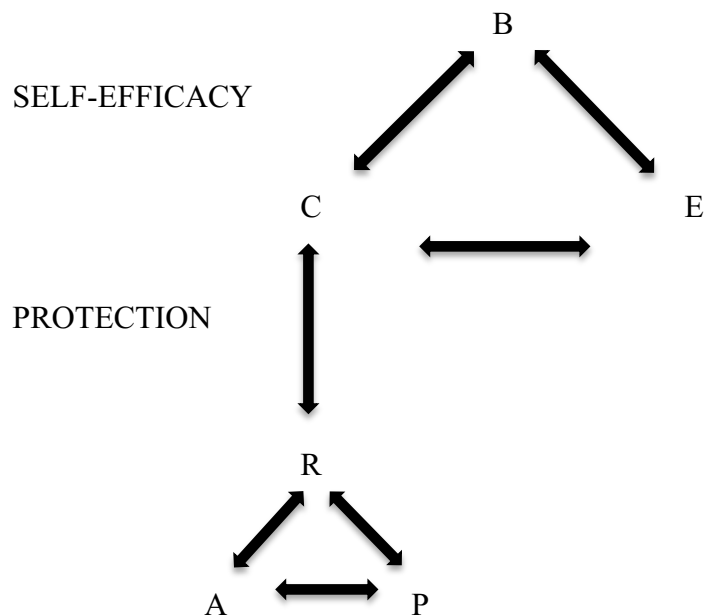
If data have been derived through a quantitative analysis as performed in this investigation by developing a new dataset using the counterfactual methodology applied to create XRel as a comparison dataset to Ren, it is conceivable that correspondence may be identified in one or more areas in the operational code indices typology to suggest religious influence on the belief system of the political actor. Whereas this study identified religious mentors, personal faith, and American religious nationalism as the three factors in the religious triad, other religious factors may emerge when applying the methodology used in the autobiographical analysis employed for Bush's *Decision Points*.

New religious factors may replace the existing factors (religious mentors, American religious nationalism, and personal faith). That is, alternate factors related to religion that may be determined before the autobiographical data is collected. A new factor may replace one of the existing factors in the religious triad or all three may be replaced forming a new religious triad with new religiously interactive reciprocal factors.

Once the religious triadic factors are determined, based on the autobiographical data collected the connection between interactivity and the dominant theme is stated. The dominant theme emerges from the religious triad by operating reciprocally and is identified as the religious causal link. This subsystem that produces the causal link is inserted into the superordinate triadic factor of cognitive and personal factors and the causal link, thus identified, influences self-efficacy.

Self-efficacy impacts behavior and environmental factors while behavior and environmental factors reciprocate impact on self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is impacted by the religious causal link that is inserted into cognitive and personal factors, affecting self-efficacy in cognitive and personal factors. But self-efficacy is not isolated to cognitive and personal factors. Cognitive and personal factors interact reciprocally between behavior and environmental events. The interactivity in the superordinate triad influences beliefs of the political actor, thereby affecting self-efficacy. Self-efficacy, in turn, influences decision-making. There is, ultimately, an imperative for more research.

Diagram 6.
Protection Affects Self-Efficacy in Superordinate Triadic Factors



Further Investigation on Religion and Presidential Decision-making

This study has focused on religious influences on the crisis presidential decision-making of American presidents. It has concentrated on the case of President George W. Bush, the crisis of 9/11, and his subsequent decision to declare war. Using Herbert Simon's theory of bounded rationality as a gateway for exploration, I determined that suboptimal decisions are made because of *satisficing*. In a moment of crisis when information is limited, cognitive factors of the president do not allow optimum selection from a rational decision-making perspective. My attention has been on the limitations that cause cognitive shortcuts and motivational biases influenced by religion. Following the quantitative and qualitative analysis, I utilized Albert Bandura's theory of triadic

reciprocity to explain how a subsystem of religion, based on Bush's autobiography, reveals evidence on determinism of a dominant theme. That theme, so identified, is the causal link inserted into the superordinate triad and influences beliefs, self-efficacy, and decision-making. There are numerous possibilities for further investigation.

This framework may be applied to comparative case studies. For example, a researcher may utilize the same methodologies from this study and focus on another political elite such as Franklin D. Roosevelt. Both Roosevelt and Bush were in office during attacks on American soil. Did religion influence the decision-making of President Roosevelt? Were there changes in his political beliefs before, during and after the attacks on December 7, 1941? If so, where did those changes occur? Did religion influence those changes? If so, how? Are there religious causal vectors to be identified? In what direction do they move? Is there a triad of factors in a subsystem of religion based on Roosevelt's autobiographical material? What is the dominant theme? Once the case of Franklin Roosevelt is constructed a new set of hypotheses may be developed and a comparative analysis performed between Roosevelt and Bush. Other combinations of presidents may be considered such as all wartime presidents.

Developing investigations for purposes that feature American presidents may provide evidence of religious patterns that are causal inferences in presidential decision-making, explaining plausible avenues that religion creates cognitive shortcuts and motivational biases in presidents. As the literature grows in this sub-field of religious influences on presidential decision-making, predictive measures may be derived to determine how a president or head of state may decide during crisis moments—predictions that are based on empirical evidence supporting such claims.

A researcher may choose to use this framework to test a presidential nominee by creating new data sets of speeches to find possible predictive measures and test them in real time once the nominee is elected and transitions into office. More broadly, research may require the use of the “Criteria of Extracting” concept to remove other types of rhetoric to create counterfactual data that will aid in illuminating aspects of presidents or heads of state.

Furthermore, experiments may be developed to determine how adaptations in religious curriculum may affect the socialization of potential presidents in a longitudinal study that starts with religious education on politically active students, for example, in Ivy League institutions, the nation’s leading political science undergraduate programs, or graduate programs that concentrate on government and or international relations. This may include conducting a sample study of a broader population representing politically minded students who provide information about their religious upbringing and its impact on their political worldview. In time, their positions may change, some dramatically while others remain firm and possibly grow stronger in the original position. An association with their religious affiliation and level of involvement might provide correlation with decisions, particularly those who elevate to prominent political roles.

Similarly, variations of aggregate research may be conducted by presidents from different eras of American history relating to historical events, not limited to war. A bold investigative research agenda may conduct a study that focuses on an area of religion and American presidential decision-making by applying this framework or a modified version of it on every president of the United States.

Research may be adaptable in attempts to discover predictive insights on foreign policy negotiations that affect peace-building initiatives by studying the religious backgrounds of heads of state. This is especially vital where much of the geopolitical world is grounded in religious ideologies. Religious upbringing may be constructed according to this framework or an augmentation of it for Middle Eastern, European, Asian, African, and South American heads of state. I have proposed a general explanation for how self-efficacy may be influenced by a causal link from the religious subsystem as inserted into the cognitive and personal factor of the superordinate triad. There remains more work to be done in theory development by way of generating alternative hypotheses that will spur quantitative and qualitative research in cognition, determinism, decision-making, and religion.

In conclusion, this investigation explored religious influences on foreign policy decision-making of American presidents in times of national crisis. It focused on one heuristic case study, George W. Bush during the crisis of 9/11.²⁹⁸ Part One involved a plausibility probe. Since “cognitive frameworks and belief systems are the primary lenses through which presidents view the world”²⁹⁹ and religion is a variable that shapes beliefs related to political decision-making, three essential questions emerged: 1) whether religion ever changes these beliefs significantly, and if so, 2) when do these changes occur, and 3) what causes those changes? Grounded on Herbert Simon’s theory of bounded rationality, this thesis performed a counterfactual operational code analysis on President George W. Bush utilizing Jonathan Renshon’s data from “Stability and Change

²⁹⁸ George and Bennett, *Case Studies*, 75.

²⁹⁹ Renshon, “Stability and Change,” 820.

in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush”³⁰⁰ to develop empirical data that analyzed forty-eight foreign policy speech transcripts from Bush’s presidency. The comparative analysis isolated religion as an independent variable, enlisting *Profiler Plus* and the Verbs in Context System indices to determine if there are major shifts and/or statistical significance with religion as a causal mechanism.

Part Two examined George W. Bush from autobiographical, psycho-biographical and biographical studies. I analyzed religious influences throughout the president’s life from childhood to the presidency, pre-9/11 and post 9/11—proposing a causal link hypothesis of religion to crisis presidential decision-making by employing Albert Bandura’s model of triadic reciprocity in social cognitive theory. The results of this investigation challenged previous explanations on causal paths for belief change and subsequent decision-making. It introduced a new research framework to the literature of presidential decision-making by presenting a methodology to derive empirical data that examines religious influences on the political beliefs of presidents and a diagnostic model for analyzing autobiographies.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 821-849.

Appendix 1

Manuscripts of Atheized Presidential Speeches

Phase 1 Speeches: Pre-Presidency

XRel - CERR Bold Pre-Extraction

1. Citadel Speech, A Period of Consequences September 23 1999
(http://www.citadel.edu/pao/addresses/pres_bush.html)

It is good to finally be with you. The Citadel is a place of pride and tradition. A place where standards are high and discipline is strong and leaders are born. The men, and now women, of this institution represent a spirit of honor and accomplishment. And I am proud to be with you. This is a special place to talk about the future of our military, because many of you will shape it. These are times of change and challenge. But you will always return to the values you learned here.

Three months ago, in Providence, Rhode Island, a man rose to take the oath of American citizenship. He was one of many, but his case was different. His name is Sergei Khrushchev, a former weapons scientist, and son of the Soviet leader. Sometimes history's great epochs are summed up in small events. The threat of the Cold War was captured in Nikita Khrushchev's vow to America, We will bury you. The story closes, in this final footnote to that age, with America saying to his own son, We welcome you. It is a reminder of what this country and its allies have accomplished in a century of struggle. Young Americans in uniform, today's veterans, wrote history with the bold strokes of their courage. Their character was tested in death marches and jungle firefights and desert battles. **They left long rows of crosses and Stars of David, fighting for people they did not know, and a future they would not see.** And, in the end, they won an epic struggle to save liberty itself. Those who want to lead America accept two obligations. One is to use our military power wisely, remembering the costs of war. The other is to honor our commitments to veterans who have paid those costs. Our world, shaped by American courage, power and wisdom, now echoes with American ideals. We won a victory, not just for a nation, but for a vision. A vision of freedom and individual dignity, defended by democracy, nurtured by free markets, spread by information technology, carried to the world by free trade. The advance of freedom, from Asia to Latin America to East and Central Europe, is creating the conditions for peace. For America, this is a time of unrivaled military power, economic promise, and cultural influence. It is, in Franklin Roosevelt's phrase, the peace of overwhelming victory. **Now a new generation of American leaders will determine how that power and influence are used, a generation after the hard but clear struggle against an evil empire.** Our challenge is not as obvious, but just as noble, To turn these years of influence into decades of peace.

But peace is not ordained, it is earned. It is not a harbor where we rest, it is a voyage we must chart. Even in this time of hope and confidence, we can see the signs of uncertainty.

We see the contagious spread of missile technology and weapons of mass destruction. We know that this era of American preeminence is also an era of car bombers and plutonium merchants and cyber terrorists and drug cartels and unbalanced dictators, all the unconventional and invisible threats of new technologies and old hatreds. These challenges can be overcome, but they can not be ignored. Building a durable peace will require strong alliances, expanding trade and confident diplomacy. It will require tough realism in our dealings with China and Russia. It will require firmness with regimes like North Korea and Iraq, regimes that hate our values and resent our success. I will address all these priorities in the future. But I want to begin with the foundation of our peace, a strong, capable and modern military. The American armed forces have an irreplaceable role in the world. They give confidence to our allies, deter the aggression of our enemies, and allow our nation to shape a stable peace. The common defense is the sworn duty and chief responsibility of a president. And, if elected, I will set three goals. I will renew the bond of trust between the American president and the American military. I will defend the American people against missiles and terror. And I will begin creating the military of the next century. Our military is without peer, but it is not without problems. The men and women of our armed forces stand in the best tradition of the citizen soldier, who for two centuries has kept our country safe and free. All are volunteers, active, Reserve and Guard, who willingly accept the burdens and dangers of service. Volunteers who demonstrate the highest form of citizenship. I have great faith in those who serve our nation, in the temper of their will and the quality of their spirit. These are men and women who love their country more than their comfort. Men and women who have never failed us, wherever there is honor to be earned, or interests defended. But even the highest morale is eventually undermined by back-to-back deployments, poor pay, shortages of spare parts and equipment, and rapidly declining readiness. Not since the years before Pearl Harbor has our investment in national defense been so low as a percentage of gross national product. Yet rarely has our military been so freely used, an average of one deployment every nine weeks in the last few years. Since the end of the Cold War, our ground forces have been deployed more frequently, while our defense budget has fallen by nearly forty percent. Something has to give, and it's giving. Resources are over-stretched. Frustration is up, as families are separated and strained. Morale is down. Recruitment is more difficult. And many of our best people in the military are headed for civilian life. In 1998, the Air Force missed its reenlistment goals for the first time since 1981. Army recruiting is at a twenty year low. Consider a few facts. Thousands of members of the armed forces are on food stamps. Last year, more than twenty-one million dollars worth of WIC vouchers, the Women, Infants and Children program, were redeemed at military commissaries. Many others in uniform get Army Emergency Relief or depend on their parents. This is not the way that a great nation should reward courage and idealism. It is ungrateful, it is unwise and it is unacceptable. This Administration wants things both ways. To command great forces, without supporting them. To launch today's new causes, with little thought of tomorrow's consequences. A volunteer military has only two paths. It can lower its standards to fill its ranks. Or it can inspire the best and brightest to join and stay. This starts with better pay, better treatment and better training. Recently, after years of neglect, a significant pay raise was finally passed. My first budget will go further, adding a billion dollars in salary increases. We also will provide targeted bonuses for those with special skills. Two-thirds

of military family housing units are now substandard, and they must be renovated. And we must improve the quality of training at our bases and national training centers. Shortfalls on the proving ground become disasters on the battlefield. But our military requires more than good treatment. It needs the rallying point of a defining mission. And that mission is to deter wars, and win wars when deterrence fails. Sending our military on vague, aimless and endless deployments is the swift solvent of morale. As president, I will order an immediate review of our overseas deployments, in dozens of countries. The longstanding commitments we have made to our allies are the strong foundation of our current peace. I will keep these pledges to defend friends from aggression. The problem comes with open-ended deployments and unclear military missions. In these cases we will ask, What is our goal, can it be met, and when do we leave? As I've said before, I will work hard to find political solutions that allow an orderly and timely withdrawal from places like Kosovo and Bosnia. We will encourage our allies to take a broader role. We will not be hasty. But we will not be permanent peacekeepers, dividing warring parties. This is not our strength or our calling. America will not retreat from the world. On the contrary, I will replace diffuse commitments with focused ones. I will replace uncertain missions with well-defined objectives. This will preserve the resources of American power and public will. The presence of American forces overseas is one of the most profound symbols of our commitment to allies and friends. And our allies know that if America is committed everywhere, our commitments are everywhere suspect. We must be selective in the use of our military, precisely because America has other great responsibilities that cannot be slighted or compromised. And this review of our deployments will also reduce the tension on an overstretched military. Nothing would be better for morale than clarity and focus from the commander-in-chief. My second goal is to build America's defenses on the troubled frontiers of technology and terror. The protection of America itself will assume a high priority in a new century. Once a strategic afterthought, homeland defense has become an urgent duty. For most of our history, America felt safe behind two great oceans. But with the spread of technology, distance no longer means security. North Korea is proving that even a poor and backward country, in the hands of a tyrant, can reach across oceans to threaten us. It has developed missiles capable of hitting Hawaii and Alaska. Iran has made rapid strides in its missile program, and Iraq persists in a race to do the same. In 1996, after some tension over Taiwan, a Chinese general reminded America that China possesses the means to incinerate Los Angeles with nuclear missiles. Add to this the threat of biological, chemical and nuclear terrorism, barbarism emboldened by technology. These weapons can be delivered, not just by ballistic missiles, but by everything from airplanes to cruise missiles, from shipping containers to suitcases. And consider the prospect of information warfare, in which hacker terrorists may try to disrupt finance, communication, transportation and public health. Let me be clear. Our first line of defense is a simple message. Every group or nation must know, if they sponsor such attacks, our response will be devastating. But we must do more. At the earliest possible date, my administration will deploy anti-ballistic missile systems, both theater and national, to guard against attack and blackmail. To make this possible, we will offer Russia the necessary amendments to the anti-ballistic missile treaty, an artifact of Cold War confrontation. Both sides know that we live in a different world from 1972, when that treaty was signed. If Russia refuses the changes we propose, we will give prompt notice, under the provisions of the treaty,

that we can no longer be a party to it. I will have a solemn obligation to protect the American people and our allies, not to protect arms control agreements signed almost thirty years ago. We will defend the American homeland by strengthening our intelligence community, focusing on human intelligence and the early detection of terrorist operations both here and abroad. And when direct threats to America are discovered, I know that the best defense can be a strong and swift offense, including the use of Special Operations Forces and long-range strike capabilities. And there is more to be done preparing here at home. I will put a high priority on detecting and responding to terrorism on our soil. The federal government must take this threat seriously, working closely with researchers and industry to increase surveillance and develop treatments for chemical and biological agents. But defending our nation is just the beginning of our challenge. My third goal is to take advantage of a tremendous opportunity, given few nations in history, to extend the current peace into the far realm of the future. A chance to project America's peaceful influence, not just across the world, but across the years.

This opportunity is created by a revolution in the technology of war. Power is increasingly defined, not by mass or size, but by mobility and swiftness. Influence is measured in information, safety is gained in stealth, and force is projected on the long arc of precision-guided weapons. This revolution perfectly matches the strengths of our country, the skill of our people and the superiority of our technology. The best way to keep the peace is to redefine war on our terms. Yet today our military is still organized more for Cold War threats than for the challenges of a new century, for industrial age operations, rather than for information age battles. There is almost no relationship between our budget priorities and a strategic vision. The last seven years have been wasted in inertia and idle talk. Now we must shape the future with new concepts, new strategies, new resolve. In the late 1930's, as Britain refused to adapt to the new realities of war, Winston Churchill observed, The era of procrastination, of half-measures, of soothing and baffling expedients, of delays, is coming to a close. In its place we are entering a period of consequences. Our military and our nation are entering another period of consequences, a time of rapid change and momentous choices. As president, I will begin an immediate, comprehensive review of our military, the structure of its forces, the state of its strategy, the priorities of its procurement, conducted by a leadership team under the Secretary of Defense. I will give the Secretary a broad mandate, to challenge the status quo and envision a new architecture of American defense for decades to come. We will modernize some existing weapons and equipment, necessary for current tasks. But our relative peace allows us to do this selectively. The real goal is to move beyond marginal improvements, to replace existing programs with new technologies and strategies. To use this window of opportunity to skip a generation of technology. This will require spending more, and spending more wisely. We know that power, in the future, will be projected in different ways. The Gulf War was a stunning victory. But it took six months of planning and transport to summon our fleets and divisions and position them for battle. In the future, we are unlikely to have that kind of time. Enemy ballistic and cruise missiles and weapons of mass destruction may make such operations difficult. Satellite technology, commercially available, may reveal to potential enemies the location of our ships and troops. We may not have months to transport massive divisions to waiting bases, or to build new infrastructure on site. Our forces in the next century must be agile, lethal, readily deployable, and require a minimum of logistical

support. We must be able to project our power over long distances, in days or weeks rather than months. Our military must be able to identify targets by a variety of means, from a Marine patrol to a satellite. Then be able to destroy those targets almost instantly, with an array of weapons, from a submarine-launched cruise missile, to mobile long-range artillery. On land, our heavy forces must be lighter. Our light forces must be more lethal. All must be easier to deploy. And these forces must be organized in smaller, more agile formations, rather than cumbersome divisions. On the seas, we need to pursue promising ideas like the arsenal ship, a stealthy ship packed with long-range missiles to destroy targets from great distances. In the air, we must be able to strike from across the world with pinpoint accuracy, with long-range aircraft and perhaps with unmanned systems. In space, we must be able to protect our network of satellites, essential to the flow of our commerce and the defense of our country. All this will require a new spirit of innovation. Many officers have expressed their impatience with a widespread, bureaucratic mindset that frustrates creativity. I will encourage a culture of command where change is welcomed and rewarded, not dreaded. I will ensure that visionary leaders who take risks are recognized and promoted. When our comprehensive review is complete, I will expect the military's budget priorities to match our strategic vision, not the particular visions of the services, but a joint vision for change. I will earmark at least twenty percent of the procurement budget for acquisition programs that propel America generations ahead in military technology. And I will direct the Secretary of Defense to allocate these funds to the services that prove most effective in developing new programs that do so. I intend to force new thinking and hard choices. The transformation of our military will require a new and greater emphasis on research and development. So I will also commit an additional twenty billion dollars to defense research and development between the time I take office and 2006. Even if I am elected, I will not command the new military we create. That will be left to a president who comes after me. The results of our effort will not be seen for many years. The outcome of great battles is often determined by decisions on funding and technology made decades before, in the quiet days of peace. But these choices on spending and strategy either support the young men and women who must fight the future's wars, or betray their lives and squander their valor. I am under no illusions. I know that transforming our military is a massive undertaking. When President Lincoln was attempting to organize his army, he compared the job to bailing out the Potomac River with a teaspoon. What I propose will be impossible without allies, both in the military and in the Congress. To the military I say, We intend to change your structure, but we will respect your culture. Our military culture was formed by generations of trial and tradition, codes and loyalties born of two centuries' worth of experience. For the changes I seek, I will count on these codes and loyalties. I will count on a culture that prizes duty, welcomes clear orders, accepts sacrifice, and is devoted above all to the defense of the United States. I will count on these values, because I will challenge our military to reform itself in fundamental ways. To the Congress I say, Join me in creating a new strategic vision for our military, a set of goals that will take precedence over the narrow interests of states and regions. I will reach out to reform-minded members of Congress, particularly to overturn laws and regulations that discourage outsourcing and undermine efficiency. Our military must embrace the productivity revolution that has transformed American business. And once a new strategy is clear, I will confront the

Congress when it uses the defense budget as a source of pork or patronage. Moments of national opportunity are either seized or lost, and the consequences reach across decades. Our opportunity is here, to show that a new generation can renew America's purpose. I know this is a world of hard choices and new tasks. A world of terror and missiles and madmen. A world requiring, not just might, but wisdom. But my generation is fortunate. In the world of our fathers, we have seen how America should conduct itself. We have seen leaders who fought a world war and organized the peace. We have seen power exercised without swagger and influence displayed without bluster. We have seen the modesty of true strength, the humility of real greatness. We have seen American power tempered by American character. And I have seen all of this personally and closely and clearly. Now comes our time of testing. Our measure is taken, not only by what we have and use, but what we build and leave behind. And nothing this generation could ever build will matter more than the means to defend our nation and extend our peace. Thank you.

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2. Reagan Library Speech, A Distinctly American Internationalism November 19 1999
(<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/wspeech.htm>)

It is an honor to be with you at the Reagan Library. Thank you, Secretary Shultz for your decades of service to America, and for your kindness and counsel over the last several months. And thank you Mrs. Reagan for this invitation, and for your example of loyalty and love and courage. My wife Laura says that behind every great man there is a surprised woman. But, Mrs. Reagan, you were never surprised by the greatness of your husband. You believed it from the start. And now the rest of the world sees him as you always have, as a hero in the American story. A story in which a single individual can shape history. **A story in which evil is real, but courage and decency triumph.** We live in the nation President Reagan restored, and the world he helped to save. A world of nations reunited and tyrants humbled. A world of prisoners released and exiles come home. **And today there is a prayer shared by free people everywhere, God bless you, Ronald Reagan.** Two months ago, at the Citadel in South Carolina, I talked about American defense. This must be the first focus of a president, because it is his first duty to the Constitution. Even in this time of pride and promise, America has determined enemies, who hate our values and resent our success, terrorists and crime syndicates and drug cartels and unbalanced dictators. **The Empire has passed, but evil remains.** We must protect our homeland and our allies against missiles and terror and blackmail. We must restore the morale of our military, squandered by shrinking resources and multiplying missions, with better training, better treatment and better pay. And we must master the new technology of war, to extend our peaceful influence, not just across the world, but across the years. In the defense of our nation, a president must be a clear-eyed realist. There are limits to the smiles and scowls of diplomacy. Armies and missiles are not stopped by stiff notes of condemnation. They are held in check by strength and purpose and the promise of swift punishment. But there is more to say, because military

power is not the final measure of might. Our realism must make a place for the human spirit. This spirit, in our time, has caused dictators to fear and empires to fall. And it has left an honor roll of courage and idealism, Scharansky, Havel, Walesa, Mandela. **The most powerful force in the world is not a weapon or a nation but a truth, that we are spiritual beings, and that freedom is the soul's right to breathe.** In the dark days of 1941, the low point of our modern epic, there were about a dozen democracies left on the planet. Entering a new century, there are nearly one hundred and twenty. There is a direction in events, a current in our times. Depend on it, said Edmund Burke. The lovers of freedom will be free. America cherishes that freedom, but we do not own it. We value the elegant structures of our own democracy, but realize that, in other societies, the architecture will vary. We propose our principles, we must not impose our culture. Yet the basic principles of human freedom and dignity are universal. People should be able to say what they think. **Worship as they wish.** Elect those who govern them. These ideals have proven their power on every continent. In former colonies, and the nations that ruled them. Among the allies of World War two, and the countries they vanquished. And these ideals are equally valid north of the thirty-eighth parallel. They are just as true in the Pearl River Delta. They remain true ninety miles from our shores, on an island prison, ruled by a revolutionary relic. Some have tried to pose a choice between American ideals and American interests, between who we are and how we act. But the choice is false. America, by decision and destiny, promotes political freedom, and gains the most when democracy advances. America believes in free markets and free trade, and benefits most when markets are opened. America is a peaceful power, and gains the greatest dividend from democratic stability. Precisely because we have no territorial objectives, our gains are not measured in the losses of others. They are counted in the conflicts we avert, the prosperity we share and the peace we extend. Sometimes this balance takes time to achieve, and requires us to deal with nations that do not share our values. Sometimes the defenders of freedom must show patience as well as resolution. But that patience comes of confidence, not compromise. We believe, with Alexander Hamilton, that the spirit of commerce has a tendency to soften the manners of men. We believe, with George Washington, that Liberty, when it begins to take root, is a plant of rapid growth. **And we firmly believe our nation is on the right side of history, the side of man's dignity and God's justice.** Few nations have been given the advantages and opportunities of our own. Few have been more powerful as a country, or more successful as a cause. But there are risks, even for the powerful. I have many reasons to be optimistic, said Pericles in the golden age of Athens. Indeed, I am more afraid of our own blunders than of the enemy's devices. America's first temptation is withdrawal, to build a proud tower of protectionism and isolation. In a world that depends on America to reconcile old rivals and balance ancient ambitions, this is the shortcut to chaos. It is an approach that abandons our allies, and our ideals. The vacuum left by America's retreat would invite challenges to our power. And the result, in the long run, would be a stagnant America and a savage world. American foreign policy cannot be founded on fear. Fear that American workers can't compete. Fear that America will corrupt the world, or be corrupted by it. This fear has no place in the party of Reagan, or in the party of Truman. In times of peril, our nation did not shrink from leadership. At this moment of opportunity, I have no intention of betraying American interests, American obligations and American honor. America's second temptation is drift, for our nation to move from

crisis to crisis like a cork in a current. Unless a president sets his own priorities, his priorities will be set by others, by adversaries, or the crisis of the moment, live on CNN. American policy can become random and reactive, untethered to the interests of our country. America must be involved in the world. But that does not mean our military is the answer to every difficult foreign policy situation – a substitute for strategy. American internationalism should not mean action without vision, activity without priority, and missions without end – an approach that squanders American will and drains American energy. American foreign policy must be more than the management of crisis. It must have a great and guiding goal, to turn this time of American influence into generations of democratic peace. This is accomplished by concentrating on enduring national interests. And these are my priorities. An American president should work with our strong democratic allies in Europe and Asia to extend the peace. He should promote a fully democratic Western Hemisphere, bound together by free trade. He should defend America's interests in the Persian Gulf and advance peace in the Middle East, based upon a secure Israel. He must check the contagious spread of weapons of mass destruction, and the means to deliver them. He must lead toward a world that trades in freedom. And he must pursue all these goals with focus, patience and strength. I will address these responsibilities as this campaign continues. To each, I bring the same approach, A distinctly American internationalism. Idealism, without illusions. Confidence, without conceit. Realism, in the service of American ideals. Today I want to talk about Europe and Asia. The world's strategic heartland, our greatest priority. Home of long-time allies, and looming rivals. Behind the United States, Eurasia has the next six largest economies. The next six largest military budgets. The Eurasian landmass, in our century, has seen the indignities of colonialism and the excesses of nationalism. Its people have been sacrificed to brutal wars and totalitarian ambitions. America has discovered, again and again, that our history is inseparable from their tragedy. And we are rediscovering that our interests are served by their success. In this immense region, we are guided, not by an ambition, but by a vision. A vision in which no great power, or coalition of great powers, dominates or endangers our friends. In which America encourages stability from a position of strength. A vision in which people and capital and information can move freely, creating bonds of progress, ties of culture and momentum toward democracy.

This is different from the trumpet call of the Cold War. We are no longer fighting a great enemy, we are asserting a great principle, that the talents and dreams of average people, their warm human hopes and loves, should be rewarded by freedom and protected by peace. **We are defending the nobility of normal lives, lived in obedience to God and conscience, not to government.** The challenge comes because two of Eurasia's greatest powers – China and Russia, are powers in transition. And it is difficult to know their intentions when they do not know their own futures. If they become America's friends, that friendship will steady the world. But if not, the peace we seek may not be found. China, in particular, has taken different shapes in different eyes at different times. An empire to be divided. A door to be opened. A model of collective conformity. A diplomatic card to be played. One year, it is said to be run by the butchers of Beijing. A few years later, the same administration pronounces it a strategic partner. We must see China clearly, not through the filters of posturing and partisanship. China is rising, and that is inevitable. Here, our interests are plain. We welcome a free and prosperous China. We predict no conflict. We intend no threat. And there are areas where we must try to

cooperate, preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, attaining peace on the Korean peninsula. Yet the conduct of China's government can be alarming abroad, and appalling at home. Beijing has been investing its growing wealth in strategic nuclear weapons, new ballistic missiles, a blue-water navy and a long-range airforce. It is an espionage threat to our country. Meanwhile, the State Department has reported that all public dissent against the party and government has been effectively silenced, a tragic achievement in a nation of one point two billion people. **China's government is an enemy of religious freedom and a sponsor of forced abortion, policies without reason and without mercy.** All of these facts must be squarely faced. China is a competitor, not a strategic partner. We must deal with China without ill-will, but without illusion. By the same token, that regime must have no illusions about American power and purpose. As Dean Rusk observed during the Cold War, It is not healthy for a regime to incur, by their lawlessness and aggressive conduct, the implacable opposition of the American people. We must show American power and purpose in strong support for our Asian friends and allies, for democratic South Korea across the Yellow Sea, for democratic Japan and the Philippines across the China seas, for democratic Australia and Thailand. This means keeping our pledge to deter aggression against the Republic of Korea, and strengthening security ties with Japan. This means expanding theater missile defenses among our allies. And this means honoring our promises to the people of Taiwan. We do not deny there is one China. But we deny the right of Beijing to impose their rule on a free people. As I've said before, we will help Taiwan to defend itself. The greatest threats to peace come when democratic forces are weak and disunited. Right now, America has many important bilateral alliances in Asia. We should work toward a day when the fellowship of free Pacific nations is as strong and united as our Atlantic Partnership. If I am president, China will find itself respected as a great power, but in a region of strong democratic alliances. It will be unthreatened, but not unchecked. China will find in America a confident and willing trade partner. And with trade comes our standing invitation into the world of economic freedom. China's entry into the World Trade Organization is welcome, and this should open the door for Taiwan as well. But given China's poor record in honoring agreements, it will take a strong administration to hold them to their word. If I am president, China will know that America's values are always part of America's agenda. Our advocacy of human freedom is not a formality of diplomacy, it is a fundamental commitment of our country. It is the source of our confidence that communism, in every form, has seen its day. And I view free trade as an important ally in what Ronald Reagan called a forward strategy for freedom. The case for trade is not just monetary, but moral. Economic freedom creates habits of liberty. And habits of liberty create expectations of democracy. There are no guarantees, but there are good examples, from Chile to Taiwan. Trade freely with China, and time is on our side. Russia stands as another reminder that a world increasingly at peace is also a world in transition. Here, too, patience is needed, patience, consistency, and a principled reliance on democratic forces. In the breadth of its land, the talent and courage of its people, the wealth of its resources, and the reach of its weapons, Russia is a great power, and must always be treated as such. Few people have suffered more in this century. And though we trust the worst is behind them, their troubles are not over. This past decade, for Russia, has been an epic of deliverance and disappointment. Our first order of business is the national security of our nation, and here both Russia and the United States face a

changed world. Instead of confronting each other, we confront the legacy of a dead ideological rivalry, thousands of nuclear weapons, which, in the case of Russia, may not be secure. And together we also face an emerging threat, from rogue nations, nuclear theft and accidental launch. All this requires nothing short of a new strategic relationship to protect the peace of the world. We can hope that the new Russian Duma will ratify START II, as we have done. But this is not our most pressing challenge. The greater problem was first addressed in 1991 by Senator Lugar and Senator Sam Nunn. In an act of foresight and statesmanship, they realized that existing Russian nuclear facilities were in danger of being compromised. Under the Nunn-Lugar program, security at many Russian nuclear facilities has been improved and warheads have been destroyed. Even so, the Energy Department warns us that our estimates of Russian nuclear stockpiles could be off by as much as thirty percent. In other words, a great deal of Russian nuclear material cannot be accounted for. The next president must press for an accurate inventory of all this material. And we must do more. I'll ask the Congress to increase substantially our assistance to dismantle as many of Russia's weapons as possible, as quickly as possible. We will still, however, need missile defense systems, both theater and national. If I am commander-in-chief, we will develop and deploy them. Under the mutual threat of rogue nations, there is a real possibility the Russians could join with us and our friends and allies to cooperate on missile defense systems. But there is a condition. Russia must break its dangerous habit of proliferation. In the hard work of halting proliferation, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is not the answer. I've said that our nation should continue its moratorium on testing. Yet far more important is to constrict the supply of nuclear materials and the means to deliver them, by making this a priority with Russia and China. Our nation must cut off the demand for nuclear weapons, by addressing the security concerns of those who renounce these weapons. **And our nation must diminish the evil attraction of these weapons for rogue states, by rendering them useless with missile defense.** The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty does nothing to gain these goals. It does not stop proliferation, especially to renegade regimes. It is not verifiable. It is not enforceable. And it would stop us from ensuring the safety and reliability of our nation's deterrent, should the need arise. On these crucial matters, it offers only words and false hopes and high intentions, with no guarantees whatever. We can fight the spread of nuclear weapons, but we cannot wish them away with unwise treaties. Dealing with Russia on essential issues will be far easier if we are dealing with a democratic and free Russia. Our goal is to promote, not only the appearance of democracy in Russia, but the structures, spirit, and reality of democracy. This is clearly not done by focusing our aid and attention on a corrupt and favored elite. Real change in Russia, as in China, will come not from above, but from below. From a rising class of entrepreneurs and business people. From new leaders in Russia's regions who will build a new Russian state, where power is shared, not controlled. Our assistance, investments and loans should go directly to the Russian people, not to enrich the bank accounts of corrupt officials. America should reach out to a new generation of Russians through educational exchanges and programs to support the rule of law and a civil society. And the Russian people, next month, must be given a free and fair choice in their election. We cannot buy reform for Russia, but we can be Russia's ally in self-reform. Even as we support Russian reform, we cannot excuse Russian brutality. When the Russian government attacks civilians, killing women and children, leaving orphans and refugees, it can no

longer expect aid from international lending institutions. The Russian government will discover that it cannot build a stable and unified nation on the ruins of human rights. That it cannot learn the lessons of democracy from the textbook of tyranny. We want to cooperate with Russia on its concern with terrorism, but that is impossible unless Moscow operates with civilized self-restraint. Just as we do not want Russia to descend into cruelty, we do not want it to return to imperialism. Russia does have interests with its newly independent neighbors. But those interests must be expressed in commerce and diplomacy, not coercion and domination. A return to Russian imperialism would endanger both Russian democracy and the states on Russia's borders. The United States should actively support the nations of the Baltics, the Caucasus and Central Asia, along with Ukraine, by promoting regional peace and economic development, and opening links to the wider world. Often overlooked in our strategic calculations is that great land that rests at the south of Eurasia. This coming century will see democratic India's arrival as a force in the world. A vast population, before long the world's most populous nation. A changing economy, in which three of its five wealthiest citizens are software entrepreneurs. India is now debating its future and its strategic path, and the United States must pay it more attention. We should establish more trade and investment with India as it opens to the world. And we should work with the Indian government, ensuring it is a force for stability and security in Asia. This should not undermine our longstanding relationship with Pakistan, which remains crucial to the peace of the region. All our goals in Eurasia will depend on America strengthening the alliances that sustain our influence, in Europe and East Asia and the Middle East. Alliances are not just for crises, summoned into action when the fire bell sounds. They are sustained by contact and trust. The Gulf War coalition, for example, was raised on the foundation of a president's vision and effort and integrity. Never again should an American president spend nine days in China, and not even bother to stop in Tokyo or Seoul or Manila. Never again should an American president fall silent when China criticizes our security ties with Japan. For NATO to be strong, cohesive and active, the President must give it consistent direction, on the alliance's purpose, on Europe's need to invest more in defense capabilities, and, when necessary, in military conflict. To be relied upon when they are needed, our allies must be respected when they are not. We have partners, not satellites. Our goal is a fellowship of strong, not weak, nations. And this requires both more American consultation and more American leadership. The United States needs its European allies, as well as friends in other regions, to help us with security challenges as they arise. For our allies, sharing the enormous opportunities of Eurasia also means sharing the burdens and risks of sustaining the peace. The support of friends allows America to reserve its power and will for the vital interests we share. Likewise, international organizations can serve the cause of peace. I will never place United States troops under United Nations command, but the United Nations can help in weapons inspections, peacekeeping and humanitarian efforts. If I am president, America will pay its dues, but only if the United Nations' bureaucracy is reformed, and our disproportionate share of its costs is reduced.

There must also be reform of international financial institutions, the World Bank and the IMF. They can be a source of stability in economic crisis. But they should not impose austerity, bailing out bankers while impoverishing a middle class. They should not prop up failed and corrupt financial systems. These organizations should encourage the basics of economic growth and free markets. Spreading the rule of law and wise budget

practices. Promoting sound banking laws and accounting rules. Most of all, these institutions themselves must be more transparent and accountable. All the aims I've described today are important. But they are not imperial. America has never been an empire. We may be the only great power in history that had the chance, and refused, preferring greatness to power and justice to glory. We are a nation that helped defeat Germany in 1945, which had launched a war costing fifty-five million lives. Less than five years later we launched an airlift to save the people of Berlin from starvation and tyranny. And a generation of Germans remember the raisin bombers that dropped candy and raisins for children. We are a nation that defeated Japan, then distributed food, wrote a constitution, encouraged labor unions and gave women the right to vote. Japanese who expected retribution received mercy instead. Over the entrance of one American army camp, there was a banner that read, Be neat. Be soldierly. Be proud. Behave. Be American. No one questioned what those words meant, Be American. They meant we were humble in victory. That we were liberators, not conquerors. And when American soldiers hugged the survivors of death camps, and shared their tears, and welcomed them back from a nightmare world, our country was confirmed in its calling. The duties of our day are different. But the values of our nation do not change. Let us reject the blinders of isolationism, just as we refuse the crown of empire. Let us not dominate others with our power, or betray them with our indifference. And let us have an American foreign policy that reflects American character. The modesty of true strength. The humility of real greatness. This is the strong heart of America. And this will be the spirit of my administration. I believe this kind of foreign policy will inspire our people and restore the bipartisanship so necessary to our peace and security. Many years ago, Alexander Solzhenitzyn challenged American politicians. Perhaps, he said, some of you still feel yourselves just as representatives of your state or party. We do not perceive these differences. We do not look on you as Democrats or Republicans, not as representatives of the East or West Coast or the Midwest. Upon you depends whether the course of world history will tend to tragedy or salvation. That is still our challenge. And that is still our choice. Thank you.

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3. Campaign Rally in Grand Rapids, MI November 3 2000 (<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0011/03/se.04.html>)

Thank you all, thank you all very much. First, let me thank all those who are inside this magnificent facility. I want to thank the leadership of the Cornerstone University, the students. I want to thank those in the hall. I also want to thank the thousands who are outside the hall for coming.

I told the people outside, I said, I appreciate so very much your patience. But it's a pretty good sign. It's a pretty good sign when thousands couldn't get in this huge facility. It leads me to believe this, We're going to carry Michigan on November seventh.

First, let me say to you, it is important, it is important to send, thank you. It's important to send Senator Abraham back to the United States Senate. This man is a good man. He's a good man. He cares a lot about the people of Michigan. And I look forward to working with him to do what's right for America.

Congressman Ehlers is here. And my advice to your congressman is this, Mr. Congressman, be patient. In five days, help is on the way. I'm proud, Laura and I are proud to call John and Michelle Engler our friends.

I know you've been proud to call him governor. What a good man. What a good man, the Englers are. Old Engy and I, we both married really well. We both married Texans. I think you can judge the nature of a man by the company he keeps. I keep really good company with Laura Bush. She's going to make a fabulous first lady for America.

We're so thrilled to be here in this important state, coming down the stretch. I want to tell you, I'm here to not only ask for the vote, I'm here to ask for your help.

For the next five days, I hope you join us in turning out as many voters as we possibly can here in western Michigan. And if we do our job, if we do our job, not only will Michigan be Bush-Cheney country, but you'll have a new president of the United States with the last name of Bush.

We are less than one hundred hours away from the hour of decision. And whether or not you're a Republican or a Democrat or an independent, we're asking for your support. We're asking you to join our cause and join us in victory on November the seventh.

My opponent, our opponent. I want you all to hear this. I think you'll find it interesting, for my opponent in these closing hours will be asking for the vote in Tennessee. I don't know if you remember when he was saying he was trying to escape from the shadow of the president. Well, guess what? The shadow is back.

The president will be flying into Arkansas tomorrow to try a last-minute rescue mission. But you need to know something, I'm not worried, I'm flattered.

I figure this, If we've got President Clinton back in Arkansas, and Al Gore back in Tennessee, we must be doing something right.

But they've been gone from their states for quite a while, and I think they're going to find a different attitude there. I think they're going to find that in Tennessee and Arkansas, these states are like Michigan and the rest of the country, and this country is ready for change.

It's ready for bipartisan leadership. It is ready for a leader who will bring this great country together. No, that's what this country wants. They want a leader who understands how to lead, how to bring folks together to achieve the people's business. As you're out campaigning for us, make sure you talk about the issues, because people when they hear

it are going to find out, we stand squarely with the people.

There's a big difference of philosophy in this campaign. I'm running against a man of Washington, by Washington and for Washington. Ours is a campaign that stands squarely on the side of the people and the families and the workers of America.

I've laid out a positive agenda for this country. An agenda that will help people help themselves. We believe, we don't believe in the heavy hand of the federal government, we believe in the helping hand.

Let me start by talking, however, about one of my opponents favorite phrases. He loves to go around America saying, you ain't seen nothing yet. How appropriate those words are.

Take for example the issue of Medicare. This country is crying for reform. For eight years, we've wanted reform, and we ain't seen nothing yet.

It's time for a leader to bring Republicans and Democrats together to make sure the Medicare system fulfills its promise to our seniors, that the Medicare system makes sure there's prescription drugs available for all seniors. And if seniors are unhappy with the Medicare plan, they ought to be given additional options, additional choices from which to choose the plan that best suits their needs.

This stands in stark contrast to my opponent, who not only has not gotten anything done for eight years, but has proposed a massive federal plan where all decisions will be made at the federal level. He trusts the government. We trust the people.

This country, this country cries for reform of the Social Security system. But after eight years, we ain't seen nothing yet.

After eight years of partisan bickering and name calling, reform of the Social Security system has not happened. It's time for new leadership to bring Republicans and Democrats together, to be able to say to our seniors a promise made will be a promise kept, to reject the old-style politics that tries to frighten seniors into the voting booth, to reject all that old business of trying to tear somebody down while the issues still remains.

No, it's time for new leadership that understands that we must trust younger workers with your own money to be able to invest in the private sector to get a better rate of return.

Today in America, there is an achievement gap in some of our public schools. And that's unacceptable as we head into the twenty first century. There are some schools where our children are not learning. There are some schools that are plagued by low standards, what I call the soft bigotry of low expectations. There are some schools that will not teach nor will they change. That's unacceptable to us. We believe in setting high standards. We strongly believe in local control of schools. And we will challenge failure wherever we find it in public education.

This nation cries for reform of public education, but after eight years we ain't seen nothing yet. As you know, there's a lot of discussion about the surplus. Now, I want you all to understand clearly that our budgets grow over ten years, and there's still money left over. That's why it's called a surplus.

If you listen to my opponent, listen carefully, it sounds like he thinks the surplus exists because of the ingenuity and the hard work of your federal government. No. We understand differently. The surplus exists because of the ingenuity and hard work of the American people.

We set priorities in our campaign. That's what a leader does. A leader sets priorities. You've heard of the priorities, Social Security, Medicare, education. I'm going to talk about another priority after this issue, and that's military preparedness.

But if you set priorities, and if you lead, and if you're diligent with the people's money, there is still money left over. And the fundamental question is what to do with that money. Here's what we believe. We don't believe the surplus is the government's money. We know the surplus is the people's money. And we're going to send some of that money back to the people who pay the bills.

It's your money. It's not the government's money. People all the time, the punditry says, Well, the people don't seem to want tax relief. And I said, But you missed the facts. Today in America, people pay more in federal, state and local taxes than they do in food and clothing and housing. I want you to think about that.

The average family is working harder and longer hours and paying more in taxes than on the basic necessities to live. This isn't right, folks. We need to send some of your money back to the people who pay the bills. We ought to provide tax relief for everybody who pays taxes in America.

In 1992, my opponent campaigned around the country saying, We're going to have tax relief for the middle class. But here, after eight years, we ain't seen nothing yet.

And if you analyze his new plan called targeted tax cuts for the middle class, targeted tax cuts, fifty million Americans won't see anything at all. Fifty million Americans are target out of tax relief.

But if you have any doubt about the difference of our opinion versus that of my opponent, I want you to hear his own words. At the Democratic National Convention he said, If you give me a chance to be your president, I will make sure the right people get tax relief.

Think about that. Think about that, my fellow Americans. Somebody seeking the highest office of the land who says, Elect me, so I get to determine who the right people are. That's not our vision of this great land. Everybody is the right person and everybody ought to be treated fairly.

Today I want to talk about another issue of significant importance to this country. I want to bring America together so that we can rebuild our military to defend our people and to keep the peace. Eight years ago, the Clinton-Gore administration inherited a military ready for dangers and challenges facing our nation. The next president will inherit a military in decline. But if the next president is George W. Bush, the days of decline will be over.

America's military is the strongest in the world, confident, proud and willing to carry out every mission we give them. But we've got a serious problem in our military today. And that problem is not with our men and women in uniform, it is a problem of leadership at the very top of the chain of command.

The Clinton-Gore administration has used our military too much and supported it too little. Defense spending is lower as a share of our economy than at any time since 1940, the year before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Yet rarely has our military been used so freely, more commitments, less resources. It is a short-sighted policy with long-term consequences.

In the Air Force, combat readiness is down. In the Army, forty percent of the helicopter fleet was reported not up to performing its mission. In the Navy, some missions have been cut short, because they do not have the money to pay for fuel.

One retired general, a former commander of United States forces in the Persian Gulf said this, he says, Our nation would have trouble today mounting another operation the size of Desert Storm.

With all these problems in our military, we've learned something else, When you don't keep faith with the men and women of our military, it's hard to keep them at all. In a survey last year, more than half of officers and enlisted people said they were dissatisfied and intended to leave as soon as they could. This is no way to treat young men and women giving their country the best years of their lives.

Those men and women have never failed us, and we must never fail them. The vice president doesn't even want a discussion on the state of our military. He says that just stating these facts is somehow running down America's military. Those are his words, run down America's military.

So let's get something straight right now. To point out that our military has been overextended, taken for granted and neglected, that's no criticism of the military. That is criticism of a president and vice president and their record of neglect.

Dick Cheney, my good running mate Dick Cheney and I, have a message to all of our men and women in uniform and to their parents and to their families, Help is on the way. We can never take our military for granted.

We have to remember that our country is defended by volunteers, every one of them

wears the uniform by choice. Should I become the commander in chief, our country's defenders will get the support they need and the respect they have earned. First, we will treat the people of our military better, so we can recruit and retain the best our nation has to offer. We will add a billion dollars in salary increases. We will improve military housing. We will improve the quality of training at our bases and national training centers, because shortfalls in training can become disasters on the battlefield.

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

Secondly, as president, I will protect America from, America itself from missiles and blackmail. In a time of technology and terror, the defense of our homeland must be an urgent goal.

Our main line of defense is a clear message. Every group or nation must know this, If they sponsor attacks against America, our response will be devastating. We will strengthen our intelligence operations to detect terror before it strikes. And our nation must build a missile defense.

Many Americans are surprised to learn that America has no national defense against missiles. But this is a fact, This administration at first denied the need for a national missile defense. Then it delayed and pursued a program inadequate to defend our nation's friends and allies. This administration has left America undefended from missile attack. My administration will not make the same mistake.

If I become the president, we will waste no more time preparing to defend the American people. Thirdly, as president, I will seize this moment of opportunity to build the military of the future. Our military is strong, but we cannot rest. The world moves forward in technology, and we must move even faster. We will invest in, we will invest in military technology that takes us years ahead of any challenge. Our heavy forces will be lighter. Our light forces will be more powerful. And all will be easier to move across the globe.

This will require spending more and spending more wisely. I will commit an additional twenty billion dollars a year for, twenty billion dollars to defense research and development. The best way to keep the peace is to redefine war on our terms.

Here again, there is no time to waste. No time to waste. The Clinton-Gore administration has allowed spending on defense research to decline in real terms, despite warnings even from fellow Democrats.

Last summer, one senator wrote the White House that cuts in defense research were, in his words, real and dangerous, and have slowed the development of a number of capabilities that will needed by our war-fighters in the near future.

This senator wasn't running down the military when he wrote the letter. He was pointing out a mistaken policy and failed leadership. And who was that worried senator? Well, it

was Joe Lieberman. He was right then and his running mate is wrong now.

This administration's failure to support defense research is real and it's dangerous, in the senator's words. I will correct this course and restore our strength. I will prepare our military not just to win war but to prevent war.

My friends, this is a great and important debate for our nation, and the American people are listening and in the end will decide. Two decades ago, we had a similar debate in this country. The Republican challenger said we were not fully prepared for the threats and opportunities that lay ahead. It's a good thing we had that debate in 1980, because we know that challenger was right. We needed the leadership of Ronald Reagan.

His leadership not only prepared us for victory in the Cold War, but gave us the force that won the Gulf War. We need that same sense of responsibility today, a responsibility to build the might of our country so America will be well-prepared long after our service has ended.

Should Dick Cheney and I be elected, you have our word, We will build the military of the future to give our nation a strength beyond challenge. We will have a military where men and women are proud to serve and proud to stay.

Should I become your president, I'll also work to call upon the strength of the nation. The strength of the nation lies not in the halls of government, the strength of the nation lies in the hearts and souls of our citizens.

A leader's responsibility is to call upon the best of the nation. A leader's responsibility is to speak plainly. A leader's responsibility is to understand that the great armies of compassion, which exist all across Michigan and all across America, must be rallied to make sure nobody gets left behind as we head into the 21st century. And a leader's responsibility is to understand that if he happens to hold the highest office of the land, there is an important responsibility with the office, so important in our lives to learn.

It's become clear to America over the course of this campaign that I've made mistakes in my life. But I'm proud to tell you, I've learned from those mistakes. And that's the role of a leader, is to share wisdom, to share experience with people who are looking for somebody to lead.

Should I be the one after it's all ended, should I be the one America turns to, with your help, I want to conclude by telling you I understand the awesome responsibilities of this job. I understand the serious undertaking. **I understand that when I put my hand on the Bible, I will swear to not only uphold the laws of this land, but to answer the calls of the mothers and dads who I see all the time around America, who come to my rallies and hold a picture of their child and look me in the eye and say, Governor, I'm here to say, never let us down again, to hear those calls.**

I will also swear to uphold the honor and the integrity of the office to which I have

been elected, so help me God.

Thank you all for coming. **God bless.**

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4. GOP Nomination Acceptance Speech, August 3 2000
(<http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/08.03.00.html>)

Mr. Chairman, delegates, and my fellow citizens. I accept your nomination. Thank you for this honor. Together, we will renew America's purpose.

Our founders first defined that purpose here in Philadelphia. Ben Franklin was here. Thomas Jefferson. And, of course, George Washington, or, as his friends called him, George W. I am proud to have Dick Cheney at my side. He is a man of integrity and sound judgment, who has proven that public service can be noble service. America will be proud to have a leader of such character to succeed Al Gore as Vice President of the United States. I am grateful for John McCain and the other candidates who sought this nomination. Their convictions strengthen our party. I am especially grateful tonight to my family. No matter what else I do in life, asking Laura to marry me was the best decision I ever made. To our daughters, Barbara and Jenna, we love you, we're proud of you, and as you head off to college this fall. Don't stay out too late, and e-mail your old dad once in a while, will you? And mother, everyone loves you and so do I. Growing up, she gave me love and lots of advice. I gave her white hair. And I want to thank my father, the most decent man I have ever known. All my life I have been amazed that a gentle soul could be so strong. And Dad, I want you to know how proud I am to be your son.

My father was the last president of a great generation. **A generation of Americans who stormed beaches, liberated concentration camps and delivered us from evil.** Some never came home. Those who did put their medals in drawers, went to work, and built on a heroic scale, highways and universities, suburbs and factories, great cities and grand alliances, the strong foundations of an American Century.

Now the question comes to the sons and daughters of this achievement. What is asked of us? This is a remarkable moment in the life of our nation. Never has the promise of prosperity been so vivid. But times of plenty, like times of crisis, are tests of American character. Prosperity can be a tool in our hands, used to build and better our country. Or it can be a drug in our system, dulling our sense of urgency, of empathy, of duty.

Our opportunities are too great, our lives too short, to waste this moment. So tonight we vow to our nation. We will seize this moment of American promise. We will use these good times for great goals. We will confront the hard issues, threats to our national security, threats to our health and retirement security, before the challenges of our time become crises for our children.

And we will extend the promise of prosperity to every forgotten corner of this country. To every man and woman, a chance to succeed. To every child, a chance to learn. To every family, a chance to live with dignity and hope. For eight years, the Clinton/Gore administration has coasted through prosperity. And the path of least resistance is always downhill. But America's way is the rising road. This nation is daring and decent and ready for change.

Our current president embodied the potential of a generation. So many talents. So much charm. Such great skill. But, in the end, to what end? So much promise, to no great purpose. Little more than a decade ago, the Cold War thawed and, with the leadership of Presidents Reagan and Bush, that wall came down. But instead of seizing this moment, the Clinton and Gore administration has squandered it. We have seen a steady erosion of American power and an unsteady exercise of American influence.

Our military is low on parts, pay and morale. If called on by the commander-in-chief today, two entire divisions of the Army would have to report, Not ready for duty, sir.

This administration had its moment. They had their chance. They have not led. We will. This generation was given the gift of the best education in American history. Yet we do not share that gift with everyone. Seven of ten fourth-graders in our highest poverty schools cannot read a simple children's book. And still this administration continues on the same old path with the same old programs, while millions are trapped in schools where violence is common and learning is rare.

This administration had its chance. They have not led. We will. America has a strong economy and a surplus. We have the public resources and the public will, even the bipartisan opportunities, to strengthen Social Security and repair Medicare.

But this administration, during eight years of increasing need, did nothing. They had their moment. They have not led. We will.

Our generation has a chance to reclaim some essential values -- to show we have grown up before we grow old. But when the moment for leadership came, this administration did not teach our children, it disillusioned them.

They had their chance. They have not led. We will.

And now they come asking for another chance, another shot. Our answer? Not this time. Not this year. This is not a time for third chances, it is a time for new beginnings. The rising generations of this country have our own appointment with greatness. It does not rise or fall with the stock market. It cannot be bought with our wealth. Greatness is found when American character and American courage overcome American challenges.

When Lewis Morris of New York was about to sign the Declaration of Independence, his brother advised against it, warning he would lose all his property. Morris, a plain-spoken Founder, responded Damn the consequences, give me the pen. That is the eloquence of American action.

We heard it during World War two, when General Eisenhower told paratroopers on D-Day morning not to worry, and one replied, We're not worried, General, It's Hitler's turn to worry now.

We heard it in the civil rights movement, when brave men and women did not say, We shall cope, or We shall see. They said We shall overcome. An American president must call upon that character.

Tonight, in this hall, we resolve to be, not the party of repose, but the party of reform. We will write, not footnotes, but chapters in the American story. We will add the work of our hands to the inheritance of our fathers and mothers, and leave this nation greater than we found it. We know the tests of leadership. The issues are joined.

We will strengthen Social Security and Medicare for the greatest generation, and for generations to come. Medicare does more than meet the needs of our elderly, it reflects the values of our society.

We will set it on firm financial ground, and make prescription drugs available and affordable for every senior who needs them. Social Security has been called the third rail of American politics, the one you're not supposed to touch because it shocks you.

But, if you don't touch it, you can't fix it. And I intend to fix it.

To seniors in this country. You earned your benefits, you made your plans, and President George W. Bush will keep the promise of Social Security, no changes, no reductions, no way. Our opponents will say otherwise. This is their last, parting ploy, and don't believe a word of it.

Now is the time for Republicans and Democrats to end the politics of fear and save Social Security, together. For younger workers, we will give you the option, your choice, to put a part of your payroll taxes into sound, responsible investments.

This will mean a higher return on your money, and, over thirty or forty years, a nest egg to help your retirement, or pass along to your children. When this money is in your name, in your account, it's not just a program, it's your property.

Now is the time to give American workers security and independence that no politician can ever take away.

On education. Too many American children are segregated into schools without standards, shuffled from grade-to-grade because of their age, regardless of their knowledge.

This is discrimination, pure and simple, the soft bigotry of low expectations.

And our nation should treat it like other forms of discrimination. We should end it.

One size does not fit all when it comes to educating our children, so local people should

control local schools.

And those who spend your tax dollars must be held accountable. When a school district receives federal funds to teach poor children, we expect them to learn. And if they don't, parents should get the money to make a different choice. Now is the time to make Head Start an early learning program, teach all our children to read, and renew the promise of America's public schools.

Another test of leadership is tax relief. The last time taxes were this high as a percentage of our economy, there was a good reason, We were fighting World War two.

Today, our high taxes fund a surplus. Some say that growing federal surplus means Washington has more money to spend. But they've got it backwards.

The surplus is not the government's money. The surplus is the people's money.

I will use this moment of opportunity to bring common sense and fairness to the tax code. And I will act on principle.

On principle, every family, every farmer and small businessperson, should be free to pass on their life's work to those they love. So we will abolish the death tax.

On principle, no one in America should have to pay more than a third of their income to the federal government.

So we will reduce tax rates for everyone, in every bracket. On principle, those in the greatest need should receive the greatest help.

So we will lower the bottom rate from fifteen percent to ten percent and double the child tax credit.

Now is the time to reform the tax code and share some of the surplus with the people who pay the bills.

The world needs America's strength and leadership, and America's armed forces need better equipment, better training, and better pay.

We will give our military the means to keep the peace, and we will give it one thing more, a commander-in-chief who respects our men and women in uniform, and a commander-in-chief who earns their respect.

A generation shaped by Vietnam must remember the lessons of Vietnam.

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

I will work to reduce nuclear weapons and nuclear tension in the world, to turn these years of influence into decades of peace.

And, at the earliest possible date, my administration will deploy missile defenses to guard against attack and blackmail.

Now is the time, not to defend outdated treaties, but to defend the American people. A time of prosperity is a test of vision. And our nation today needs vision. That is a fact, or as my opponent might call it, a risky truth scheme.

Every one of the proposals I've talked about tonight, he has called a risky scheme, over and over again. It is the sum of his message, the politics of the roadblock, the philosophy of the stop sign.

If my opponent had been there at the moon launch, it would have been a risky rocket scheme. If he'd been there when Edison was testing the light bulb, it would have been a risky anti-candle scheme.

And if he'd been there when the Internet was invented well. I understand he actually was there for that. He now leads the party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. But the only thing he has to offer is fear itself.

That outlook is typical of many in Washington, always seeing the tunnel at the end of the light. But I come from a different place, and it has made me a different leader.

In Midland, Texas, where I grew up, the town motto was "the sky is the limit" ... and we believed it. There was a restless energy, a basic conviction that, with hard work, anybody could succeed, and everybody deserved a chance.

Our sense of community was just as strong as that sense of promise. Neighbors helped each other. **There were dry wells and sandstorms to keep you humble, and lifelong friends to take your side, and churches to remind us that every soul is equal in value and equal in need.**

This background leaves more than an accent, it leaves an outlook. Optimistic. Impatient with pretense. Confident that people can chart their own course.

That background may lack the polish of Washington. Then again, I don't have a lot of things that come with Washington.

I don't have enemies to fight. And I have no stake in the bitter arguments of the last few years. I want to change the tone of Washington to one of civility and respect.

The largest lesson I learned in Midland still guides me as governor, Everyone, from immigrant to entrepreneur, has an equal claim on this country's promise.

So we improved our schools, dramatically, for children of every accent, of every background. We moved people from welfare to work. We strengthened our juvenile justice laws.

Our budgets have been balanced, with surpluses, and we cut taxes not only once, but

twice. We accomplished a lot.

I don't deserve all the credit, and don't attempt to take it. I worked with Republicans and Democrats to get things done.

A bittersweet part of tonight is that someone is missing, the late Lieutenant Governor of Texas Bob Bullock. Bob was a Democrat, a crusty veteran of Texas politics, and my great friend.

He worked by my side, endorsed my re-election, and I know he is with me in spirit in saying to those who would malign our state for political gain. Don't mess with Texas.

As governor, I've made difficult decisions, and stood by them under pressure. I've been where the buck stops, in business and in government.

I've been a chief executive who sets an agenda, sets big goals, and rallies people to believe and achieve them. I am proud of this record, and I'm prepared for the work ahead.

If you give me your trust, I will honor it, Grant me a mandate, and I will use it. Give me the opportunity to lead this nation, and I will lead. And we need a leader to seize the opportunities of this new century, the new cures of medicine, the amazing technologies that will drive our economy and keep the peace.

But our new economy must never forget the old, unfinished struggle for human dignity. And here we face a challenge to the very heart and founding premise of our nation.

A couple of years ago, I visited a juvenile jail in Marlin, Texas, and talked with a group of young inmates. They were angry, wary kids. All had committed grownup crimes. Yet when I looked in their eyes, I realized some of them were still little boys.

Toward the end of conversation, one young man, about fifteen, raised his hand and asked a haunting question, What do you think of me?

He seemed to be asking, like many Americans who struggle, Is there hope for me? Do I have a chance? And, frankly, Do you, a white man in a suit, really care what happens to me?

A small voice, but it speaks for so many. Single moms struggling to feed the kids and pay the rent. Immigrants starting a hard life in a new world.

Children without fathers in neighborhoods where gangs seem like friendship, where drugs promise peace, and where sex, sadly, seems like the closest thing to belonging. We are their country, too. And each of us must share in its promise, or that promise is diminished for all.

If that boy in Marlin believes he is trapped and worthless and hopeless, if he believes his life has no value, then other lives have no value to him, and we are all diminished. When

these problems aren't confronted, it builds a wall within our nation. On one side are wealth and technology, education and ambition.

On the other side of the wall are poverty and prison, addiction and despair. And, my fellow Americans, we must tear down that wall. Big government is not the answer. But the alternative to bureaucracy is not indifference.

It is to put conservative values and conservative ideas into the thick of the fight for justice and opportunity. This is what I mean by compassionate conservatism. And on this ground we will govern our nation.

We will give low-income Americans tax credits to buy the private health insurance they need and deserve. We will transform today's housing rental program to help hundreds of thousands of low-income families find stability and dignity in a home of their own.

And, in the next bold step of welfare reform, we will support the heroic work of homeless shelters and hospices, food pantries and crisis pregnancy centers, people reclaiming their communities block-by-block and heart-by-heart.

I think of Mary Jo Copeland, whose ministry called Sharing and Caring Hands serves one thousand meals a week in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Each day, Mary Jo washes the feet of the homeless, then sends them off with new socks and shoes.

Look after your feet, she tells them. **They must carry you a long way in this world, and then all the way to God.**

Government cannot do this work. **It can feed the body, but it cannot reach the soul.** Yet government can take the side of these groups, helping the helper, encouraging the inspired.

My administration will give taxpayers new incentives to donate to charity, encourage after-school programs that build character, and support mentoring groups that shape and save young lives.

We must give our children a spirit of moral courage, because their character is our destiny. We must tell them, with clarity and confidence, that drugs and alcohol can destroy you, and bigotry disfigures the heart. Our schools must support the ideals of parents, elevating character and abstinence from afterthoughts to urgent goals.

We must help protect our children, in our schools and streets, by finally and strictly enforcing our nation's gun laws. Most of all, we must teach our children the values that defeat violence.

I will lead our nation toward a culture that values life, the life of the elderly and the sick, the life of the young, and the life of the unborn.

I know good people disagree on this issue, but surely we can agree on ways to value life by promoting adoption and parental notification, and when Congress sends me a bill against partial-birth abortion, I will sign it into law. Behind every goal I have talked about tonight is a great hope for our country.

A hundred years from now, this must not be remembered as an age rich in possessions and poor in ideals. Instead, we must usher in an era of responsibility.

My generation tested limits, and our country, in some ways, is better for it.

Women are now treated more equally. Racial progress has been steady, if still too slow. We are learning to protect the natural world around us. We will continue this progress, and we will not turn back. At times, we lost our way. But we are coming home. So many of us held our first child, and saw a better self reflected in her eyes. **And in that family love, many have found the sign and symbol of an even greater love, and have been touched by faith.** We have discovered that who we are is more important than what we have. And we know we must renew our values to restore our country. This is the vision of America's founders.

They never saw our nation's greatness in rising wealth or advancing armies, but in small, unnumbered acts of caring and courage and self-denial.

Their highest hope, as Robert Frost described it, was to occupy the land with character. And that, thirteen generations later, is still our goal, to occupy the land with character. In a responsibility era, each of us has important tasks, work that only we can do. Each of us is responsible, to love and guide our children, and help a neighbor in need.

Synagogues, churches and mosques are responsible, not only to worship but to serve. Corporations are responsible, to treat their workers fairly, and leave the air and waters clean. Our nation's leaders are responsible, to confront problems, not pass them on to others.

And to lead this nation to a responsibility era, a president himself must be responsible.

And so, when I put my hand on the Bible, I will swear to not only uphold the laws of our land, I will swear to uphold the honor and dignity of the office to which I have been elected, so help me God.

I believe the presidency, the final point of decision in the American government, was made for great purposes. It is the office of Lincoln's conscience and Teddy Roosevelt's energy and Harry Truman's integrity and Ronald Reagan's optimism. For me, gaining this office is not the ambition of a lifetime, but it is the opportunity of a lifetime.

And I will make the most of it. I believe great decisions are made with care, made with conviction, not made with polls. I do not need to take your pulse before I know my own mind. I do not reinvent myself at every turn. I am not running in borrowed clothes.

When I act, you will know my reasons. When I speak, you will know my heart. **I believe**

in tolerance, not in spite of my faith, but because of it. I believe in a God who calls us, not to judge our neighbors, but to love them. I believe in grace, because I have seen it. In peace, because I have felt it. In forgiveness, because I have needed it.

I believe true leadership is a process of addition, not an act of division. I will not attack a part of this country, because I want to lead the whole of it.

And I believe this will be a tough race, down to the wire. Their war room is up and running, but we are ready. Their attacks will be relentless, but they will be answered. We are facing something familiar, but they are facing something new.

We are now the party of ideas and innovation. The party of idealism and inclusion. The party of a simple and powerful hope.

My fellow citizens, we can begin again. After all of the shouting, and all of the scandal. After all of the bitterness and broken faith. We can begin again.

The wait has been long, but it won't be long now. A prosperous nation is ready to renew its purpose and unite behind great goals, and it won't be long now.

Our nation must renew the hopes of that boy I talked with in jail, and so many like him, and it won't be long now. Our country is ready for high standards and new leaders, and it won't be long now.

An era of tarnished ideals is giving way to a responsibility era, and it won't be long now. I know how serious the task is before me.

I know the presidency is an office that turns pride into prayer. But I am eager to start on the work ahead.

And I believe America is ready for a new beginning. My friend, the artist Tom Lea of El Paso, captured the way I feel about our great land.

He and his wife, he said, live on the east side of the mountain.

It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not the side to see the day that is gone.

Americans live on the sunrise side of mountain. The night is passing. And we are ready for the day to come.

Thank you. **And God bless you.**

- 14 sections removed
- 3817 words post-extraction

Phase 2 Speeches: Pre-September 11th Presidency

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1. President Discusses Defense Priorities August 29 2001

Thank you all very much for that warm welcome. It's my honor to welcome you to my home state. We need the rain, so I appreciate you bringing it from all around the country. I want you to know, you're in a military town. The people of this city are always proud to honor those who serve, and those who wear the uniform today.

Mr. Mayor, thank you for your hospitality. I know on behalf of all the folks who have come to this convention, they thank you, and your able staff, the good folks of San Antonio, for being such great hosts to this wonderful convention.

It's an honor for San Antonio to host you. And it's a high honor for me to stand before my fellow Legionaries as the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Military. And it was a higher honor to escort to this podium the Legion Auxiliary's Woman of the Year. You couldn't have made a finer choice.

I want to thank Ray Smith, the National Commander, for giving me a chance to come. And I want to thank him for his service. I want to thank Kristine West for her service as well. I want to thank Bob Spanogle, the National Adjutant. I want to thank the man who runs your Washington, D.C. office, John Sommer, for working so closely with my administration. I want to welcome members of my Cabinet who are here, Tony Principi, Elaine Chow. And I understand that Henry Bonilla, the Congressman from this area is here, and I want to say hello to Henry, and his wife Deborah.

And finally, I want to introduce you all, if you haven't met him yet, to a fine man who's making a great Governor for Texas, my friend, the forty-seventh Governor of the State of Texas, Rick Perry. Rick, you need to know, we've just come in from Crawford, Texas. And a lot of folks down there can't wait to vote for you.

The American Legion was chartered in the years after World War I, just about the time that Dwight Eisenhower was a junior officer, living right here in San Antonio, Texas, at Fort Sam. You've seen wars and their aftermath. You've received millions into your ranks. You've seen our culture change for better, and sometimes for worse.

And yet, from that founding day in 1919, to this very day, the American Legion has never compromised its principles. **As General Douglas McArthur said at your 1951 convention, The American Legion has been invincibly faithful to God and to country.** Those of us honored to serve in high office, have commitments of our own to our nation's veterans.

I made my own commitments last year, when we met in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Those commitments are now becoming policies. And the needs of our veterans are once again priorities of our government.

If you've worn the uniform, you know just how efficiently government can sometimes work. When government needed your services, it moved pretty fast. There weren't many delays. And that's exactly how government ought to operate in repaying you for your service, in giving you the benefits you earned. Some of you are among the thousands of veterans whose claims have been delayed, or sadly enough, lost in the bureaucracy.

At my direction, the Department of Veterans Affairs has begun to change the way it does business. And I put a good man in charge, my friend and your friend, Tony Principi. Tony is conducting a top to bottom review of the VA claims processing.

Reform has begun, and we're starting where the need is greatest. At present, there are more than six hundred thousand pending applications. A full fifty-three thousand of them have been pending for more than a year. And many were filed by veterans over the age of seventy. Think about that. Here are thousands of men who served their country in Korea and World War II, or both. The last thing they need to hear from any federal office are more, more routine excuses. That's wrong, and this administration is going to get it right.

Under Secretary Principi, these claims are being given the highest priority. They will be brought to a fair resolution, without excuses, and without delay. I've also set the goal of improving cooperation between the VA and the Pentagon in providing care to those who served. By executive order, I have created a task force to recommend major reforms in the delivery of health care to veterans and military retirees.

Two distinguished Americans will lead the task force, Dr. Gail Wilensky, one of the nation's leading authorities on health policy, and former Congressman Jerry Solomon, a long-time veteran's advocate, who served our nation as a marine in the Korean conflict. I'm pleased to announce that Bob Spanogle of the American Legion has agreed, and will, serve on this task force to represent the American Legion.

My administration is also serious about implementing the Veteran's Millennium Health Care Act, to ensure high quality care. In my first budget, I asked Congress for an additional one billion dollars for veteran benefits and services. And Secretary Principi recently announced six new centers for Parkinson's disease research and care, and forty-one new outpatient clinics in twenty-eight states. All the better to serve our nation's veterans.

In the budget I submitted, veterans are a priority. My budgets will also discharge in full the most basic responsibility for the President, to provide for the security of the United States. In that responsibility, a President needs capable partners, and I have chosen well. I receive outstanding policy advice from Dr. Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State Colin Powell. I'm so pleased that Don Rumsfeld is back for a second tour at the

Pentagon. And the nation has never had a finer Vice President than Dick Cheney. Well, maybe it's a tie.

Last week in Crawford, I had the honor of selecting a new Chairman for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to replace a good and honorable man who served our nation well, and that's General Hugh Shelton. I picked a native of Kansas City, Missouri, Air Force General Richard Myers. And as Vice-Chairman, I picked the first Marine ever, Pete Pace. I have assured both men and every man and woman serving today that the services will receive the support and means they need to operate.

I recently signed a bill allocating over two billion dollars in supplemental appropriations for military pay, benefits and health care. In order to boost the morale of our military, it starts with taking care of our people.

But there's more. This budget I submitted to Congress makes national defense a priority. I've asked Congress to provide the largest increase in military spending since Ronald Reagan was the President and Commander-in-Chief of the United States.

And to meet any dangers, our administration will begin building the military of the future. We must and we will make major investments in research and development. And we are committed to defending America and our allies against ballistic missile attacks, against weapons of mass destruction held by rogue leaders in rogue nations that hate America, hate our values and hate what we stand for.

We have a clear eye on foreign policy. We recognize it's a dangerous world. I know this nation still has enemies, and we cannot expect them to be idle. And that's why security is my first responsibility. And I will not permit any course that leaves America undefended.

In all of these efforts, I hope to have the support of the good people in this room. The American Legion is one of the most respected institutions in our nation, and one of the most familiar. After all, on the main streets all across America, the Legion Hall itself is a center of civic life, a place where speeches, sometimes too long, are heard, it's where the Scout troops meet, it's where special events are celebrated.

I recently had the honor of welcoming the leaders of tomorrow, those of Boys and Girls Nation, to the White House. And I applaud you for your efforts at promoting character in our young. And I also can't thank you enough for promoting baseball as the American pastime.

With nearly fifteen thousand posts and close to three million members, the Legion helps make America better every single day. You're recognized not merely as an organization of interests, but as importantly, an organization of values. You represent a ethic of service. When you teach the values of honor and patriotism and personal responsibility, you teach by example. And when you speak of the American flag, and the legal protection it deserves, you speak with authority. And you are right.

You may have heard recently, this past month I've been outside of Washington. I set up a Western White House, right up the road in Crawford, Texas. But I've been spending a lot of time traveling the Heartland of America. And I'll do more traveling this fall, speaking about my agenda and the values behind it.

I plan to speak about the values of service and good citizenship that sustains our country. That's where the greatness of America shines through, not in the halls of government, but in the character of our citizens.

One of the important goals of my administration is to invigorate the spirit and involvement of our citizens, to make sure no one is left out of the great America Dream. **I've created an Office of Faith-based and Community Initiatives in the White House.** And I'm asking Congress to join me in my efforts.

It's time to bring new support and new resources to institutions that help people in need. **When people of faith provide social services, and the love that is needed, government must welcome them with open arms, and not discriminate faith-based programs in America.**

Oh, there's a lot we've got to get done this fall, and I'm looking forward to getting back to work. In the coming weeks, Congress will be going to what they call a conference committee on a patients' bill of rights. I support a good bill that's already passed the House, one that serves patients first and doctors, but one that will not encourage frivolous or junk lawsuits that could conceivably throw people off their health care insurance. I'm hopeful they'll move quickly and get a good bill on my desk.

On Medicare, I've laid out common sense principles for strengthening the program, including overdue, long overdue coverage for prescription drugs in Medicare.

As parents, grandparents, concerned citizens, all of you are concerned about the quality of our public schools, and I appreciate your involvement. We want the best for our children, and no question it begins with making sure every child is educated, and making sure our public schools not only teach how to read and write and add and subtract, but teach our children the values that have been sustained over a long period of time, the values necessary to become good citizens.

There's a bill that passed the House, there's a bill that passed the Senate. When they get back, I hope they don't play politics with the education bill, and they need to get it to my desk quickly, so I can sign it and reform the public schools all across America.

And of course the members will be coming back to consider the pieces of legislation, as well as to make necessary spending decisions. So far this year, the signs have been pretty good about how they're going to spend your money. We got a bipartisan budget passed. It's an important guideline as how best to spend taxpayers' money.

In record time as well, Congress passed, I signed, and the mailman is now delivering the largest tax cut in a generation. Our economy began slowing down last year, and that's bad news. And I'm deeply worried about the working families all across the country. According to today's GDP figures, the recovery is very slow in coming. But with the tax reduction already in place, Americans will have more of their own money to spend, to save and invest, the very things that make our economy grow. Tax relief is exactly the right time, thing, the right prescription at the right time for the American economy.

Now, there are some who are second-guessing tax relief. You hear the voices begin to filter out of their home states. I presume those who now oppose tax relief are for raising your taxes. That would tie an anchor on our economy, and I can assure you I won't allow it.

In the next few weeks, Congress will face some critical choices, and some old temptations. I'm asking them to let go of some of the old ways of doing business in Washington, D.C. Most of you have been around long enough to know how the process works. Often the important things are put off to last. And in the meantime, lots of new spending gets thrown in. Near the end of the process, suddenly we hear that Congress is about to go over the budget, so the items that have been saved for last are the ones most likely to get cut.

And guess which, guess what usually has been saved for the last? The defense bill, leaving our national security at the mercy of budget games and last-minute cuts. This year, we might even see our administration's two highest priorities, education and national defense being played off against each other.

That's the old way of doing business, and it's time to stop it. We may have different agendas in Washington, but we all have the same basic obligations. We must start with the things that matter most to the future and security of our country. This time, and from this time forward, let us put education and national defense at the first of the line, not at the last.

I return to Washington tomorrow, ready to make my case and ready to work with folks on both sides of the aisle. Dick Cheney and I didn't seek our offices so we could just settle in and mark time. We didn't come to rubber stamp the status quo. We came to challenge old assumptions, and to provide new directions. We came to get something done for the country, and to change the tone in our national discourse.

I'm proud of the progress we have been making, yet there's a lot to do. And I realize the American people are counting on us. You have given me a perfect sendoff. I leave honored by your support, and grateful for your service to our great land.

Thank you all very much. **May God bless.**

- 4 sections extracted
- 2394 words post-extraction

2. US Naval Academy Commencement May 25 2001

Thank you very much. Thank you, all. Secretary England, thank you very much. For those of you who don't this, he was sworn-in at noon yesterday, just to be here as the Secretary of the Navy. I'm proud to have this good man serving our country.

Admiral Clark, thank you very much. General Jones, Admiral Ryan, members of the Board of Visitors, members of the United States Congress, distinguished faculty, distinguished guests, family and friends and, most of all, graduating midshipmen of the Class of 2001.

It is a tremendous honor for me to stand before the future of the United States Navy and the United States Marine Corps. You'll always remember this commencement day, a day of excitement, pomp, circumstance; tears of joy and relief when the speaker finally stops speaking.

When I accepted the invitation to speak here, I asked Admiral Clark, fine man that he is, if he had any thoughts on what I should talk about. He said, Mr. President, you should talk about 20 minutes. So we'll see how I do.

I bring with me a small graduation present: in keeping with long-standing tradition, I hereby absolve all midshipmen who are on restriction for minor conduct offenses. It seems a lot of you are cheering. I leave it to Admiral Ryan to define exactly what "minor" means.

Your class has so much to be proud of. You've endured the physical shake-down of your plebe summer and the academic shock of your plebe year. You've endured sea trials and the trial of the Herndon Climb. You've slept in rooms adorned with brass plaques that remind you of predecessors whose chests were adorned with Medals of Honor. You've worshipped in a chapel engraved with the words, Non Sibi, sed Patriae. Not for self, but for country.

You've studied in buildings named after giants: Nimitz, Sampson, Mahan and Michelson. **And just in case the studying wasn't enough, some of you gave the left-handed salute to Tecumseh, the God of 2.0.** They didn't have that statue where I went to school. I wish they had.

No one made you come here. No one made you stay. And no one made you to subject yourself to a code of honor and a life of discipline. But you did. And your President and your country are so very grateful and proud that you have chosen to serve.

We all know that you did not arrive at this day by yourselves. You had a lot of help. And at the top of this list must go your parents, and I'd like to congratulate them, as well. The class of 2001, you launch yourself into what we all hope will be fair winds and following seas. It's a good time to reflect for a moment on the things that change, and the things that never change.

Today, I'm going to talk about the changing world you're entering, and the enduring values you'll bring to it. Presenting the butter bars to the Class of 2001 will be four flag officers from the Naval Academy Class of 1951, Admirals Burkhalter, Dunn, McKee and Metcalf. We're so honored to have them here, as well as a true modern day hero, and your former superintendent, Admiral Bill Lawrence.

The Class of 1951 and the Class of 2001 are separated by 50 years, but you have much in common. You exhibit the same patriotism, the same professionalism, and the same drive. And let's not forget, both classes beat Army.

Half a century ago, the Class of 1951 ventured into a world where the very existence of our nation seemed to hang in the balance. Thanks in part to their service and sacrifice, the values of democratic freedom prevailed throughout some forty winters of a Cold War.

Today, you inherit a world that is safer and more peaceful, a world the Class of 1951 helped to make possible. You're the custodians of their legacy, the next link in the long, unbroken chain that is Annapolis past and present.

The world you're entering today is different from the one they entered in five decades ago. But it's still dangerous. It still requires America to have a forward strategy for freedom. The Navy-Marine Corps team you're about to join as new officers will be an integral part of that strategy.

Today, nearly one-third of our naval forces are forward-deployed overseas. The USS Constellation carrier battle group and its ten thousand sailors are plying the waters of the Persian Gulf, enforcing the no-fly zone over southern Iraq.

Another three thousand, eight hundred sailors and Marines stand guard nearby with the Boxer amphibious ready group, deterring and mischief Saddam might contemplate. The USS Enterprise is in the Mediterranean, along with the Kearsarge amphibious ready group. They're supporting NATO efforts to maintain peace in the Balkans and deterring those who would break the peace. And in the Pacific, the USS Kitty Hawk is on call, ready, if needed, to defend America's interests.

These forces are America's insurance policy in a world of change and challenge. They give comfort to our allies and pause to our enemies and adversaries. America today has the finest Navy and Marine Corps the world has ever seen. And with your help, I am committing to ensuring that we have the world's finest Navy and Marine Corps tomorrow and every day after.

To do so, we must build forces that draw upon the revolutionary advances in the technology of war that will allow us to keep the peace by redefining war on our terms. I'm committed to building a future force that is defined less by size and more by mobility and swiftness, one that is easier to deploy and sustain, one that relies more heavily on stealth, precision weaponry and information technologies.

Fifteen years from now, as many of you approach the point of command, a President may stand here and describe a far different range of deployments than the one I just gave. He, or she, may speak of Aegis destroyers protecting entire continents from the threat of ballistic missile attack. Modified Trident submarines carrying hundreds of next-generation smart conventional cruise missiles; agile Marine task forces ready to deploy with far greater speed, operational reach and precision than ever before. And global command and control systems providing near total battle space awareness in real time to on-the-scene commanders.

Building tomorrow's force is not going to be easy. Changing the direction of our military is like changing the course of a mighty ship, all the more reason for more research and development, and all the more reason to get started right away.

Yet, building a twenty-first century military will require more than new weapons. It will also require a renewed spirit of innovation in our officer corps. We cannot transform our military using old weapons and old plans. Nor can we do it with an old bureaucratic mind set that frustrates the creativity and entrepreneurship that a twenty-first century military will need.

The world around us is made smaller every day by the powers of science and technology. These forces of change are transforming every field, from business and communications to health and culture. As the newest officers in our military, your leadership challenge is to embrace those forces, so that you might shape them and harness them to build the security of our country. Only by accepting this challenge will you be able to see over the horizon, and to develop the new concepts and applications that our Navy will need in the decades to come.

It is this spirit of innovation that in the late 1920s allowed a visionary like Admiral Marc Mitscher to truly understand the potential power of putting an airplane on a ship. He and other great pioneers perfected in less than twenty years the doctrine, technology and tactics of naval aviation that would win the war in the Pacific.

That same decade, the spirit of innovation allowed a smart Marine Major named Pete Ellis to understand that such a war would require the ability to land men and heavy equipment from a ship. So he spent the better part of his career developing the doctrine of amphibious warfare. The Marines at Iwo Jima and Inchon were thankful he did.

The same spirit led Admiral Hyman Rickover in the 1950s to the insight that the nuclear genie could be bottled to allow our submarines to stay underwater for months at a time. It led Admiral Red Raborn to understand how to put a nuclear missile on a submarine. And it led Arleigh Burke, the father of the modern Navy, to have the foresight to put these two men and their ideas together to create the third and most invulnerable leg of our Cold War nuclear triad.

Creativity and imaginative thinking are the great competitive advantages of America and America's military. Today, I call upon you to seize and to join this tradition of creativity and innovation. Our national and military leaders owe you a culture that supports innovation and a system that rewards it.

Officers willing to think big thoughts and look at problems with a fresh eye are sometimes wrong. New ideas don't always work. If you pick up this mantle, some of your ideas may fail. But we need to give you this freedom, and we will. It is from your failures that we will learn and acquire the knowledge that will make successful innovation possible.

As President, I am committed to fostering a military culture where intelligent risk-taking and forward thinking are rewarded, not dreaded. And I'm committed to ensuring that visionary leaders who take risks are recognized and promoted.

The Navy of the future will require innovation and entrepreneurial leadership. It will require safeguarding naval traditions of accountability and responsibility. And, as it always has, it will require men and women who live and breathe the values that have made America and her military great.

You know by now that life in the Navy and Marine Corps is not glamorous. You will endure long hours of routine, punctuated, at times without warning, by moments of danger, where the stakes for your crew and your country could not be higher.

Annapolis has prepared you well for this life. It has strengthened your bodies and sharpened your minds. Most importantly, it has fortified your character with timeless values, honor, courage and commitment. Through four years, your class has sat through many a lecture about the meaning of these values. You don't need another lecture today. But I do urge you to reflect upon their importance. Reminders of their relevance surround us.

Last month when our EP-3 crew came home from Hainan Island in China, millions of Americans had the opportunity to hear their story on television. From officers and crew, including Lieutenant John Comerford, Annapolis Class of 1997, America learned firsthand about the skill and courage it took to land their wounded plane. We also saw a glimpse of the fortitude that allowed the crew to maintain its unity and spirit.

What Americans couldn't know from those television appearances was that these men and women of uncommon valor are, in fact, quite common in today's Navy. What looked extraordinary to America is nothing out of the ordinary among those who wear the uniform. And our Navy and Marine Corps is filled with people, both officers and enlisted, who have the courage, maturity and judgment they displayed. I'm sure the Admirals from the Class of 1951 who joined us today could tell you quite explicitly how the Navy's core values have served them throughout their illustrious careers.

But there are many others from the Class of 1951 whose stories are lessor known, such as retired Lieutenant Colonel Bill Holmberg. One year and a handful of days after graduation, Second Lieutenant Bill Holmberg found himself on the Korean peninsula, faced with the daunting task: to infiltrate his platoon deep behind enemy lines in an area swarming with patrol; to rout a tenacious enemy to seize and hold their position. And that's what he did. And that's what his platoon did.

Along the way they came under heavy fire and engaged in fierce hand-to-hand combat. Despite severe wounds, Lieutenant Holmberg refused to be evacuated, and continued to deliver orders and direct the offensive until the mission was accomplished.

And that's why he wears the Navy Cross. And today, his deeds, and the deeds of other heros from that class, echo down through the ages to you. You can't dictate the values that make a hero. You can't buy them, but you can foster them. And you can give a class like yours a sense of confidence and teamwork that will carry you through the toughest moments in a life of service to a cause greater than all of us.

Today, you leave here knowing in your heart a great truth that some in life never discover: that values are important. You understand that life cannot be lived with casual commitments and shallow creeds. You understand that no one can be neutral between right and wrong, tyranny and freedom, cynicism and honor. And you know that the greatest victories are sometimes won on the private battlefields of conscience.

Over time, your weapons and methods must change, but your values will not. And because of this, you contribute not just to the military might of our country, but to its meaning and conscience and soul.

You will not only be the defenders of America, but an example to America, and we're deeply grateful.

Finally, as you go about your great work, remember that you're not only officers, but ambassadors from the land of freedom. Your work will take you far from our shores. And for many people, you will be, literally, the face of America, the first and, perhaps, only American they will ever meet.

Remember that your very diversity of regional, racial and religious heritage is, itself, a rebuke to those who hate the ideals you have pledged to defend. Remember that America has always been committed to enlarging the circle of human freedom, not reaching for the crown of empire.

And as you wear your nation's uniform, remember also to wear the humility of true greatness. As your class helps America chart its new course in this new century, these values -- honor, courage, commitment and humility -- must be both your anchor and your compass. You are part of the long, blue line of service and sacrifice, committed to defending the highest aspirations of the human heart.

The best days of our Navy and our nation are yet to come, and you, by the grace of God, will help us reach the next shore.

Thank you, and God bless.

- 4 sections to extract
- 2376 words post-extraction

3. Remarks to Students at National Defense University May 1 2001

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. I appreciate you being here. I also want to thank Secretary Powell for being here as well. My National Security Advisor, Condi Rice is here, as well as the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Myers. I appreciate Admiral Clark and General Ryan here, for being here as well. But most of all, I want to thank you, Admiral Gaffney, and the students for National Defense University for having me here today.

For almost one hundred years, this campus has served as one of our country's premier centers for learning and thinking about America's national security. Some of America's finest soldiers have studied here: Dwight Eisenhower and Colin Powell. Some of America's finest statesmen have taught here; George Kennan. Today, you're carrying on this proud tradition forward, continuing to train tomorrow's generals, admirals and other national security thinkers, and continuing to provide the intellectual capital for our nation's strategic vision.

This afternoon, I want us to thank back some thirty years to a far different time in a far different world. The United States and the Soviet Union were locked in a hostile rivalry. The Soviet Union was our unquestioned enemy, a highly-armed threat to freedom and democracy. Far more than that wall in Berlin divided us.

Our highest ideal was, and remains, individual liberty. Theirs was the construction of a vast communist empire. Their totalitarian regime held much of Europe captive behind an iron curtain.

We didn't trust them, and for good reason. Our deep differences were expressed in a dangerous military confrontation that resulted in thousands of nuclear weapons pointed at each other on hair-trigger alert. Security of both the United States and the Soviet Union was based on a grim premise: that neither side would fire nuclear weapons at each other, because doing so would mean the end of both nations.

We even went so far as to codify this relationship in a 1972 ABM Treaty, based on the doctrine that our very survival would best be insured by leaving both sides completely open and vulnerable to nuclear attack. The threat was real and vivid. The Strategic Air Command had an airborne command post called the Looking Glass, aloft twenty-four

hours a day, ready in case the President ordered our strategic forces to move toward their targets and release their nuclear ordnance.

The Soviet Union had almost one and a half million troops deep in the heart of Europe, in Poland and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany. We used our nuclear weapons not just to prevent the Soviet Union from using their nuclear weapons, but also to contain their conventional military forces, to prevent them from extending the Iron Curtain into parts of Europe and Asia that were still free.

In that world, few other nations had nuclear weapons and most of those who did were responsible allies, such as Britain and France. We worried about the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other countries, but it was mostly a distant threat, not yet a reality.

Today, the sun comes up on a vastly different world. The Wall is gone, and so is the Soviet Union. Today's Russia is not yesterday's Soviet Union. Its government is no longer Communist. Its president is elected. Today's Russia is not our enemy, but a country in transition with an opportunity to emerge as a great nation, democratic, at peace with itself and its neighbors. The Iron Curtain no longer exists. Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are free nations, and they are now our allies in NATO, together with a reunited Germany.

Yet, this is still a dangerous world, a less certain, a less predictable one. More nations have nuclear weapons and still more have nuclear aspirations. Many have chemical and biological weapons. Some already have developed the ballistic missile technology that would allow them to deliver weapons of mass destruction at long distances and at incredible speeds. And a number of these countries are spreading these technologies around the world.

Most troubling of all, the list of these countries includes some of the world's least-responsible states. Unlike the Cold War, today's most urgent threat stems not from thousands of ballistic missiles in the Soviet hands, but from a small number of missiles in the hands of these states, states for whom terror and blackmail are a way of life. They seek weapons of mass destruction to intimidate their neighbors, and to keep the United States and other responsible nations from helping allies and friends in strategic parts of the world.

When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, the world joined forces to turn him back. But the international community would have faced a very different situation had Hussein been able to blackmail with nuclear weapons. Like Saddam Hussein, some of today's tyrants are gripped by an implacable hatred of the United States of America. They hate our friends, they hate our values, they hate democracy and freedom and individual liberty. Many care little for the lives of their own people. In such a world, Cold War deterrence is no longer enough.

To maintain peace, to protect our own citizens and our own allies and friends, we must seek security based on more than the grim premise that we can destroy those who seek to

destroy us. This is an important opportunity for the world to re-think the unthinkable, and to find new ways to keep the peace.

Today's world requires a new policy, a broad strategy of active nonproliferation, counterproliferation and defenses. We must work together with other like-minded nations to deny weapons of terror from those seeking to acquire them. We must work with allies and friends who wish to join with us to defend against the harm they can inflict. And together we must deter anyone who would contemplate their use.

We need new concepts of deterrence that rely on both offensive and defensive forces. Deterrence can no longer be based solely on the threat of nuclear retaliation. Defenses can strengthen deterrence by reducing the incentive for proliferation.

We need a new framework that allows us to build missile defenses to counter the different threats of today's world. To do so, we must move beyond the constraints of the thirty year old ABM Treaty. This treaty does not recognize the present, or point us to the future. It enshrines the past. No treaty that prevents us from addressing today's threats, that prohibits us from pursuing promising technology to defend ourselves, our friends and our allies is in our interests or in the interests of world peace.

This new framework must encourage still further cuts in nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons still have a vital role to play in our security and that of our allies. We can, and will, change the size, the composition, the character of our nuclear forces in a way that reflects the reality that the Cold War is over.

I am committed to achieving a credible deterrent with the lowest-possible number of nuclear weapons consistent with our national security needs, including our obligations to our allies. My goal is to move quickly to reduce nuclear forces. The United States will lead by example to achieve our interests and the interests for peace in the world.

Several months ago, I asked Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld to examine all available technologies and basing modes for effective missile defenses that could protect the United States, our deployed forces, our friends and our allies. The Secretary has explored a number of complementary and innovative approaches.

The Secretary has identified near-term options that could allow us to deploy an initial capability against limited threats. In some cases, we can draw on already established technologies that might involve land-based and sea-based capabilities to intercept missiles in mid-course or after they re-enter the atmosphere. We also recognize the substantial advantages of intercepting missiles early in their flight, especially in the boost phase.

The preliminary work has produced some promising options for advanced sensors and interceptors that may provide this capability. If based at sea or on aircraft, such approaches could provide limited, but effective, defenses.

We have more work to do to determine the final form the defenses might take. We will explore all these options further. We recognize the technological difficulties we face and we look forward to the challenge. Our nation will assign the best people to this critical task.

We will evaluate what works and what does not. We know that some approaches will not work. We also know that we will be able to build on our successes. When ready, and working with Congress, we will deploy missile defenses to strengthen global security and stability.

I've made it clear from the very beginning that I would consult closely on the important subject with our friends and allies who are also threatened by missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

Today, I'm announcing the dispatch of high-level representatives to Allied capitals in Europe, Asia, Australia and Canada to discuss our common responsibility to create a new framework for security and stability that reflects the world of today. They will begin leaving next week.

The delegations will be headed by three men on this stage, Rich Armitage, Paul Wolfowitz, and Steve Hadley, Deputies of the State Department, the Defense Department and the National Security staff. Their trips will be part of an ongoing process of consultation, involving many people and many levels of government, including my Cabinet Secretaries.

These will be real consultations. We are not presenting our friends and allies with unilateral decisions already made. We look forward to hearing their views, the views of our friends, and to take them into account.

We will seek their input on all the issues surrounding the new strategic environment. We'll also need to reach out to other interested states, including China and Russia. Russia and the United States should work together to develop a new foundation for world peace and security in the twenty-first century. We should leave behind the constraints of an ABM Treaty that perpetuates a relationship based on distrust and mutual vulnerability. This Treaty ignores the fundamental breakthroughs in technology during the last thirty years. It prohibits us from exploring all options for defending against the threats that face us, our allies and other countries.

That's why we should work together to replace this Treaty with a new framework that reflects a clear and clean break from the past, and especially from the adversarial legacy of the Cold War. This new cooperative relationship should look to the future, not to the past. It should be reassuring, rather than threatening. It should be premised on openness, mutual confidence and real opportunities for cooperation, including the area of missile defense. It should allow us to share information so that each nation can improve its early warning capability, and its capability to defend its people and territory. And perhaps one day, we can even cooperate in a joint defense.

I want to complete the work of changing our relationship from one based on a nuclear balance of terror, to one based on common responsibilities and common interests. We may have areas of difference with Russia, but we are not and must not be strategic adversaries. Russia and America both face new threats to security. Together, we can address today's threats and pursue today's opportunities. We can explore technologies that have the potential to make us all safer.

This is a time for vision; a time for a new way of thinking; a time for bold leadership. The Looking Glass no longer stands its 24-hour-day vigil. We must all look at the world in a new, realistic way, to preserve peace for generations to come.

God bless.

- 1 section extracted
- 1949 words post-extraction

4. Remarks at Christening for the USS Ronald Reagan March 4 2001

Thank you all. Thank you very much. Mr. Secretary, thank you for those kind words. I picked the right man to be the Secretary of Defense at this time in history.

Mrs. Reagan, it is an honor to be with you. Reagan family members, friends of the great President, Laura and I are honored to be here.

We join with the Governor and Senator of this state in asking for God's blessings on those who lost their lives yesterday, and for their families.

Bill, thank you very much for your hospitality. Secretary Powell and Secretary Abraham, Leader Lott, Chairman Warner, I can't tell if you're trying to retire me early, or influence my behavior.

Senator Allen, Governor Gilmore, Representative Scott and members of Congress, Justice Kennedy, Admiral Clark, welcome. But most of all, I want to welcome the men and women of the United States Navy, including the officers and crew who will soon be on the Ronald Reagan.

Looking at the bow of this great ship, we think of those who will sail it, and of those who built it, and to this ship, six years in the making, we have put the finest of American workmanship. On board this ship we'll put the finest sailors in the world. And upon this ship we have put the finest of American names.

Forty-nine years ago, another outstanding American took that name herself. Mrs. Reagan, I know today is your forty-ninth anniversary, wedding anniversary. Since your wedding day, you've seen the name Reagan written large in many places, from theater marquees to

the archways of great buildings. But there is something especially fitting in the place it holds today, on the newest ship, in the greatest Navy in the world. When we send her off to sea, it is certain that the Ronald Reagan will meet with rough waters, as well as smooth, and headwinds as well as fair. But she will sail tall and strong, like the man we have known.

A man can not be strong forever, but if he is very fortunate, life will send him a partner to be strong when he is not. In a life of honors, Ronald Reagan has always valued one honor above all, the love of Nancy. It is a love that believes all, hopes all, and endures all. Mrs. Reagan, anyone who has seen you together knows how much you mean to him. I want you to know how much your care and love for him means to America.

It was said of a great architect centuries ago, if you want to seek his monument, look around you. That is true of Ronald Reagan. We live in a world shaped in so many ways by his will and heart. **As President, Ronald Reagan believed without question that tyranny is temporary, and the hope of freedom is universal and permanent; that our nation has a unique goodness, and must remain uniquely strong; that God takes the side of justice, because all our rights are His own gifts.**

The strength of these beliefs gave strength to our allies and hope to political prisoners, and courage to average citizens in oppressed nations, and leadership to our military and to our country.

Some achievements fade with the years. Ronald Reagan's achievements grow larger with the passing of time. He had a profound vision of America's role in the world as one of peace through strength. And because of Ronald Reagan, the world saw America as a strong and peaceful nation.

Today's world is different from the one he faced and changed. We are no longer divided into armed camps, locked in a careful balance of terror. Yet, freedom still has enemies. Our present dangers are less concentrated and more varied. They come from rogue nations, from terrorism, from missiles that threaten our forces, our friends, our allies and our homeland. Our times call for new thinking. But the values Ronald Reagan brought to America's conduct in the world will not change.

So as we dedicate this ship, I want to rededicate American policy to Ronald Reagan's vision of optimism, modesty, and resolve. Ronald Reagan's optimism defined his character and it defined his presidency. More than a habit of mind, this optimism sprang from deep confidence in the power and future of American ideals. Great democracies, he believed, are built on the strong foundation of consent and human dignity. Any government built on oppression is built on sand. The future, he proclaimed, belongs to the free.

That belief has lost none of its power to inspire hope and change. Around the world today, the expectation of freedom is fed by free markets and expanded by free trade, and

carried across borders by the Internet. And nations that try to restrict these freedoms are in a losing battle with liberty.

America, by nature, stands for freedom. And we must always remember, we benefit when it expands. So we will stand by those nations moving toward freedom. We'll stand up to those nations who deny freedom and threaten our neighbors or our vital interests. And we will assert emphatically that the future will belong to the free.

At the same time President Reagan understood that this confidence should never be arrogance. No one was better at using the bully pulpit of the presidency, but under his leadership America was never a bully.

One of the ways we show the world we take our values seriously is to live by them, ourselves. Our nation cherishes freedom, but we do not own it. **While it is the birthright of every American, it is also the equal promise of the religious believe in Southern Sudan, or an Iraqi farmer in the Tigris Valley, or of a child born in China today.** We help fulfill that promise not by lecturing the world, but by leading it.

Precisely because America is powerful, we must be sensitive about expressing our power and influence. Our goal is to patiently build the momentum of freedom, not create resentment for America itself. We pursue our goals, we will listen to others; we want strong friends to join us, not weak neighbors to dominate. In all our dealings with other nations, we will display the modesty of true confidence and strength.

And finally, Ronald Reagan understood that the advance of freedom depends on American strength. We must have a military that is second to none, and that includes a Navy that is second to none.

As has been mentioned, for the last sixty years, every President has had to ask, where are the carriers? None has ever been disappointed by the Navy's response. Just a few weeks ago, I asked the same question, and called upon the Harry S. Truman in the Persian Gulf. Ronald Reagan built the military of today, the military that keeps our peace. But we cannot live forever on that legacy. Our challenge is to build a military that will deter and win the wars of the future.

Almost twenty years ago President Reagan made his first visit to an aircraft carrier, the USS Constellation. He told the sailors how grateful America was that they were there as a powerful force in an uncertain world. One hundred thousand tons of American power you see over here will carry forward this proud tradition. In fact, in two years, the Reagan will actually replace the U.S. Constellation.

What you don't see is what's different between those two magnificent vessels. The island on the Reagan's main deck is almost the same height as that of its predecessors, but it has one less level. The empty space will be filled with cables that will tie the ship into a vast network that connects information and weapons in new ways. This will revolutionize the

Navy's ability to project American power over land and sea, ensuring access for all our forces, wherever our vital interests are threatened.

These new capabilities are the future of our military, not just the Navy, but of all our services. It is the future of where a revolution in technology will change the face of war, itself. We'll keep the peace by redefining the terms of war. We'll change our military, yet we will never forget that America's strength ultimately depends on the courage and spirit of the men and women who wear the uniform.

Nearly half our ships are at sea right now. One-third are forward deployed overseas, taking their crew away from family and the comforts of home. In our sleep we don't think about the enemies that the men and women who wear the uniform deter, the friends they reassure, the freedom in trade they guarantee. Yet, we rest at night protected by the security they provide.

As President, Ronald Reagan understood our duty to these brave Americans, and so do I. Our men and women in uniform give America their best, and we owe them our support in return. These are the defining qualities of Ronald Reagan, optimism, modesty and strength. They're also the qualities that will guide America in a new century.

So, today, the Ronald Reagan begins its journey into the bright and peaceful dawn that President Reagan helped to bring. **All of us here wish the ship Ronald Reagan Godspeed. And we wish Ronald Reagan God's blessings.**

God bless America.

- 6 sections to extract
- 1422 words post-extraction

5. Remarks by the President to the Troops February 13 2001

Thank you all. Thank you very much. General, thank you for that kind introduction, and thank you for your service to our nation. I'm honored to be here with the Secretary of Defense, Don Rumsfeld. I picked a good man to be the Secretary of Defense.

General Shelton, thank you for accompanying us today. Admiral Perowne, Admiral Mayer, members of the NATO staff. I want to thank the NATO ambassadors who are here, or the ambassadors representing NATO countries who are here. I'm honored that you took time out of your day to come down. I'm thankful that members of the congressional delegation from the Commonwealth of Virginia and other states traveled with us. I'm particularly pleased that Senator John Warner is here, along with the former governor of the state of Virginia, now Senator George Allen.

I also want to recognize not only members of the United States House of Representatives, but also Ed Shrock, the newly elected United States Congressman from this district. I appreciate Ed traveling with us as well.

Most of all, I want to thank the men and women who wear the uniform for your warm greeting. And thank you for your service to the United States of America. I also want to thank your family members who are here with you. Oftentimes, we talk about the men and women who wear the uniform, it's also important to remember the husbands and wives of those who do, as well.

Just this morning, we're reminded of the risks of your duty and the sacrifices that you make. **I ask you to join me in a moment of silent prayer for the dead, the wounded and missing crew members of the twenty-fifth Infantry Division who were involved in a training accident on Oahu this morning.**

Amen.

We fly nineteen flags here. Together, they symbolize one of the supreme achievements of the last century. NATO is the reason history records no World War III, by preserving the stability of Europe and the transatlantic community. NATO has kept the peace; and the work goes on.

When NATO was formed, the great challenge was to prevent conflict in Europe, by a system of collective defense among three nations. In a message to Congress sent with the NATO Treaty, President Harry Truman explained his purpose this way. The nations signing this treaty, he said, share a common heritage of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law. The security and welfare of each member of this community depend upon the security and welfare of all. None of us alone can achieve economic prosperity or military security. None of us alone can assure the continuance of freedom.

This is still true today. Our challenges have changed, and NATO is changing and growing to meet them. But the purpose of NATO remains permanent. As we have seen in the Balkans, together, united, we can detour the designs of aggression, and spare the continent from the effects of ethnic hatreds.

I'm here today with a message for America's allies. We will cooperate in the work of peace. We will consult early and candidly with our NATO allies. We will expect them to return the same. In diplomacy, in technology, in missile defense, in fighting wars and, above all, in preventing wars, we must work as one. Transatlantic security and stability is a vital American interest, and our unity is essential for peace in the world. Nothing must ever divide us.

A little while ago I saw an example of that unity in action. From the command center here I had a glimpse of future threats and of the technology that will be used to meet them. These new systems are impressive and they're only a beginning in the technologies we will need to deter wars in the decades to come.

Because America, NATO and our allies have made the world more secure, we have an opportunity today given to few nations in history, to prepare for the future, to think anew.

Eleven years after the Cold War, we are in a time of transition and testing, when it will be decided what dangers draw near or pass away, what tragedies are invited or averted. We must use this time well. We must seize this moment.

First, we must prepare our nations against the dangers of a new era. The grave threat from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons has not gone away with the Cold War. It has evolved into many separate threats, some of them harder to see and harder to answer. And the adversaries seeking these tools of terror are less predictable, more diverse. With advance technology, we must confront the threats that come on a missile. With shared intelligence and enforcement, we must confront the threats that come in a shipping container or in a suitcase.

We have no higher priority than the defense of our people against terrorist attack. To succeed, America knows we must work with our allies. We did not prevail together in the Cold War only to go our separate ways, pursuing separate plans with separate technologies.

The dangers ahead confront us all. The defenses we build must protect us all. And secondly, as you know firsthand, we must extend our peace by advancing our technology. We're witnessing a revolution in the technology of war, powers increasingly defined not by size, but by mobility and swiftness. Advantage increasingly comes from information such as the three dimensional images of simulated battle that I have just seen. Safety is gained in stealth and forces projected on the long arc of precision-guided weapons. The best way to keep the peace is to redefine war on our terms.

At my request, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld has begun a comprehensive review of the United States military, the state of our strategy, the structure of our forces, their priorities of our budget. I have given him a broad mandate to challenge the status quo as we design a new architecture for the defense of America and our allies. We will modernize some existing weapons and equipment, a task we have neglected for too long. But we will do this judiciously and selectively. Our goal is to move beyond marginal improvements to harness new technologies that will support a new strategy.

We do not know yet the exact shape of our future military, but we know the direction we must begin to travel. On land, our heavy forces will be lighter, our light forces will be more lethal. All will be easier to deploy and to sustain. In the air, we will be able to strike across the world with pinpoint accuracy, using both aircraft and unmanned systems. On the oceans, we will connect information and weapons in new ways, maximizing our ability to project power over land. In space, we'll protect our network of satellites essential to the flow of our commerce and the defense of our common interests. All of this require great effort and new spending.

The first budget I will send to Congress makes only a start. Before we make our full investment, we must know our exact priorities, and we will not know our priorities until the defense review is finished. That report will mark the beginning of a new defense agenda, and a new strategic vision, and will be the basis for allocating our defense resources.

As I announced yesterday, my 2002 defense budget will increase spending on the people of our military immediately with better pay, better housing and better. This need is urgent, and it's obvious. You give the best, and we owe you the best in return. My 2002 budget will also include \$2.6 billion as a down-payment on the research and development effort that lies ahead.

Yet, in our broader effort, we must put strategy first, then spending. Our defense vision will drive our defense budget; not the other way around.

Vice President Cheney often points out that the military itself is like a ship that cannot be turned around in a moment. It has a dynamic and momentum all its own, set in motion by events and decisions long ago, and turning only in a wide, long arc. Change will not come easy for America's military and for our allies. But we must know our direction and make our turn. You can count on me to lead these changes in a spirit of respect and gratitude for the military and its traditions.

Some things about America's Armed Forces must never change. In times of trouble and in times of peace, the men and women who wear the uniform are the military's greatest asset. Without your hard work and heroism, your discipline and personal courage, the finest of technologies cannot defend us.

Our NATO allies have brought their own character and courage to the defense of liberty. We're cast together in a story of shared struggle and shared victory. Here, where three ships from England once passed on their way to Jamestown, we carry on the alliance that joined the old world and the new. We're allies and we are friends. As long as we stand together, power will always be on the side of peace and freedom.

God bless the United States military. God bless NATO, and God bless America.

- 4 sections to extract
- 1495 words post-extraction

6. Inaugural Address January 20 2001

President Clinton, distinguished guests and my fellow citizens, the peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history, yet common in our country. With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.

As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our nation.

And I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace.

I am honored and humbled to stand here, where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow.

We have a place, all of us, in a long story, a story we continue, but whose end we will not see. It is the story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, a story of a slave-holding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

It is the American story, a story of flawed and fallible people, united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals.

The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born.

Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though our nation has sometimes halted, and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.

Through much of the last century, America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.

Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country, it is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. And even after nearly two hundred and twenty-five years, we have a long way yet to travel.

While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice, of our own country. The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth. And sometimes our differences run so deep, it seems we share a continent, but not a country.

We do not accept this, and we will not allow it. Our unity, our union, is the serious work of leaders and citizens in every generation. And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity.

I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves who creates us equal in His image.

And we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward.

America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests and teach us what it means to be citizens. Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold

them. And every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more, not less, American.

Today, we affirm a new commitment to live out our nation's promise through civility, courage, compassion and character.

America, at its best, matches a commitment to principle with a concern for civility. A civil society demands from each of us good will and respect, fair dealing and forgiveness.

Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because, in a time of peace, the stakes of our debates appear small.

But the stakes for America are never small. If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.

We must live up to the calling we share. Civility is not a tactic or a sentiment. It is the determined choice of trust over cynicism, of community over chaos. And this commitment, if we keep it, is a way to shared accomplishment.

America, at its best, is also courageous.

Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defending common dangers defined our common good. Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us. We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.

Together, we will reclaim America's schools, before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives.

We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent. And we will reduce taxes, to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.

We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge.

We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors.

The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom. We will defend our allies and our interests. We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our nation birth.

America, at its best, is compassionate. In the quiet of American conscience, we know that deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our nation's promise.

And whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault.
Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God, they are failures of love.

And the proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute for hope and order in our souls.

Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not strangers, they are citizens, not problems, but priorities. And all of us are diminished when any are hopeless.

Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet compassion is the work of a nation, not just a government.

And some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their humanity, and they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws.

Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty, but we can listen to those who do.

And I can pledge our nation to a goal: When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.

America, at its best, is a place where personal responsibility is valued and expected.

Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats, it is a call to conscience. And though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper fulfillment. We find the fullness of life not only in options, but in commitments. And we find that children and community are the commitments that set us free.

Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of decency which give direction to our freedom.

Sometimes in life we are called to do great things. **But as a saint of our times has said, every day we are called to do small things with great love.** The most important tasks of a democracy are done by everyone.

I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to pursue the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it as well.

In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times.

What you do is as important as anything government does. I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens, citizens, not spectators, citizens, not subjects, responsible citizens, building communities of service and a nation of character.

Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves, but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves. When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no government program can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it.

After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia statesman John Page wrote to Thomas Jefferson, We know the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. **Do you not think an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?'**

Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. The years and changes accumulate. But the themes of this day he would know: our nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity.

We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. Yet his purpose is achieved in our duty, and our duty is fulfilled in service to one another.

Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life.

This work continues. This story goes on. **And an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm.**

God bless you all, and God bless America.

- 13 sections to extract
- 1336 words post-extraction

“And I can pledge our nation to a goal: When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.” Reference from Luke 10:25-37

“But as a saint of our times has said, every day we are called to do small things with great love.” Quotation from Mother Theresa

Phase 3 Speeches: Post-September 11th Presidency

XRel - CERR Bold Pre-Extraction

1. President Thanks World Coalition for Anti-Terrorism Efforts March 11 2002

Diplomatic representatives of the coalition of nations; members of the Congress, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court; members of the American Armed Forces; military coalition members from around the world; distinguished guests; and ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the White House.

Flying flags from countries contributing to the fight against terrorism, President George W. Bush approaches the podium on the six-month anniversary of the September eleventh Attacks on the South Lawn. We have come together to mark a terrible day, to reaffirm a just and vital cause, and to thank the many nations that share our resolve and will share our common victory.

Six months separate us from September the eleventh. Yet, for the families of the lost, each day brings new pain; each day requires new courage. Your grace and strength have been an example to our nation. America will not forget the lives that were taken, and the justice their death requires.

We face an enemy of ruthless ambition, unconstrained by law or morality. **The terrorists despise other religions and have defiled their own.** And they are determined to expand the scale and scope of their murder. The terror that targeted New York and Washington could next strike any center of civilization. Against such an enemy, there is no immunity, and there can be no neutrality.

Many nations and many families have lived in the shadows of terrorism for decades, enduring years of mindless and merciless killing. September the eleventh was not the beginning of global terror, but it was the beginning of the world's concerted response. History will know that day not only as a day of tragedy, but as a day of decision, when the civilized world was stirred to anger and to action. And the terrorists will remember September eleventh as the day their reckoning began.

A mighty coalition of civilized nations is now defending our common security. Terrorist assets have been frozen. Terrorist front groups have been exposed. A terrorist regime has been toppled from power. Terrorist plots have been unraveled, from Spain to Singapore. And thousands of terrorists have been brought to justice, are in prison, or are running in fear of their lives.

With us today are representatives from many of our partners in this great work, and we're proud to display their flags at the White House this morning. From the contributions these nations have made, some well known, others not, I am honored to extend the deepest gratitude of the people of the United States.

The power and vitality of our coalition have been proven in Afghanistan. More than half of the forces now assisting the heroic Afghan fighters, or providing security in Kabul, are from countries other than the United States. There are many examples of commitment: our good ally, France, has deployed nearly one-fourth of its navy to support Operation Enduring Freedom, and Great Britain has sent its largest naval task force in twenty years. British and American special operations forces have fought beside teams from Australia, and Canada, Norway, Denmark and Germany. In total, seventeen nations have forces deployed in the region. And we could not have done our work without critical support from countries, particularly like Pakistan and Uzbekistan.

Japanese destroyers are refueling coalition ships in the Indian Ocean. The Turkish air force has refueled American planes. Afghans are receiving treatment in hospitals built by Russians, Jordanians, Spanish, and have received supplies and help from South Korea.

Nations in our coalition have shared in the responsibilities and sacrifices of our cause. On the day before September the eleventh, I met with Prime Minister John Howard of Australia, who spoke of the common beliefs and shared affection of our two countries. We could not have known that bond was about to be proven again in war, and we could not have known its human cost. Last month, Sergeant Andrew Russell of the Australian Special Air Service, died in Afghanistan. He left behind his wife, Kylie, and their daughter, Leisa, just eleven days old. Friends said of Sergeant Russell, You could rely on him never to let you down.

This young man, and many like him, have not let us down. Each life taken from us is a terrible loss. We have lost young people from Germany, and Denmark, and Afghanistan, and America. We mourn each one. And for their bravery in a noble cause, we honor them.

Part of that cause was to liberate the Afghan people from terrorist occupation, and we did so. Next week, the schools reopen in Afghanistan. They will be open to all -- and many young girls will go to school for the first time in their young lives. Afghanistan has many difficult challenges ahead, and, yet, we've averted mass starvation, begun clearing mine fields, rebuilding roads and improving health care. In Kabul, a friendly government is now an essential member of the coalition against terror.

Now that the Taliban are gone and al-Qaeda has lost its home base for terrorism, we have entered the second stage of the war on terror, a sustained campaign to deny sanctuary to terrorists who would threaten our citizens from anywhere in the world.

In Afghanistan, hundreds of trained killers are now dead. Many have been captured. Others are still on the run, hoping to strike again. These terrorist fighters are the most committed, the most dangerous, and the least likely to surrender. They are trying to regroup, and we'll stop them. For five months in Afghanistan, our coalition has been patient and relentless. And more patience and more courage will be required. We're fighting a fierce battle in the Shah-i-kot Mountains, and we're winning. Yet, it will not be the last battle in Afghanistan. And there will be other battles beyond that nation.

For terrorists fleeing Afghanistan, for any terrorist looking for a base of operations, there must be no refuge, no safe haven. By driving terrorists from place to place, we disrupt the planning and training for further attacks on America and the civilized world. Every terrorist must be made to live as an international fugitive, with no place to settle or organize, no place to hide, no governments to hide behind, and not even a safe place to sleep.

I have set a clear policy in the second stage of the war on terror: America encourages and expects governments everywhere to help remove the terrorist parasites that threaten their own countries and peace of the world. If governments need training, or resources to meet this commitment, America will help.

We are helping right now in the Philippines, where terrorists with links to al-Qaeda are trying to seize the southern part of the country to establish a militant regime. They are oppressing local peoples, and have kidnapped both American and Filipino citizens. America has sent more than five hundred troops to train Philippine forces. We stand with President Arroyo, who is courageously opposing the threat of terror.

In the Republic of Georgia, terrorists working closely with al-Qaeda operate in the Pankisi Gorge near the Russian border. At President Shevardnadze's request, the United States is planning to send up to one hundred and fifty military trainers to prepare Georgian soldiers to reestablish control in this lawless region. This temporary assistance serves the interests of both our countries.

In Yemen, we are working to avert the possibility of another Afghanistan. Many al-Qaeda recruits come from near the Yemen-Saudi Arabian border, and al-Qaeda may try to reconstitute itself in remote corners of that region. President Saleh has assured me that he is committed to confronting this danger. We will help Yemeni forces with both training and equipment to prevent that land from becoming a haven for terrorists.

In the current stage of the war, our coalition is opposing not a nation, but a network. Victory will come over time, as that network is patiently and steadily dismantled. This will require international cooperation on a number of fronts: diplomatic, financial and military. We will not send American troops to every battle, but America will actively prepare other nations for the battles ahead. This mission will end when the work is finished, when terror networks of global reach have been defeated. The havens and training camps of terror are a threat to our lives and to our way of life, and they will be destroyed.

At the same time, every nation in our coalition must take seriously the growing threat of terror on a catastrophic scale, terror armed with biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons. America is now consulting with friends and allies about this greatest of dangers, and we're determined to confront it.

Here is what we already know: some states that sponsor terror are seeking or already possess weapons of mass destruction; terrorist groups are hungry for these weapons, and would use them without a hint of conscience. And we know that these weapons, in the hands of terrorists, would unleash blackmail and genocide and chaos.

These facts cannot be denied, and must be confronted. In preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, there is no margin for error, and no chance to learn from mistakes. Our coalition must act deliberately, but inaction is not an option. Men with no respect for life must never be allowed to control the ultimate instruments of death.

Gathered here today, we are six months along, a short time in a long struggle. And our war on terror will be judged by its finish, not by its start. More dangers and sacrifices lie ahead. Yet, America is prepared. Our resolve has only grown, because we remember. We remember the horror and heroism of that morning, the death of children on a field trip, the resistance of passengers on a doomed airplane, the courage of rescuers who died with strangers they were trying to save. And we remember the video images of terrorists who laughed at our loss.

Every civilized nation has a part in this struggle, because every civilized nation has a stake in its outcome. There can be no peace in a world where differences and grievances become an excuse to target the innocent for murder. In fighting terror, we fight for the conditions that will make lasting peace possible. We fight for lawful change against chaotic violence, for human choice against coercion and cruelty, and for the dignity and goodness of every life.

Every nation should know that, for America, the war on terror is not just a policy, it's a pledge. I will not relent in this struggle for the freedom and security of my country and the civilized world.

And we'll succeed. There will be a day when the organized threat against America, our friends and allies is broken. And when the terrorists are disrupted and scattered and discredited, many old conflicts will appear in a new light, without the constant fear and cycle of bitterness that terrorists spread with their violence. We will see then that the old and serious disputes can be settled within the bounds of reason, and goodwill, and mutual security. I see a peaceful world beyond the war on terror, and with courage and unity, we are building that world together.

Any nation that makes an unequivocal commitment against terror can join this cause. Every nation of goodwill is welcome. And, together, we will face the peril of our moment, and seize the promise of our times.

May God bless our coalition.

- 2 sections to extract
- 1887 words post-extraction

2. President Bush Speaks at Tsinghua University (Opening Remarks) February 22 2002

Vice President Hu, thank you very much for your kind and generous remarks. Thank you for welcoming me and my wife, Laura, here. I see she's keeping pretty good company, with the Secretary of State, Colin Powell. It's good to see you, Mr. Secretary. And I see my National Security Advisor, Ms. Condoleezza Rice, who at one time was the provost at Stanford University. So she's comfortable on university campuses such as this. Thank you for being here, Condi.

I'm so grateful for the hospitality, and honored for the reception at one of China's, and the world's, great universities.

This university was founded, interestingly enough, with the support of my country, to further ties between our two nations. I know how important this place is to your Vice President. He not only received his degree here, but more importantly, he met his gracious wife here.

I want to thank the students for giving me the chance to meet with you, the chance to talk a little bit about my country and answer some of your questions. The standards and reputation of this university are known around the world, and I know what an achievement it is to be here. So, congratulations. I don't know if you know this or not, but my wife and I have two daughters who are in college, just like you. One goes to the University of Texas. One goes to Yale. They're twins. And we are proud of our daughters, just like I'm sure your parents are proud of you.

My visit to China comes on an important anniversary, as the Vice President mentioned. Thirty years ago this week, an American President arrived in China on a trip designed to end decades of estrangement and confront centuries of suspicion. President Richard Nixon showed the world that two vastly different governments could meet on the grounds of common interest, in the spirit of mutual respect. As they left the airport that day, Premier Zhou Enlai said this to President Nixon, your handshake came over the vastest ocean in the world, twenty-five years of no communication.

During the thirty years since, America and China have exchanged many handshakes of friendship and commerce. And as we have had more contact with each other, the citizens of both countries have gradually learned more about each other. And that's important. Once America knew China only by its history as a great and enduring civilization. Today, we see a China that is still defined by noble traditions of family, scholarship, and honor. And we see a China that is becoming one of the most dynamic and creative societies in the world, as demonstrated by the knowledge and potential right here in this room. China is on a rising path, and America welcomes the emergence of a strong and peaceful and prosperous China.

As America learns more about China, I am concerned that the Chinese people do not always see a clear picture of my country. This happens for many reasons, and some of them of our own making. Our movies and television shows often do not portray the

values of the real America I know. Our successful businesses show a strength of American commerce, but our spirit, community spirit, and contributions to each other are not always visible as monetary success.

Some of the erroneous pictures of America are painted by others. My friend, the Ambassador to China, tells me some Chinese textbooks talk of Americans of bullying the weak and repressing the poor. Another Chinese textbook, published just last year, teaches that special agents of the FBI are used to repress the working people. Now, neither of these is true, and while the words may be leftovers from a previous era, they are misleading and they're harmful.

In fact, Americans feel a special responsibility for the weak and the poor. Our government spends billions of dollars to provide health care and food and housing for those who cannot help themselves and even more important, many of our citizens contribute their own money and time to help those in need. American compassion also stretches way beyond our borders. We're the number one provider of humanitarian aid to people in need throughout the world. And as for the men and women of the FBI and law enforcement, they're working people, they, themselves, are working people who devote their lives to fighting crime and corruption.

My country certainly has its share of problems, no question about that. And we have our faults. Like most nations we're on a long journey toward achieving our own ideals of equality and justice. **Yet there's a reason our nation shines as a beacon of hope and opportunity, a reason many throughout the world dream of coming to America.** It's because we're a free nation, where men and women have the opportunity to achieve their dreams. **No matter your background or your circumstance of birth, in America you can get a good education, you can start your own business, you can raise a family, you can worship freely, and help elect the leaders of your community and your country.** You can support the policies of our government, or you're free to openly disagree with them. Those who fear freedom sometimes argue it could lead to chaos, but it does not, because freedom means more than every man for himself.

Liberty gives our citizens many rights, yet expects them to exercise important responsibilities. **Our liberty is given direction and purpose by moral character, shaped in strong families, strong communities, and strong religious institutions, and overseen by a strong and fair legal system.**

My country's greatest symbol to the world is the Statue of Liberty, and it was designed by special care. I don't know if you've ever seen the Statue of Liberty, but if you look closely, she's holding not one object, but two. In one hand is the familiar torch we call the light of liberty. And in the other hand is a book of law.

We're a nation of laws. Our courts are honest and they are independent. The President, me, I can't tell the courts how to rule, and neither can any other member of the executive or legislative branch of government. Under our law, everyone stands equal. No one is above the law, and no one is beneath it.

All political power in America is limited and it is temporary, and only given by the free vote of the people. We have a Constitution, now two centuries old, which limits and balances the power of the three branches of our government, the judicial branch, the legislative branch, and the executive branch, of which I'm a part.

Many of the values that guide our life in America are first shaped in our families, just as they are in your country. American moms and dads love their children and work hard and sacrifice for them, because we believe life can always be better for the next generation. In our families, we find love and learn responsibility and character.

And many Americans voluntarily devote part of their lives to serving other people. An amazing number, nearly half of all adults in America, volunteer time every week to make their communities better by mentoring children, or by visiting the sick, or caring for the elderly, or helping with thousands of other needs and causes. This is one of the great strengths of my country. **People take responsibility for helping others, without being told, motivated by their good hearts and often by their faith.**

America is a nation guided by faith. Someone once called us a nation with the soul of a church. This may interest you, 95 percent of Americans say they believe in God, and I'm one of them.

When I met President Jiang Zemin in Shanghai a few months ago, I had the honor of sharing with him how faith changed my life and how faith contributes to the life of my country. Faith points to a moral law beyond man's law, and calls us to duties higher than material gain. Freedom of religion is not something to be feared, it's to be welcomed, because faith gives us a moral core and teaches us to hold ourselves to high standards, to love and to serve others, and to live responsible lives.

If you travel across America, and I hope you do some day if you haven't been there, you will find people of many different ethnic backgrounds and many different faiths. We're a varied nation. We're home to 2.3 million Americans of Chinese ancestry, who can be found working in the offices of our corporations, or in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, or skating for the America Olympic team. Every immigrant, by taking an oath of allegiance to our country, becomes just as just as American as the President. America shows that a society can be vast and it can be varied, yet still one country, commanding the allegiance and love of its people.

And all these qualities of America were widely on display on a single day, September the eleventh, the day when terrorists, murderers, attacked my nation. American policemen and firefighters, by the hundreds, ran into burning towers in desperation to save their fellow citizens. Volunteers came from everywhere to help with rescue efforts. Americans donated blood and gave money to help the families of victims. **America had prayer services all over our country, and people raised flags to show their pride and unity.** And you need to know, none of this was ordered by the government; it happened spontaneously, by the initiative of free people.

Life in America shows that liberty, paired with law is not to be feared. In a free society, diversity is not disorder. Debate is not strife. And dissent is not revolution. A free society trusts its citizens to seek greatness in themselves and their country.

It was my honor to visit China in 1975, some of you weren't even born then. It shows how old I am. And a lot has changed in your country since then. China has made amazing progress, in openness and enterprise and economic freedom. And this progress previews China's great potential.

China has joined the World Trade Organization, and as you live up to its obligations, they inevitably will bring changes to China's legal system. A modern China will have a consistent rule of law to govern commerce and secure the rights of its people. The new China your generation is building will need the profound wisdom of your traditions. The lure of materialism challenges our society, challenges society in our country, and in many successful countries. Your ancient ethic of personal and family responsibility will serve you well.

Behind China's economic success today are talented, brilliant and energetic people. In the near future, those same men and women will play a full and active role in your government. This university is not simply turning out specialists, it is preparing citizens. And citizens are not spectators in the affairs of their country. They are participants in its future.

Change is coming. China is already having secret ballot and competitive elections at the local level. Nearly 20 years ago, a great Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, said this, I want you to hear his words. He said that China would eventually expand democratic elections all the way to the national level. I look forward to that day.

Tens of millions of Chinese today are relearning Buddhist, Taoist, and local religious traditions, or practicing Christianity, Islam, and other faiths. Regardless of where or how these believers worship, they're no threat to public order; in fact, they make good citizens. For centuries, this country has had a tradition of religious tolerance. My prayer is that all persecution will end, so that all in China are free to gather and worship as they wish.

All these changes will lead to a stronger, more confident China, a China that can astonish and enrich the world, a China that your generation will help create. This is one of the most exciting times in the history of your country, a time when even the grandest hopes seem within your reach.

My nation offers you our respect and our friendship. Six years from now, athletes from America and around the world will come to your country for the Olympic games. And I'm confident they will find a China that is becoming a da guo, a leading nation, at peace with its people and at peace with the world.

Thank you for letting me come.

- 16 sections to extract
- 1727 words post-extraction

3. President Rallies the Troops in Alaska February 16 2002

Thank you all. Thank you all very much. Thank you all.

I was told I was the only President of the United States ever to live in Alaska. And even though that was in 1974, I have incredibly fond memories of such a beautiful, beautiful part of the world.

I want to thank you very much for your hospitality. And I'm so honored that, on my way overseas, that you all would greet Laura and me. I know, I'm confident that you're as proud of her as I am. A lot of people, people all across America now know why I married her. A lot of them are still wondering why she married me. But we're honored to be here.

And I'm honored to be in a place where people understand the need for sacrifice and patriotism. There's no question that Anchorage, Alaska, the Anchorage Bowl is full of people who have dedicated themselves to serving our country. Not only those who wear the uniform, but the family members of those who wear the uniform. And I've come to Alaska to let you know that I'm proud of our United States military; that when I sent you into action, I knew you would not let this nation down.

And I want to tell all of you, those who wear the uniform, the family members of those who wear the uniform, and those who support our United States military in Alaska, that our cause is just, our cause is noble and we will defeat the forces of terror.

I want to thank Doug Miller, and I want to thank General Schwartz and Colonel Nickerson, and thank you all, as well.

As you can see, I'm traveling in some pretty fancy company today. I'm traveling with a man who has put together one of the greatest coalitions of freedom in the history of mankind, a man who has served our country with such incredible distinction and class, a valuable member of my Cabinet, Colin Powell.

And I appreciate, I appreciate the congressional delegation from Alaska, three really fine people, one of whom I traveled from Washington today with, and that's, of course, Senator Frank Murkowski. Thank you, Frank. He, along with Senator Stevens does a fabulous job in Washington, D.C., not only for Alaska, but for the country, are tireless advocates for the people of Alaska. And so is Congressman Don Young. You've done a good job by putting good people in Washington, D.C.

I don't know whether your Governor has admitted it or not, but he went to Yale. He probably slurs his words so it sounds like jail. And we were classmates. And it's probably not politically correct to say it, but we were fraternity brothers. And I'm glad to be here with my old friend, Tony Knowles.

I also found another George W., the Mayor. I want to thank all the state and local officials who are here. I want to thank the members of the Canadian Armed Forces who are here. I want to tell you something, we've got no better friends than Canada. They stand with us in this incredibly important crusade to defend freedom, this campaign to do what is right for our children and our grandchildren.

I want to thank the band, The Top Cover. I know we've got some members of the Third Wing here today. As the Colonel mentioned, the Third Wing of Elmendorf had a long and distinguished history of providing top cover for America. The F-15 Strike Eagle drivers and AWACS crews, and, I didn't know the AWACS crews were quite that wild. I thought they were kind of a sedentary bunch. The radar operators, have been providing the homeland defense for more than half a century. And America is grateful.

And I want to thank you for your efforts for Operation Noble Eagle. You've made a huge contribution to this, to our nation. And as the lead air expeditionary force wing, the Third Wing's mission is critical to maintaining peace and security around the world. You're good about getting people, the right people to the right place on time.

The people of Elmendorf and Anchorage welcome home more than 500 members of the 90th Fighter Squadron. I'm glad you got back in time for Christmas. And that's exactly where I'm heading, over to South Korea, so if you've got somebody you want me to say hello to, never mind.

You know, I can't wait to take our message overseas. We're going to Japan and South Korea and China, where I'm going to continue to work with the leaders of those countries in our mutual concerns, starting with fighting the war against terror; making it clear that the resolve of this nation is steady and strong, to be able to look these leaders in the eye and say, when it comes to defending freedom, the United States of America will not blink.

And I look forward to sharing with them my passionate belief in the values that we hold dear here in America. **Freedom, freedom to worship, freedom to speak, freedom to achieve your dreams.** And it's those very values that came under attack on September the eleventh. The good news is, our mighty military was ready.

You know, when we were attacked, it seemed like the people in the U.S. military took it personally. A reporter asked an Air Force pilot, he said, asked him if he had any direct connection to any of the victims of September the eleventh. And he said, you know, I think we all do, they're all Americans. You see, when you strike, one American, you strike all Americans. And those terrorists are going to hear from us.

It's hard for me to figure out what was going through the minds of those who planned and attacked America. They must have thought we were soft. Yes, they were. They thought we were so materialistic that we didn't understand sacrifice and honor and duty. They must have been watching some lousy movies. They didn't know that this great nation would rise up in unison to send a clear message that we will do whatever it takes to defend our freedoms; that this great nation is resolved to find the killers, one by one, and bring them to justice.

But this cause is more than just an individual. Oh, I know sometimes the people on the airwaves like to say, well, someone is, bin Laden's hiding here and he's hiding there. But this cause is much bigger than a single person. This is about fighting terror wherever it hides. This is about defending America and our friends and allies, defending values. The world must understand that this nation won't rest until we have destroyed terrorism, until we have denied the threat of global terrorism.

I can't tell you how passionate I feel on the subject. I look around and see your children and your grandchildren. This is an opportunity to defend freedom for them. This is a chance to say that your kids can grow up in a secure and peaceful America. And if they work hard and get a good education, they can realize their dreams in a peaceful world. We long for peace, but we understand that the terrorists must be brought to justice in order to achieve that peace.

Thanks to our military, we're making good progress, and it hasn't taken very long. If you think about it, we've been at this for a little less than six months, and we're achieving our objectives.

First, I mentioned the coalition the Secretary of State's working on. And we sent a clear message. Either you're with us or you're against us. Either you stand for freedom, or you stand with tyranny. And the good news is, many, many, many nations have heard that message. And I'm proud to report they stand squarely with the United States in the defense of freedom.

And you all also may remember that early on, I said if you hide a terrorist, if you feed a terrorist, if you provide comfort to a terrorist, you're just as guilty as the terrorist. The Taliban now knows what we mean. They're gone. And, guess what? People in Afghanistan don't miss them one bit.

I am proud that our military has fulfilled our mission, our military mission. But, in so doing, we liberated a people. We freed women and children from the clutches of one of the most barbaric regimes in the history of mankind.

But there's more to do in Afghanistan. We're entering a difficult phase of the first theater in the war against terror. They've got a lot of caves over there, but they can't hide long enough. See, we're patient, and we're determined, and we're a steadfast nation. We're steady in our resolve. And that's so important, because we're trying to run down some people that, on the one hand, send youngsters to their death, and they, themselves, try to

hide in caves. But there is no cave deep enough to hide from the long arm of justice of the United States military. We're going to run them down, one by one.

And it doesn't matter where they try to hide, there is no calendar, there is no deadline. There is no if you don't do it by now, we're just going to go home and take a nap. That's not the way it works. Now that they have laid down the gauntlet, we're going to pursue them. And we're going to get them. And when we do, the world will be a safer place.

But we've got a bigger task than that. One of the most dangerous things that can happen to the future of our nation is that these kind of terrorist organizations hook up with nations that develop weapons of mass destruction. One of the worst things that could possibly happen to freedom-loving people, whether it be the United States or our friends or allies, is to allow nations that have got a dark history and an ugly past to develop weapons of mass destruction like nuclear weapons or chemical weapons, or biological weapons which could, for example, be delivered by long-range missile, to become a part of the terrorist network. And there are such nations in the world.

Of course, we'd like for them to change their ways, and we'll continue to pressure them to do so. We'd like for them to conform to normal ways of treating their own people, plus their neighborhood, plus the world. We expect there to be transparency. People who have got something to hide make us nervous, particularly those who have gassed their own citizens in the past, for example.

And so we expect them, and so do other freedom-loving countries, to change their behavior. But if they do not, the United States will do what it takes to defend our freedom. Make no mistake about it.

This is a grand and noble cause, and it's going to require a strong and modern military. I sent a budget up to Congress. The good news is, I don't have to worry about two United States Senators and the member of the House of Representatives from the state of Alaska.

The budget I submitted is the largest single increase in military spending in a generation. If we're going to fight for freedom, we have to pay the cost to fight for freedom. And it's worth it. And I also believe that any time we send our military into harm's way, they should have the best equipment, the best training, the best possible support. A grateful nation owes it to the United States military. And one other thing, you need another pay raise.

You hear a lot of talk about homeland security. And I want to assure you all, the moms and dads and everybody else here, that we are doing everything in our power to secure the homeland. I mean, we're chasing down every lead, every hint, every possible cell member. We're giving them a chance to share with us what they may or may not know. I mean, we are absolutely defending this nation.

I can make no guarantees; I do know the enemy wants to hit us again. But every day, my administration discusses how best to make America a more difficult target. Every day, the FBI Director talks about how he has changed the culture of the FBI. We've got thousands of FBI agents working to protect the American people. We're making our borders more secure. We've now got a bioterrorism initiative we're starting. We're doing a lot, and I'm proud of the efforts of people who are working overtime, constantly working to make the homeland secure.

But the American people must understand, the best way to secure the homeland is to unleash the United States military. And that's exactly what we're going to do. Oh, I know there's been a lot of focus overseas, but I'm also concerned about this, any time anybody can't find work in America, I'm worried about it. I'm worried about the fact that the enemy, when they attacked us, hurt our economy. I'm worried about the fact that we need to have a stimulus program that will help people find work.

Listen, I'm more than willing to sign, and will sign legislation that provides people with an unemployment check. But people want more than an unemployment check in America. They want a steady paycheck. And Congress, and Congress must understand that. I want a stimulus package on my desk. There's too much politics in Washington. We need to be worried about those people who can't work. We need to be worried about those who can't find work, and understand the role of government is to create an environment in which jobs are created.

And so one of the things we did up there, or over there, or over and down there, was we cut your taxes. We did it at the right time. And we did it at the right time. The best way to encourage economic vitality and growth is to let people keep their own money. When you spend your own money, somebody's got to manufacture that which you're spending it on. You see, more money in the private sector circulating makes it more likely that our economy will grow.

And, incredibly enough, some want to take away part of those tax cuts. They've been reading the wrong textbook. You don't raise somebody's taxes in the middle of a recession. You trust people with their own money. And, by the way, that money isn't the government's money; it's the people's money.

There are some other things we can do, and must do, in order to create jobs. We've got to trade. I can't wait to talk to the Chinese leadership about getting them to honor their agreements for the American farmers and ranchers to be able to sell our foodstuffs into China. I said all along, there's many, many mouths in the world to be fed, and if I do my job by opening up markets, U.S. farmers and ranchers are going to feed them. We're the best in the world at growing crops and raising cows and hogs. And we ought to be feeding the world.

And when we do, that will mean jobs for the American people. But there's a way to create jobs for the American people right here in Alaska, right here in this important

state. You know, I'm the first, I think we're the first administration in quite a while that has ever developed a national energy plan.

See, I understand that we need a national energy plan. I understand it's in the national interests, security interests of the United States of America that we're less dependent on foreign sources of energy. We'll all work hard to put measures in place that encourage conservation. It makes a lot of sense to do that. But, folks, we've got to find energy in our own country. And a great place to start is right here in the state of Alaska.

And a lot of people understand that not only is it in our national security interests that we drill for oil and gas in Alaska, it's good for jobs; it's good for working people; it's good for people to be able to put money on the plate, money on the table so they can feed their families.

Listen, we need to be exploring for oil and gas in ANWR. I've heard them all in Washington. I've heard all the skeptics say, well, you can't do that, it's going to ruin this or that. Listen, there's no doubt in my mind, there's no doubt in your Governor's mind, there's no doubt in the congressional delegation's mind, there's no doubt in the minds of people who take a sound, scientific look at this that we can do so without endangering the environment; that we can find energy for America's people and, at the same time, preserve the beauty of Alaska.

What we need is a common sense approach to energy. There you are. Let me tell you how proud I am of America. I cannot tell you how fantastically I feel about the people of this country. You see, not only have we shown incredible resolve and strength; this is a nation that is full of compassion and kindness. We are a decent nation. The strength of our country is not the halls of government. The strength of the country is the people.

And one of the ways, one of the things that people say to me is they say, what can I do, what can I do to help in the war against terror. Well, many of you are already answering that call here today. But others aren't, others are wondering what they can do to help.

As you probably figured out by now, I view this current conflict as either us versus them, and evil versus good. And there's no in between. There's no hedging. **And if you want to join the war against evil, do some good. If you want to be a part of our nation's stand against those who murder innocent people for the sake of murder, for those who believe in tyranny, for those who hijack a noble religion, if you want to take a stand, love a neighbor like you'd like to be loved yourself.**

If you want to be a part of the war, walk across the street and say to a shut-in elderly person, what can I do to help you? Or mentor a child. Or get into your public schools here in Anchorage. Or provide support for people. **Or go to your church or synagogue or mosque and walk out with a program that says, I want to help somebody in need.** Feed the hungry. **If you want to be a part of the war against terror, remember that it's the gathering momentum of millions and millions of acts of kindness that take place in America that stands squarely in the face of evil.**

The enemy hit us, and they made a huge mistake. **Not only will our nation seek justice, but out of the evil will come incredible goodness. Out of the evil will become America more resolved not only to defend freedom, more resolved to sacrifice, if necessary, to defend the freedom, but America resolved to show the world our true strength, which is the compassionate, decent heart of the American people.**

It is such an honor to be the President of the greatest nation on the face of the Earth. Thank you for coming out to say hello to Laura and me. **And God bless.**

- 9 sections to extract
- 3073 words post-extraction

4. Remarks to the NYPD February 6 2002

Please be seated. Thank you all. It's nice to be back in New York City, and I am so proud to stand here today with New York's Finest, and New York's Bravest.

I have a message for you from your fellow Americans: Police and firefighters of New York, you have this nation's respect, and you'll have this nation's support.

The budget that Tom talked about increases the federal commitment to our nation's first responders by more than one thousand percent. It is the right thing to do. And you all are the right, to help us continue to fight this war on terror.

President George W. Bush visits the New York City Command and Control Center February 6, 2002. I want to thank Tom Ridge for taking on the job. He was a good governor; he's a very good Homeland Security Director. I know he comes from Pennsylvania, but I'm proud of the job he's doing. He's helping to develop a national strategy that starts with understanding that the best responders and the best response starts at the local level. And the role of the federal government is to facilitate the job done at the local level.

And so, Governor, thank you so much for taking on this big assignment.

I want to thank your Governor. You know, it's very important to have a steady hand, an anchor in the wind, in a time of crisis. I think that's how you can determine whether or not somebody knows how to lead. And your Governor showed your state and the country that he is a leader. And I'm proud to call him friend. I hope you're proud to call him Governor.

I appreciate your Mayor. He's come in with a tough job, but he's going to tackle it with a lot of savvy. And New York made the right decision when they picked Mayor Bloomberg. He's got a lot of financial background; he's going to help New York City

guide. It's important that you picked somebody who understands numbers over a politician, because he's going to be able to help guide you through this tough period. It's important. I think you made a good choice, I really do. And I'm proud to work with him.

I want to thank Vito for being here as well. He's a fine member of the United States Congress. Vito likes to bring his sister to every event. Five sisters. Only one of them yelled.

And I want to thank, I want to thank Commissioner Kelly. It's good to see you again, Commissioner. I'm proud of your record, proud of your accomplishments.

Last week I reported to our Congress that the state of our union has never been stronger; that despite a war, a recession, despite continuing danger, we are strong, really strong, because our people are strong. And there's no stronger people than the men and women who wear the uniform here in New York. There's no stronger people than those who kind of set the new standard of courage and honor.

There's a new ethic in America, at least I think one's coming on, a new culture, a culture to replace, if it feels good, do it with one of responsibility, with one defined by those brave words, Let's roll.

But that's nothing new for the firefighters and the policemen of New York. That's been your ethic for a long, long time. That ethic's been around here way before September the eleventh. And a lot of people are lucky the ethic was around.

As you rebuild your ranks, every new recruit walks in the path of heroes. And as a result of some of the courageous action here, not only is a new ethic evolving, but there's some fantastic examples for young recruits to follow.

Peter Ganci, many of you knew him. He was the highest-ranking uniform officer in the New York Fire Department. His deputy, Michael Regan, saw him for the last time on the morning of September the eleventh, after the first building had collapsed and while the second building was still burning. Michael Regan recalled this: Peter directed every citizen and every firefighter to go north to safety; and he went south, directly into danger. Let's roll.

Brian McDonnell. Or, maybe, maybe you knew Brian well here. His wife called him a cop's cop. He was a former Army paratrooper. He was known for always putting his colleagues first. September the eleventh, he was last seen charging into the south tower to help his fellow citizens.

On the worst day this city has ever known, we saw some of the finest people New York has ever produced. We mourn every loss. We remember every life. But they will not have died in vain.

I told our country and I told the world that we don't seek revenge, we seek justice. And I want to assure you all, those who have been touched by this terrible tragedy, justice will be meted out. I unleashed the mighty United States military and they have not let us down. In five short months, in a brief period of time, we have completely routed the Taliban. I said loud and clear, if you harbor a terrorist, if you feed a terrorist, you're just as guilty as the terrorist, and the Taliban found out what we meant.

This is a patient nation. We are a determined nation. We're a nation that will not rest until we have brought justice not only on the al Qaeda killers and governments which support and house them, but on terrorism everywhere. Now we must seize the moment. History has called this nation into action; history has given us a chance to defend freedom, to fight tyranny. And that's exactly what this country is going to do. We defend freedom.

Not only do we owe it to those whose lives were lost on September the eleventh, but we owe it to the living, as well. **We owe it to our children and our children's children, to protect a way of life, to defend freedom, to defend our values, to fight evil.** And we will not tire, nor will we rest, until justice is done.

Oh, some around the world may grow weary. Some may grow exhausted by our drive for freedom. But not me, not our government, and not our nation.

I have submitted a budget that recognizes that Afghanistan is only the first theater on the war against terror. We significantly increase the budget for national defense. After all, it is our number one priority. It is the largest increase since the presidency of Ronald Reagan, whose 91st birthday we celebrate today. His budgets helped rebuild the military power of the United States. And for that our nation should be grateful.

But what was true in his day is true today, that whatever it costs to defend our security, and whatever it costs to defend our freedom, we must pay it. I ask Congress to pass this budget. Our men and women who wear the uniform of the United States military deserve the best training, the best equipment, another pay raise, the best support of the United States of America.

And for those of you who have a relative who wear the uniform of the United States military, the moms and dads, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, on behalf of a grateful nation, I want to thank you very much.

I'm fully aware of the task at hand. I know that in order to defend America in the long-term, we've got to be successful overseas; that the best homeland defense is to rout out terror wherever it exists. I know that. And I know some of them are going to try to hide in caves, but there is no cave deep enough for us. They're going to try to run, but they can't run forever. They cannot run forever. And in the meantime, until we achieve our objective, no matter how long that takes, we will secure our homeland.

I have the great honor of going into the Oval Office as your President. Every morning that I walk in there, I'm thrilled and honored. I take the dog in with me, and she seems to be thrilled and honored, too. I sit down at the fantastic desk, it's a desk that the Roosevelts used, it's a desk John Kennedy used; Reagan used, it's a desk I'm honored to use. And the first thing I do is, I look at threats to the United States of America.

They're still out there. The enemy still wants to get us. And I want to assure you all we're doing everything in our power to prevent them from doing that; that my main job, and the main job of Ridge and the FBI and Kelly and everybody else involved with law enforcement is to protect the American people, is to keep American families safe. And we're pouring all our energy into doing our job, which is the security of the country.

We've changed the attitude of the FBI. I mean, we're interested in spies; we're more interested in al Qaeda killers. We're going to run down white-collar criminals; but our focus is on finding any cell that may exist in our country and getting them. We're going to run down every piece of evidence we find and share it with state and local authorities. We're on the hunt. We're on the hunt, and we're not going to rest. We're just not going to rest. The American people need to know we're doing everything in our power to strengthen the security at home.

And we're preparing for, we're preparing responses. Yesterday, Tom and I went over to Pittsburgh and talked about a bioterrorism response as a part of our homeland security package. We're loading up with medicines. We're going to have the health services communicate better with each other. We're ready. We're getting ready.

We're doing a better job of securing our border. We're going to figure out who's coming into our country and who's leaving our country, to make sure that people. Listen, we're a great nation. We welcome people in. We just want to know why you're here. And if you're not supposed to be here more than a period of time, then maybe you ought to just go on home. It's important. It's important that we have good information so we can secure the homeland. It's important that our airports be secure.

And so, we worked with Congress to get a bill out to make air travel more safe. And it's important that we understand that in the first minutes and hours after attack, that's the most hopeful time to save lives. And so that's why we're focusing on the heroic efforts of those first-time responders. That's why we want to spend money to make sure equipment is there, strategies are there, communications are there, to make sure that you have whatever it takes, prepared to respond.

But the interesting thing about making sure our homeland is more secure is that, as a result of focusing on first responders, neighborhoods will be more safe in the long run. As a result of focusing on bioterrorism, perhaps we'll develop vaccines and medicines and cures for other diseases. As a focus on making sure our health systems talk better, we'll leave behind a better health care system. As a way of making sure that our borders are more secure, we'll have a stronger Coast Guard. And so, the short run, we're focusing

on attacks; the long run, the country will be better off for the doubling of the homeland security budget that I submitted to the United States Congress.

And part of making sure we're secure is to make sure there's economic security, for New Yorkers and for the country. Obviously, I'm deeply concerned about the recession. And I understand the shocks to our economy, what September the eleventh did. And I'm worried about the fact that many New Yorkers aren't working, and we want them to work. And that's why I am committed to defeating not only terrorists, but the recession.

These are, I want you to know something: When I say I'm going to do something, I'm going to do it. I told the people of New York that we will work to provide at least twenty billion dollars to help New York rebuild herself. And that includes money apart from the Victims Compensation Fund. And when I say twenty billion dollars, I mean twenty billion dollars.

FEMA is on the spot. And we're now spending a lot of money here to help New York and the emergency side of things. And we need to restore the infrastructure. We need to quickly rebuild the highways. And you know what else we need? We need the Liberty Zone in lower Manhattan. We need to provide job incentive, incentive to create jobs in the area that was affected by the attack. Congress needs to put the Liberty Zone, the Liberty Bonds, in a stimulus package and get it to my desk so I can sign it for the good of New York City.

It is important that New York City be vibrant and strong. It's important when people not only here at home, but around the world, look at this fantastic city, they see economic vitality and growth. I'm confident we can recover together. It's going to take federal and state effort. I'm here to tell you the federal help is coming.

You know, I don't know what went through the enemy's mind when they attacked us. I think they thought we were soft. I like to needle them by saying they must have been watching too much daytime TV. They probably thought that, oh, we'll attack and we'll just kind of roll over, gnash our teeth a little bit, wring our hands, mourn for the dead, and forget. Boy, they really miscalculated.

See, they don't understand America. They don't understand us. We're understanding more about ourselves as a result of what went on. We understand heroism. **We understand now what it means to recite a prayer, tell your wife, I love you, on the phone, and drive a plane in the ground to save others' lives.** We're beginning to understand more about sacrifice, personal responsibility.

See, I believe out of this terrible evil can come some great good. I believe there's a better understanding of the sacrifice the policemen and firefighters make. And that's good for America. **I believe there is a different culture evolving, one that says each of us need to be responsible for the decisions we make; each of us ought to love a neighbor like we'd like to be loved ourself. There's a different culture evolving as moms and dads**

now understand their most important job is to love their children with all their heart and all their soul.

People ask me all the time what can I do to help fight terror, fight the evil ones. Well, I believe since this is a struggle between evil and good, the best way to do it is to do some good in your neighborhood, is to mentor a child who may be lost, is to help a shut-in, is to walk across the street to a neighbor in need and say, what can I do to help you.

Many of you are already doing that, by loving the widows and the children of those who lost their life. It's these thousands and millions of acts of kindness all across America on a daily basis that define the character of our nation. **The way you fight evil is with millions of acts of good. It's the cumulative effect of the heart and soul of America that stands tall against the evil ones. Not only will we prevail militarily in the long run, but we will have overcome evil by being a nation that is more compassionate, more decent, more loving to our fellow citizens.**

I'm so proud of how America has responded. I'm proud of New York City and the strength and character you have shown. I loved it when our pilots found on some of the munitions this simple sign, I love New York. America loves New York. We love your strength. We love your resolve. We've loved your courage in the face of incredible difficulty.

- 10 sections to extract
- 2474 words post-extraction

“I believe there is a different culture evolving, one that says each of us need to be responsible for the decisions we make; each of us ought to love a neighbor like we'd like to be loved ourself.” A reference to Leviticus 19:18, Matthew 22:39, Mark 12:31

“There's a different culture evolving as moms and dads now understand their most important job is to love their children with all their heart and all their soul.” A reference to Deuteronomy 6:5, Matthew 22:37, Mark 12:30, Luke 10:27

5. State of the Union Address January 29 2002

Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens. As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger.

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed

Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression.

The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own.

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai.

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. [Timeline Image Map](#)

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. The man and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even seven thousand miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves, you will not escape the justice of this nation.

For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who died there. **At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day.**

Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell, Semper Fi, my love. Shannon is with us tonight.

Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.

Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the nineteen men who hijacked planes on September the eleventh were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.

Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it.

Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world.

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld -- including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed, operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf.

But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it. If they do not act, America will.

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the eleventh. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections, then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.

We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. And all nations should know, America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security.

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons.

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch, yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.

We can't stop short. If we stop now, leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked, our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight.

Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America. We will win this war, we'll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

September the eleventh brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party, yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month, over thirty million dollars a day, and we must be prepared for future operations. Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile, to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training, and they also deserve another pay raise.

My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades, because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay.

The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the eleventh will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.

My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States.

Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by al Qaeda and was armed with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result, likely saved nearly two hundred lives. And tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones.

Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. To achieve these great national objectives, to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy, our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. We have clear priorities and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession.

Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage. Yet, American workers want more than unemployment checks, they want a steady paycheck. When America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs.

Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller. Senator Judd Gregg. And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend, Ted Kennedy. I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing, but our work on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results.

There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood development programs. We must upgrade our teacher colleges and teacher training and launch a major recruiting drive with a great goal for America: a quality teacher in every classroom.

Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil.

Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation.

Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small, some thought it was too big. But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right. Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent.

The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment, and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package.

Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms, we must always remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government and offer every American the dignity of a job.

Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security. I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights, to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage, to approve an historic increase in the

spending for veterans' health, and to give seniors a sound and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription drugs.

A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to enact new safeguards for 401K and pension plans. Employees who have worked hard and saved all their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company fails. Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure requirements, corporate America must be made more accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the highest standards of conduct.

Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and we will. We must make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger workers who choose them.

Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy, a cleaner environment, broader home ownership, especially among minorities, and ways to encourage the good work of charities and faith-based groups. I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism.

During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. **They were as wrong as they are evil.**

The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people.

And I hope you will join me. I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one American for the strength and calm and comfort she brings to our nation in crisis, our First Lady, Laura Bush.

None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the eleventh. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

For too long our culture has said, If it feels good, do it. Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: Let's roll. In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass.

My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years, four thousand hours over the rest of your lifetime, to the service of your neighbors and your nation. Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities, and extending American compassion throughout the world.

One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies; volunteers to help police and fire departments, transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than two hundred thousand new volunteers.

And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. **So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years, and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world.**

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity, a moment we must seize to change our culture. **Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good.** And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace.

All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic street greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich history, with its centuries of learning, and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere.

No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. **But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women; private property, free speech, equal justice; and religious tolerance.**

America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom.

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. **We've come to know truths that we will never question: evil is real, and it must be opposed.** Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. **And many have discovered again that even in tragedy, especially in tragedy, God is near.**

In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.

Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life.

Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

Thank you all. **May God bless.**

- 16 sections to extract
- 3504 words post-extraction

“Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on.” A reference to Philippians 3:14

6. President Announces Substantial Increases in Homeland Security Budget January 24 2002 (Remarks to United States Mayors and County Officials)

Welcome to the White House. It's a privilege for me and for Tom to be with the country's most accountable elected officials.

We always used to say, you know, the government that's closest to the people is that which governs best. You know firsthand. You know what it's like to get the call to make sure the streets are paved, or the garbage is picked up. You're what I call practical. The farther you get away from the local governments, we get a little theoretical. But there's nothing like being a mayor to be a problem-solver.

And as you know, we've got a new problem to solve here. And that's the security of our homeland. And I'm so pleased that you all are here to give me a chance to discuss how we're going to work together to solve this common national problem, which is the security of our people.

It's your police forces, your emergency medical teams, your fire fighters who are responsible for the first response on any terrorist attack, and are responsible for saving lives.

I say terrorist attack because we're still under attack. They still want to come after us. **These are evil people that are relentless in their desire to hurt those who love freedom.** And since we're the bastion of freedom, the beacon of freedom, we're their target. And we're going to respond, and we're going to deal with it by working together.

I want to thank, when you go back to your communities, you make sure that you thank your police chiefs and your fire chiefs and your emergency medical teams, not only on behalf of the President, but the entire country. These good folks put their lives at risk, they work incredibly hard and long hours, and they deserve the praise and love of our nation.

There obviously is a role for the federal government, and I'll discuss parts of our homeland security strategy in a little bit. But in order to make sure that our homeland is secure for a long time, we as a nation must be patient enough and resolved enough to hunt down the killers and the terrorists wherever they try to hide and bring them to justice. And that's exactly what this country is going to do.

I say patient enough, because sometimes there is a certain sense of anxiety that creeps into the national dialogue. Some folks are trying to rush the score card, I guess is a way to put it. We've made huge progress in four and a half months. I mean, we've done a lot, thanks to a great military, by the way. And there's a lot of moms and dads and wives and husbands and children who also need to be thanked, for their sacrifice.

But in the first theater to rout out terror, we have done a lot. We've totally destroyed the government, and routed out the government that thought they could hide the terrorists. You see, there used to be, I guess, a school of thought around the world that it's okay to hide a terrorist, you weren't considered a terrorist. We changed that. We said, if you hide a terrorist, or you feed a terrorist, or you coddle a terrorist, you're just as guilty as the terrorists, and we will hold you accountable, as the Taliban has found out.

We have liberated people. I'm so proud of our military, and this great nation, and our coalition, we've got a strong coalition, of going into Afghanistan and freeing women and children. It was a fantastic moment in United States history, to be able to liberate people that were so oppressed that they probably thought they had no future. And yet we came. We came to achieve an objective. The objective was to hold a government accountable enforcement for harboring a terrorist and, in so doing, became liberators. It's a proud moment for the country.

And now we're chasing down people in the first theater who, on the one hand, are willing to commit others to suicide and they, themselves, hide in caves. And they think they can hide, and they may be able to hide today, but we'll get them. We're going to get them running and, when they run, we'll bring them to justice.

I'm plenty patient. I have no preconceived notion about how long this should take. And neither do the American people. What the American people expect was a determined, relentless effort. And that's exactly what we're going to, that's exactly how we're going to behave.

And so while we're after them overseas, there's a lot to do at home. That's what I want to discuss today, that this is a two-front war. Overseas, we're fighting and at home we're fighting. We're fighting to share information, or we're working to share information to make sure that all law enforcement agencies are knitted up, that we do a better job of alerting people, giving people a heads-up that something might be going on in the neighborhood and please help.

Our people are alert. The shoe man, the shoe bomber, Reid, he found out how alert Americans can be, when he showed up on the airplane, and all of a sudden people noticed something was odd, and they turned him in. And now he's in prison. That's what we're doing. But there's more to do, and I want to discuss that with you today.

We're counting on you, and I'm about to tell you that we're going to make resources available so that we can work together. I want to thank Tom for taking on a tough assignment. I appreciate you bringing one Mayor who thought you did a good job as Governor.

I'm really proud of Tom's efforts. He understands local government, he understands state government. He believes in cooperative efforts, he's an open-minded fellow. I hope you've found that he's willing to listen, willing to listen to good ideas. He's not an, it's got to be invented here guy. He believes that if there's a good idea, it doesn't matter who brought it up, Republican or Democrat. We'll put in place. So I'm real proud of your efforts, Tom, and thanks for your hard work.

Mel Martinez is here. He will have spent a lot of quality time with you all on housing issues. I appreciate your service, Mel. I appreciate your service. A man who worked with me a lot in Texas, who now runs FEMA, who is a, who has made sure the agency is responsive to emergencies, who will eventually soon play a big effort in making sure this

national strategy for homeland defense is affected in a way that helps you do your job, and that's Joe Allbaugh. Thank you for coming.

I appreciate all the county officials, all the city officials, all who helped make sure that we work together in good fashion. I particularly want to thank the head of the Mayors. I am a little disappointed in Mayor Morial. I went down to Antoine's the other day in New Orleans to eat a meal, I was hoping I could invite him and he would pay. But the intelligence-gathering system in New Orleans works well, so he went to Mexico.

But nevertheless, Mr. Mayor, I appreciate your service. I love your town and thanks for being here today, sir.

I'm going to the Congress next Tuesday night to deliver a State of the Union address. And I will lay out the priorities of our government. You heard one of our first priorities. That's to fight and win this war.

The second priority of our government, a priority which will be reflected in my budget, is making sure we protect the people at home, homeland defense. And, therefore, I'll be calling on Congress to pass a funding increase for homeland defense of 38, an additional 38 billion dollars.

This is double the pre-September eleventh numbers. Thirty-eight billion dollars is the total request. Double over 2002. It's the beginning of a homeland defense initiative which is going to last throughout my administration. It's the beginning of a cooperative effort.

It shows and recognizes that, in the first minutes or hours after an attack, are the most hopeful minutes for saving lives, the first minutes, immediately. And, therefore, we've got to understand and remember the important role of first-responders. It became vivid, obviously, on September eleventh.

One of the most poignant stories I remember is when some going into the danger wrote their Social Security numbers on their arms. It reminds all of us about how dangerous the job is, and about how some are willing to sacrifice for others. We saw that firsthand throughout the September the eleventh time frame.

We saw people drive an airplane into the ground to save others. I think America is now coming to appreciate the definition of sacrifice, sacrifice for freedom, sacrifice for human life. That's something our first-responders have known for a long time. And it's important for America to recognize that contribution they make.

And so, what we must do in the country is remember that the attacks on September eleventh were not just attacks on New York or the Pentagon, were attacks on all of America, and treat those attacks such. It is a national threat and, therefore, obviously, it's a federal responsibility.

And so the 2003 budget proposes three and a half billion dollars in federal aid to state and local first-responders. That is a thousand percent increase over what our government has spent. It's necessary money. It's part of the thirty-eight billion dollar budget I'm going to be asking for homeland security. It's absolutely necessary that we spend the money, and that we spend it correctly.

And, therefore, in order to make sure that there is a strategy, one that you understand, one that the governors understand, one that the folks in Washington understand, I'm going to ask the Federal Emergency Management Agency to be the lead agency on coordinating efforts with the local governments.

It is the right agency to choose. They understand local disaster and the local emergency. They understand and have responded in the past, not only in this administration, but in other administrations, the need to work closely with mayors to make sure that we affect good policy. Plus, I trust Allbaugh. I've seen him work before. He's a good man. It doesn't matter whether Daley calls him, or whether a Texan calls him. He's going to answer the phone. He's not one of these political, partisan guys. He's here to serve the country for the right reason. And so this is the right way to go. And if you have any problem with him, call me.

Part of our task is to recognize there's thirty-six thousand local jurisdictions all around the country. And how do we make sure there are some standards, how do we make sure, you know, that the fire hydrant hookup works in one city and can go across the region and fit another city? How do we make sure information flows properly? How do we make sure there's mutual aid agreements in the neighborhoods? How do we make sure that the communications equipment and the rescue equipment is compatible not only within a state but nationwide?

Those are the tasks ahead, and that's part of the challenge we face. But I'm confident that if we work with you, we can meet the challenge. There's no question in my mind that, given the right impetus and the right focus, the right communications and the right money, we can make it work. We have no choice. We're all charged.

We find ourselves in a moment of history where we, as leaders, must respond, and we will, and we will respond. It is, sometimes you get to pick your moments and sometimes you don't. And we're here now in the middle of a war and I want to thank you all for understanding the call. And we're not going to blink as a nation, and I know you won't blink as mayors. You accept your responsibility and I accept mine.

And, as a result of working together, the nation will be better off. We've got a lot of work to do. But that's how I got elected. And it starts with cooperation. And I can assure you, this government is willing to cooperate.

I also understand a good homeland defense means our cities are vibrant and strong. I want to work with you on brownfields legislation, on implementing brownfields. I signed legislation, now it's time to get after it, and it's going to help the cities around

America, that we clean up the brownfields. I want to thank the Republicans and Democrats up here who worked on this initiative. We finally got something passed that will enable cities to revitalize tracts of land that have been abandoned, that now can be productive parts of your property tax base.

I want to work with you to support home ownership for low income Americans. I love the idea. I love the idea of somebody owning something, somebody owning their own home. I can't think of anything more powerful to help revitalize neighborhoods, than to encourage home ownership. And we'll work with you on that.

I want to work with you to strengthen the community-based drug prevention, and effective drug treatment programs. I believe that the best, I know we've got to do a better job of suppressing demand for drugs. But I also understand that the most effective programs are community based programs. You've seen them. You've helped make them vital in your communities. And we want to work with you to do just that.

I have not given up on my faith-based initiative. Many of you understand the power of faith-based programs in your communities, church programs, programs out of synagogues and mosques. I believe so strongly in the power of faith, I believe strongly that we must unleash the armies of compassion in every city in America to provide hope for people where hope doesn't exist. And I want to work with you to do just that. I think we can get a bill out of Congress.

I bring up matters of the spirit because the enemy doesn't understand who they hit. They first thought they were hitting somebody, a nation which was soft, a nation which wouldn't, oh, we might respond but we wouldn't mean it. You know, it would be kind of a slap-on-the-wrist response. They didn't understand that when you attack America and you murder innocent people, we're coming after you with full force and fury of a great nation and our allies.

They didn't understand our fiber, our character, our values. And that's one of the interesting developments in our country, is that people, as you know better than me, have said, we better assess our values as a result of what went on, and people all across the country are doing just that. It's a moment that we must seize. Those of us in leadership position must understand that there are a lot of Americans who are asking what they can do to help. **I like to put it in as plain terms as I can, if you want to fight evil, do some good.**

If you want to show the world that we're not going to stand evil, let's make sure we love somebody, mentor a child. Let's get involved in the school systems in our local communities. Let's rally around those who want to help a neighbor in need. Let's seize the moment, seize the initiative, seize the chance to rally the armies of compassion, so that people feel love and decency in their lives, so that shut-ins know somebody cares, so lonely children who may have a parent in prison know somebody loves them.

This is the opportunity. **I look forward to working with you, to rally the country, to not only not let -- to not only fight evil, but to stamp in place a compassion, a decency and a goodness that will stand the test of time.** It's a challenge we face, and I know it's a challenge we can meet.

Thank you all for coming.

- 8 sections to extract
- 2531 words post-extraction

7. President Signs Defense Appropriations Bill January 10 2002

Thank you very much. At ease. I always love being introduced by a matinee television idol. Who would have thought it? Only his mother. Thanks so much, Mr. Secretary. He's doing a fabulous job, he really is. And so are the men and women who work in this building, and the men and women who wear the uniform. We're really proud of you.

I'm honored to sign this bill because the nation owes the men and women of the military our full measure of respect, and our full measure of support. We owe you decent pay and a decent quality of life. We owe you the best leadership and training. We owe you the best equipment and weaponry. We owe you, our servicemen and women, our best, because we owe you our freedom.

This bill, which includes both this year's defense appropriations, and emergency supplemental spending, keeps the commitment to our military, and keeps the commitments of our country. It was passed with bipartisan support in the Congress. It will be implemented by this fine Secretary, and a fine Deputy Secretary in Paul Wolfowitz.

As Commander-in-Chief, I'm really proud to sign this bill here in the Pentagon. It shows that at an hour when freedom was under attack, America is steady, and standing tall, in freedom's defense. I, too, want to thank the members of the United States Congress who are here, particularly Chairman Bill Young. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for coming. Senator Dorgan, I appreciate you being here, sir. Rodney, thank you for coming, and Jim and George. I guess you're supposed to be formal with the Senate, and informal with the House. But thank you all for taking time to be here. It's a kind gesture for you to come.

I also want to thank the members of the Joint Chiefs and the leadership of our military who are on the stage with me here. Dick Myers is doing a fabulous job. He is steady, he is strong. He sets such an important signal throughout our military that we mean business. We're a no-nonsense group of people who have got one thing in mind, and that is victory.

I remember talking about our plans with the Secretary and others in my administration. And as we set our plans, there was no question that our military was ready. The Secretary made that clear, Dick Myers, made that clear, Hugh Shelton made that clear. And since

September the eleventh, the skill, the daring and the courage of our men and women in uniform is now clear to all. It's clear to your fellow Americans, and it's clear to those who try to hide in caves.

We have liberated a nation from oppression. And we've saved many people from starvation. I'd like to remind my fellow Americans there is nothing more joyous to my heart than to see our military liberate women who have lived under the most oppressive regime in the history of mankind. This cause is noble, and this cause is just. And we will stay on this cause until we have achieved our objective. You're delivering justice; not revenge, but justice, to agents of terror. And you're making this nation proud.

America recently has been reminded that in our quest to defend freedom, and really in our quest to save civilization, there are enormous sacrifices, and to no more greater sacrifice than loss of life. And like the Secretary, I extend my prayers and sympathies to the moms and dads and the wives and sons and daughters of those who have lost their life.

But as I told the young lady the other day when I called her, whose husband had died, I said, please tell your children that he died for a just cause. Sacrifices are made willingly by volunteers. And having traveled our nation a little bit, I can assure you, you're in the midst of a grateful people.

In our global campaign against global terror, our military must have every resource, every tool, every weapon, and every advantage you need for the missions to come.

The bill I'm about to sign makes a down-payment on essential commitment. We will give our forces everything they need to defeat global terror. Overall, this year's defense bill provides nearly thirty billion dollars more than the amount enacted for the Fiscal Year 2001. The emergency supplemental measure provides another three and a half billion dollars on top of that.

Yet, even more important than these numbers are the priorities they represent. First of all, the bill contains funding for pay increases of up to fifteen percent for service members, with an average increase of 6.9 percent. The bill reduces out-of-pocket housing costs from fifteen percent to eleven percent, and puts us on a track towards eliminating this burden altogether by the year 2005. In addition, the bill also fully funds the health care of active duty members and their families, and provides \$3.9 billion for health care benefits for military retirees over sixty-five, and their families.

We can never pay our men and women in uniform on a scale that matches the magnitude of their sacrifice. But this bill reflects our respect for your selfless service. Today, more than ever, we also owe those in uniform the resources they need to maintain a very high state of readiness. Our enemies rely upon surprise and deception. They used to reply upon the fact that they thought we were soft. I don't think they think that way anymore.

Our forces must be ready to deploy to any point on the globe on short notice. This bill increases operation and maintenance by over eight billion dollars. This nation must have, and will have, ready forces that can bring victory to our country, and safety to our people. The world's best soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines also deserve the world's best weaponry. To ensure that, our nation must invest in procurement accounts. This defense bill contains about sixty-one billion dollars for procurement.

This nation must give our military the weapons it needs to meet the threats of our future. If the war against terror means that we must find terror wherever it exists, and pull it out by its roots, and bring people to justice, our military must have the means to achieve the objective.

This bill is just the beginning to make sure that that happens. Our nation must also look even farther into the future, so that the next generations of weaponry take advantage of our nation's decisive technological edge. That's why I'm pleased to see that this year's defense bill contains almost fifty billion dollars for research and development, including nearly eight billion dollars for missile defense.

My administration is committed to transforming our forces, with innovative doctrine and strategy and weaponry. This will allow us to revolutionize the battlefield of the future, and to keep the peace by defining war on our terms. This is a great goal and it's a great opportunity, one granted to few nations in history. And with the leadership of the Secretary, we will seize this opportunity.

And finally, I'm pleased that the emergency supplemental funding in this bill is going to allow us to meet some of our urgent priorities. **In addition to the \$3.5 billion to help prosecute the war on terror, the bill contains \$8.2 billion to help New York, Virginia, Maryland, the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania recover from the attacks by the evil ones.** It also devotes an additional \$8.4 billion to homeland security.

We're working hard to make sure that our homeland is secure. But the best way to secure America's future is to bring the terrorists to justice, and to say to those who think they can hide them, you, too, are just as guilty as the murderers if you think you can hide them, and provide them aid, and provide them comfort. We will build the security of America by fighting our enemies abroad, and protecting our folks here at home. And we are committed, this administration, and the Congress, is committed to these most important goals.

These are good bills that will help America in time of need. And I appreciate the spirit on Capitol Hill that led to its passage. I look forward to working with the Congress, as we build our nation's strength and security. I look forward to working for next year's budget, with the priorities of winning this war, and defending our homeland. I'm confident that the spirit that prevailed in late fall will spill over into this year, as we continue to remember the great goals that face this nation.

It is now my honor, in the heart, the headquarters of the greatest military in the world, to sign the Department of Defense and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act. Thank you all for your hospitality. Stay on course. Find the enemy. **God bless.**

- 2 sections to extract
- 1442 words post-extraction

8. Remarks by the President on the USS Enterprise December 7 2001

Well, thank you all very much. I'm grateful for this warm welcome on the deck of the Big E. America is proud of this fine carrier and we're really proud of her crew. You're serving at a crucial moment for the cause of peace and freedom, and your country thanks you.

This is a fitting place to mark one of the most fateful days in American history. On December the seventh, 1941, the enemy attacked. Today is an anniversary of a tragedy for the United States Navy. Yet, out of that tragedy, America built the strongest Navy in the world. And there is no better symbol of that strength than the USS Enterprise.

What happened at Pearl Harbor was the start of a long and terrible war for America. Yet, out of that surprise attack grew a steadfast resolve that made America freedom's defender. And that mission, our great calling, continues to this hour, as the brave men and women of our military fight the forces of terror in Afghanistan and around the world.

We are joined this afternoon by some distinguished guests: the Governor of this great Commonwealth is with us, Jim Gilmore. Members of the congressional delegation from Virginia are here with us, and I want to thank them for coming as well. I want to thank my friend, Tony Principi, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs who is here, a Naval Academy grad who served our country with bravery and distinction during the Vietnam era.

I want to thank Gordon England, Secretary of the Navy, who is doing such a fine job representing the Navy in the Pentagon. I want to thank Admiral Natter, the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet. I always like a good Southern accent up here on the East Coast. I thank Sandy Winnefeld, the Commanding Officer of the USS Enterprise. And I want to thank the crew of this fine ship and all your families who are here as well. And I thank General Kernan for being here as well.

We are especially honored to share this anniversary with twenty-five living witnesses to Pearl Harbor on December the seventh, 1941. Thank you all for being here. They saw the attack and knew its victims by name. They can recall the last moments of peace, the first moments of war, and the faces of lost friends, forever young in memory. These veterans represent the noble history and traditions of the United States military. And I ask the Navy of today to please join me in honoring these fine men from the military of yesterday.

The attack on Pearl Harbor was plotted in secret, waged without mercy, taking the lives of two thousand, four hundred and three Americans. The shock and chaos came on a quiet Sunday morning. There were acts of great heroism amongst those who survived, and those who did not. Nine who fell that day had Navy ships named after them. In two hours' time, for bravery above and beyond the call of duty, fifteen men earned the Medal of Honor. And ten of them did not live to wear it.

Young sailors refused to abandon ship, even as the waters washed over the decks. They chose instead to stay and try to save their friends. A mess steward carried his commander to safety, and then manned a machine gun for the first time in his life. Two pilots ran through heavy fire to get into their P-40 fighters. They proceeded to chase and shoot down four enemy aircraft.

Those were among the scenes of December the seventh. On December the 8th, as the details became known, the nation's grief turned to resolution. During four years of war, no one doubted the rightness of our cause, no one wavered in the quest of victory. As a result of the efforts and sacrifice of the veterans who are with us today, and of millions like them, the world was saved from tyranny.

Many of you in today's Navy are the children and grandchildren of the generation that fought and won the Second World War. Now your calling has come. Each one of you is commissioned by history to face freedom's enemies.

When the Enterprise sailed out of Norfolk last April, we were a nation at peace. All of that changed on the morning of September the eleventh. You were among the first to fight in the first war of the twenty-first century. You were ready. You performed with skill and honor. And you have made your nation proud.

On board this ship when you returned to port four weeks ago was a young man named Ruben Rodriguez. Two days later, Petty Officer Rodriguez lost his life in a plane crash. His wife and his family are in our thoughts and prayers. One of the last things this sailor did was to visit Ground Zero in New York City. He saw what the terrorists did to America, and he said to a friend, that's why I fought.

And that's why we are all fighting. We are fighting to protect ourselves and our children from violence and fear. We're fighting for the security of our people and the success of liberty. We're fighting against men without conscience, but full of ambition, to remake the world in their own brutal images. For all the reasons we're fighting to win, and win we will.

There is a great divide in our time, not between religions or cultures, but between civilization and barbarism. People of all cultures wish to live in safety and dignity. The hope of justice and mercy and better lives are common to all humanity. Our enemies reject these values, and by doing so, they set themselves not against the West, but against the entire world.

Our war against terror is not a war against one terrorist leader or one terrorist group. Terrorism is a movement, an ideology that respects no boundary of nationality or decency. The terrorists despise creative societies and individual choice, and thus they bear a special hatred for America. They desire to concentrate power in the hands of a few, and to force every life into grim and joyless conformity. **They celebrate death, making a mission of murder and a sacrament of suicide.** Yet, for some reason, for some reason, only young followers are ushered down this deadly path to paradise, while terrorist leaders run into caves to save their own hides.

We've seen their kind before. The terrorists are the heirs to fascism. They have the same will to power, the same disdain for the individual, the same mad global ambitions. And they will be dealt with in just the same way. Like all fascists, the terrorists cannot be appeased: they must be defeated. This struggle will not end in a truce or treaty. It will end in victory for the United States, our friends and the cause of freedom.

The Enterprise has been part of this campaign. And when we need you again, I know you'll be ready. Our enemies doubt this. They believe that free societies are weak societies. But we're going to prove them wrong. Just as we were sixty years ago, in a time of war, this nation will be patient, we'll be determined, and we will be relentless in the pursuit of freedom.

This is becoming clear to al Qaeda terrorists and the Taliban. Not long ago, that regime controlled most of Afghanistan. Today, they control not much more than a few caves. Not long ago, al Qaeda's leader dismissed America as a paper tiger. That was before the tiger roared. Throughout history, other armies have sought to conquer Afghanistan, and they failed. Our military was sent to liberate Afghanistan, and you are succeeding.

We're a long way from finished in Afghanistan. Much difficult and dangerous work is yet to come. Many terrorists are still hiding in heavily fortified bunkers in very rugged territory. They are said to be prepared for a long stay underground. But they are in for a sudden change of plans, because one by one, we're going to find them. And piece by piece, we'll tear their terrorist network apart.

As we fight the terrorists, we are also helping the people they have persecuted. We have brought tons of food and medicine to the Afghan people. They will need more help as winter comes, and we will provide it. Most of all, that country needs a just and stable government. America is working with all concerned parties to help form such a government. After years of oppression, the Afghan people, including women, deserve a government that protects the rights and dignity of all its people. America is pleased by the Afghan progress in creating an interim government, and we're encouraged by the inclusion of women in positions of authority.

And the war on terror continues beyond Afghanistan, with the closing of bank accounts and the arrests of known terrorists. We've put the terrorists and the nations in the world

on notice: We will not rest until we stop all terrorists of global reach. And for every nation that harbors or supports terrorists, there will be a day of reckoning.

A few days from now, I will go to a great American institution, the Citadel, to describe the new capabilities and technologies we will need to wage this broad war on terrorism for years to come. We will need the intelligence to find the enemy where he dwells, and the means to strike swiftly across the world. We must have a military organized for decisive and total victory. And to you, the men and women of our military, I make this pledge: you will have every resource, every weapon, every tool you need to win the long battle that lies ahead.

This war came oh so suddenly, but it has brought out the best in our nation. We have learned a lot about ourselves and about our friends in the world. Nations stand with us, because this is civilization's fight. Today we take special pride that one of our former enemies is now among America's finest friends: we're grateful to our ally, Japan, and to its good people. Today, our two Navies are working side by side in the fight against terror.

The bitterness of sixty years ago has passed away. The struggles of our war in the Pacific now belong to history. For Americans who fought it, and suffered its losses, what remains is the lasting honor of service in a great cause, and the memory of the ones who fell.

Today, at Pearl Harbor, veterans are gathering to pay tribute to the young men they remember who never escaped the sunken ships. And over the years, some Pearl Harbor veterans have made a last request. They asked that their ashes be brought down and placed inside the USS Arizona. After the long lives given them, they wanted to rest besides the best men they ever knew.

Such loyalty and love remain the greatest strength of the United States Navy. And the might of our Navy is needed again. When America looks at you, the young men and women who defend us today, we are grateful. On behalf of the people of the United States, I thank you for your commitment, your dedication and your courage.

May God bless you, and may God bless America.

- 3 sections to remove
- 1854 words post-extraction

9. President Says U.S. Attorneys on Front Line in War November 29 2001 (Bush Defends Military Tribunals)

Well, John, thank you very much for those kind words. And I appreciate your strong leadership. It is a principled leadership, it is a steady leadership, and it is a leadership that is good for America.

I guess we call you General. That means you all are in the Army. And I am glad you are.

Introduced by Attorney General John Ashcroft, President George W. Bush addresses a group of new U. S. Attorneys at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building November 29. White House photo by Paul Morse. I also want to thank Larry Thompson for his good work; thank you for being here, Larry. And where's Al Gonzales, who is my, Al led the effort to scour the country for the best to serve as U.S. attorneys, and I appreciate his hard work. And I suspect you new U.S. attorneys appreciate his hard work, as well.

But Al has been my lawyer for a long time, and was a lawyer for the state of Texas, and was a judge for the state of Texas. And he is a pretty special guy, and I'm glad he's here in Washington with me. And I'm glad you all are here, as well. Thank you for coming. I want to welcome you here.

I want to welcome the new U.S. attorneys. I want to congratulate you. I must tell you that we set a high standard, and you met it. And for that, I hope you're proud. And I am grateful that you are willing to serve the country, particularly at this time.

I know you know this, but I want to remind you that you have got a significant commitment to the security and safety of the American people. We all do. That's our job. And it's a job we will keep.

The security and safety of our people was threatened before September the eleventh. In many neighborhoods, there's too much gun violence in America. Despite all the progress against crime, teenagers, almost as many teenagers die from gunshot wounds as from all natural causes combined. And that's not right, and we are going to do something about it.

We must help people reclaim their neighborhoods and their streets. We must help those who want to live in a comfortable environment feel safe. That's one of our primary jobs. And so I proposed a program called Project Safe Neighborhoods. And you have a clear charge to fight gun violence in America.

U.S. Attorneys will work with state and local authorities in an all-out campaign, in a focused and vigorous effort to cut gun crime. By September of this year, of next year, 2002, we hope to have two hundred new attorneys hired to prosecute crimes committed with a gun, two hundred new attorneys to help you stay focused on an important mission, which is the safety of our citizens.

Investigators will have the best training and the latest technology available. We want to enhance the technology, so we can find those, track those, communicate better with each other, to bring people to justice who commit a crime with a gun.

We'll improve data-sharing and criminal record-keeping, to ensure that people who shouldn't have guns don't get them. We've got to prevent those people who want to use guns to hurt our fellow citizens from getting them in the first place.

And finally, we want to make sure that the federal government works more closely with communities and community-based programs, and faith-based groups, to steer our children away from guns before they take a life or lose their own. In other words, on the one hand, I want you to be tough. And on the other hand, I want you to rally the compassionate loving souls in neighborhoods who can teach children lessons from right, from wrong.

This is an important calling. The methods work in those cities where they've, we tried a program that I just outlined, they work. Statistics show it, and now we've got to make sure it exists all across the country.

This is an important charge for you. It's one of your top priorities, because it's one of mine. We have got to send this message -- and I mean a clear message, an unambiguous message, that if you illegally carry or use a gun, there is one consequence in America, arrest and jail. The best way to make sure our neighborhoods are safe is to enforce the laws on the books. And to the best of our ability, we will give you more tools to do that.

The safety and security of America also faces a new threat, and that is the threat of terror. It is the calling of our time, to rid the world of terror. And it is the calling of our time to protect the American people.

You know, it's interesting. I can't imagine what a speech like this would have been like prior to September the eleventh, but I doubt I would have ever said, you are now on the front line of war. And that's where you are. And make no mistake about it, we've got a war here just like we've got a war abroad. And we have a huge responsibility, and that's to defend America while protecting our great liberties. And I'm confident you can do the job; otherwise you wouldn't be sitting here.

Our enemies are resourceful, and they are incredibly ruthless. They hide and they plot, and they target freedom. They can't stand what America stands for. **It must bother them greatly to know we're such a free and wonderful place -- a place where all religions can flourish; a place where women are free; a place where children can be educated.** It must grate on them greatly. But that's what we're going to keep doing, because that's what America is about.

And we owe it to the American people. We owe it to our citizens, to the families, to be relentless and methodical in tracking down terrorists and bringing each and every one of them to justice. That's our calling. It's the calling of the twenty-first century. And it's a calling that we will not tire for; it's a calling that we will keep in our minds. And you must keep it in your minds, because I can assure I'm going to keep it in mine.

The government and the people are determined. And I have been able to travel our country some, and I know you can, if you were to report back to me, you would tell me you've seen the same determination, and the same patience, and the same unity, to achieve this objective. **I like to remind people that the evil ones have roused a mighty nation, and they will pay a serious price.**

Abroad, our military and our alliance is making good progress, good, steady, significant progress. We're disrupting their cash flows. We're finding their bankers. And we're shutting them down.

And it's not just America. There are a lot of other countries who have participated with us, and that's heartening. We've got great intelligence-sharing now, around the world. I've been able to say to a lot of leaders, face to face, you tell us when their coming. And if we find out something about you, we'll let you know, too. And that's important. It's important to know as much information as possible about the enemy. It's important to try to figure out where they hide, and their intentions. It helps to have a vast coalition willing to share that kind of information.

And we're bringing a lot of terrorists to justice around the world, as well. I think we've arrested over three hundred, we, the coalition, has arrested over three hundred and fifty al Qaeda members and terrorists. I was able to thank President Aznar of Spain this week, for arresting eight, eight terrorists, eight people who hate freedom are now in jail, where they should be. And hopefully they'll give us some information that we will share with other coalition members, to keep us all safe.

And as we speak, we're enforcing the doctrine that makes it plain that not only do we seek the terrorists, but we also hold governments that harbor them and feed them and house them and hide them accountable for their behavior, as well.

Afghanistan is the first overseas front in this war against terror. And I'm pleased to report the military is performing really well. In a short period of time, most of the country now is in the hands of our allies and friends. We've rescued the humanitarian aid workers. We've destroyed the Taliban military. They're in total confusion. **The government that used to hate women, and not educate its children, and disrupt humanitarian supplies, and destroy religious symbols of other religions is now in rout.**

And we've got al Qaeda on the run, too. Now, they think they can hide, but they can't hide for long. And they think they can run, but they can't run forever, because we will patiently, diligently, pursue them until they are brought to justice.

And on the home front, terrorist violence must be prevented, and must be defeated. And it will be, with vigilance, aggressive investigation, and certain punishment. Already, we've committed significant new resources to homeland security. We've improved our ability to detect and stop terrorist activity. But we've still got a lot of work to do.

I'm pleased to report the culture of the FBI is changing, the people you'll be working with in the field is changing. **Now, one in four employees of the FBI are directly involved with the efforts to track down every lead and to disrupt the evil ones.** And our new investigations are moving forward. And as we do so, our laws are being enforced fairly and in full.

We'll hear from material witnesses. We'll give them a chance to participate in the war against terror by telling us what they know. We will apply the immigration laws. We're interviewing people, on a voluntary basis. We're saying, welcome to America. You have come to our country, why don't you help make us safe? Why don't you share information with us? Why don't you help us protect innocent people, women and children and men? Why don't you help us value life? As you enjoy the freedoms of our country, help us protect those freedoms.

But there is no doubt about our intentions, and there shouldn't be. Those who plot terror, and those who help them, will be held accountable in America. That's what we're going to do. Protecting the innocent against violence is a solemn duty of this country. It is our most important responsibility now. And all of us in this room accept that responsibility. And we will tell the American people plainly, we will fulfill that responsibility.

To meet that obligation, a wartime reorganization is underway at the Justice Department. More investigators will go to front lines. The federal government will work more closely with state and local authorities -- and so will you. Agents will receive better training and new technology, to help track and capture terrorists or those who support them. And these changes are essential, and I want to thank the Attorney General and Director Mueller for beginning this transformation.

I have also reserved the option of trial by military commission for foreign terrorists who wage war against our country. Non-citizens, non-U.S. citizens who plan and/or commit mass murder are more than criminal suspects. They are unlawful combatants who seek to destroy our country and our way of life. And if I determine that it is in the national security interest of our great land to try by military commission those who make war on America, then we will do so.

We will act with fairness, and we will deliver justice, which is far more than the terrorists ever grant to their innocent victims.

Ours is a great land, and we'll always value freedom. We're an open society. But we're at war. The enemy has declared war on us. And we must not let foreign enemies use the forums of liberty to destroy liberty, itself. Foreign terrorists and agents must never again be allowed to use our freedoms against us.

Many of you will play a crucial part in our victory against terrorism, and make no mistake, we're going to win the war. Decisions important to millions of Americans will be made in your offices. Your work in the cause of justice will help ensure the security of

this nation. And as you join this fight, you will honor the Constitution. You will not only protect our people, but you will uphold our values.

Every federal prosecutor has the unique privilege of standing up in a court and telling the judge that you are there on behalf of the United States. In a time of war, these words are even more deeply felt, are even more significant.

Yours is a great trust, and one of the great professions. Today, you carry not only the confidence and respect of the American people, but you carry our deep gratitude, as well. **God bless.**

- 6 sections to extract
- 2051 words post-extraction

10. President Shares Thanksgiving Meal with Troops November 21 2001

Thank you all very much. At ease. Thank you all very much. Laura and I are proud, really proud, to be with the men and women of the finest Army in the whole world. This Thanksgiving, Americans are especially thankful for our freedom. And we are especially thankful to you, the people who keep us free.

I want to thank your General, Commander Cody, for his hospitality and for his leadership. I took a good look at him. I'm glad he's on my side. And I'm glad you are as well. I want to thank General Ellis. General Ellis has got a huge job. We've called upon a good man to accomplish that job.

I want to thank Sergeant Major Clifford West. I want to thank the Governors from the states represented here at Fort Campbell, Governor Paul Patton and Governor Don Sundquist from Kentucky and Tennessee.

I want to thank the Senators who are here with us from the two states: Senator Mitch McConnell, my good friend. I hope to see him in D.C. for a lot of years coming. And I want to thank Jim Bunning. He was telling me he thought my fast ball, when I threw it at Yankee Stadium, had a little zip on it. Nothing like his fast balls.

I want to thank Senator Fred Thompson and Senator Bill Frist, two fine United States Senators from Tennessee. I want to thank Congressman Ed Bryant from Tennessee for being here as well. All of these men respect and support the United States military and they represent the best of our country in the halls of our Congress.

Congressman Ed Whitfield, who represents this district, wanted to be here today, but he's spending the holiday with the U.S. servicemen and women from Kentucky who are stationed in Kosovo. They're in our prayers this Thanksgiving, as are all the troops overseas.

And I want to thank Congressman Whitfield's dad, Mr. E.O. Whitfield, for coming here in his stead. Sounds like E.O. brought his wife. We're honored to be at the home of the one hundred and first Airborne. I've got two words I want to say to you: air assault. I met some of you all when I visited Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo, and some of you invited me to your home. I came, and I'm glad I'm here.

I will always remember this as the day I ate turkey with the Screaming Eagles. More than three thousand soldiers from this post have been deployed to Kosovo for six-month rotations. They kept supplies away from rebels in Macedonia, made the recent election in Kosovo possible. I'm glad to report that all of them from this base will be home by Thanksgiving.

And all the fine units that call Fort Campbell home, the one hundred and sixtieth Special Operations Aviation Regiment. The 5th Special Forces Group. Other essential groups that shall remain nameless.

All Americans are especially grateful, especially grateful, for the sacrifice of our military families; the husbands and wives and sons and daughters, the mothers and dads. Some of you have loved ones that are deployed, or will be deployed far from home in a war against terror and evil. And our nation and the world are counting on your loved ones. They're making us secure and they are making us proud.

Men and women of Fort Campbell, your country and your President are proud of you, as well. The one hundred and first Airborne, the one hundred and first Airborne is living out its motto. Once again, you have a rendezvous with destiny. And so does our country; we're freedom's home and defender. And today we're the target of freedom's enemies.

Our enemies are evil and they're ruthless. They have no conscience. They have no mercy. They have killed thousands of our citizens, and seek to kill many more. They seek to overthrow friendly governments to force America to retreat from the world.

They seek weapons of mass destruction. But we're seeking them. We're fighting them. And one by one, we're bringing them to justice. We fight now, this great nation fights now, to save ourselves and our children from living in a world of fear.

We fight now because we will not permit the terrorists, these vicious and evil men, to hijack a peaceful religion and to impose their will on America and the world. We fight now, and we will keep on fighting until our victory is complete. We cannot know every turn this war will take. But I'm confident of the outcome. I believe in the strong resolve of the American people. **I believe good triumphs over evil.** And I believe in the fearless hearts of the United States military.

We fight the terrorists and we fight all of those who give them aid. America has a message for the nations of the world: If you harbor terrorists, you are terrorists. If you

train or arm a terrorist, you are a terrorist. If you feed a terrorist or fund a terrorist, you're a terrorist, and you will be held accountable by the United States and our friends.

The Taliban know that. Our military forces and the forces of our allies and many Afghans seeking a better future, are liberating Afghanistan. And the Afghan people are celebrating. Today, 27 of thirty Afghanistan provinces are no longer under Taliban control. We've got the Taliban and terrorists' lines of communications, and they're on the run.

We've made a good start in Afghanistan; yet, there is still a lot to be done. There are still terrorists on the loose in Afghanistan, and we will find and destroy their network, piece by piece. The most difficult steps in this mission still lie ahead, where enemies hide in sophisticated cave complexes, located in some of the most mountainous and rugged territory. These hideouts are heavily fortified and defended by fanatics who will fight to the death.

Unlike efforts to liberate a town or destroy Taliban equipment, success against these cells may come more slowly. But we'll prevail. We'll prevail with a combination of good information, decisive action, and great military skill.

The enemy, the enemy hopes they can hide until we tire. But we're going to prove them wrong. We will never tire. And we will hunt them down. The Afghan people deserve a just and stable government. And we will work with the United Nations to help them build it. Our diplomats in the region, in Europe, in New York and in Washington, are in communications with all parties. We're urging them to move quickly toward a government that is broadly-based, multi-ethnic, and protects the rights and dignity of all Afghan citizens, including women.

Winter is coming. And years of drought and Taliban misrule have placed many Afghans on the brink of starvation. We will work with the world to bring them food and medicine. **While we fight evil, this great country will help those who suffer.**

Afghanistan is just the beginning on the war against terror. There are other terrorists who threaten America and our friends, and there are other nations willing to sponsor them. We will not be secure as a nation until all of these threats are defeated. **Across the world and across the years, we will fight these evil ones, and we will win.**

Great causes are not easy causes. It was a long way from Bunker Hill to Yorktown. It was a long way for the one hundred and first from Normandy to final victory over fascism in Europe. When wronged, our great nation has always been patient and determined and relentless. And that's the way we are today. We have defeated enemies of freedom before. And we will defeat them again.

And this struggle must be won at home, in our own cities, on our own soil. A lot of good people, police officers, FBI agents, intelligence agents and health officials, are working hard to protect Americans from new threats. And Americans are being vigilant,

themselves. No matter what lies ahead, we'll be alert, we'll be careful and we'll never be intimidated. We're proud Americans and we'll live like Americans: we'll travel, we'll build on our prosperity, we'll live the lives of free people.

Yet, make no mistake about it, wars are not won on the home front alone. Wars are won by taking the fight to the enemy. America is not waiting for terrorists to try to strike us again. Wherever they hide, wherever they plot, we will strike the terrorists.

This mission will require sacrifice by our men and women in uniform. America appreciates that sacrifice. And I make a promise in return, our military will have everything you need to win in the long battle that lies ahead. You'll have every resource, every weapon, every possible tool to ensure full victory for the cause of freedom.

These have been hard months for Americans. Yet, this Thanksgiving we have so much to be thankful for. We're thankful for the love of our families. We're thankful for the goodness and generosity of our fellow citizens. We're thankful for the freedoms of our country. And we're so very thankful to you, the men and women who wear our uniform.

Thanks to you, the people of Afghanistan have the hope of a better life. Thanks to you, many Afghan women are walking in public again, and walking with dignity. Thanks to you, eight humanitarian aid workers, including two Americans, are free today, instead of sitting in a Taliban jail. Thanks to you, every nation is seeing what will happen if you cast your lot with the terrorists. Thanks to you, there is less fear in the world and more freedom, and more hope, and a better chance for peace.

Every one of you is dedicated to something greater than yourself. You put your country ahead of your comfort. You live by a code and you fight for a cause. And I'm honored to be your Commander-in-Chief.

I want to thank you all for such a warm greeting. I want to thank your service to a great nation.

- 5 sections to extract
- 1612 words post-extraction

11. President Bush Speaks to U.N. November 10 2001

Thank you. Mr. Secretary General, Mr. President, distinguished delegates, and ladies and gentlemen. We meet in a hall devoted to peace, in a city scarred by violence, in a nation awakened to danger, in a world uniting for a long struggle. Every civilized nation here today is resolved to keep the most basic commitment of civilization: We will defend ourselves and our future against terror and lawless violence.

The United Nations was founded in this cause. **In a second world war, we learned there is no isolation from evil.** We affirmed that some crimes are so terrible they offend

humanity, itself. And we resolved that the aggressions and ambitions of the wicked must be opposed early, decisively, and collectively, before they threaten us all. **That evil has returned, and that cause is renewed.**

A few miles from here, many thousands still lie in a tomb of rubble. Tomorrow, the Secretary General, the President of the General Assembly, and I will visit that site, where the names of every nation and region that lost citizens will be read aloud. If we were to read the names of every person who died, it would take more than three hours.

Those names include a citizen of Gambia, whose wife spent their fourth wedding anniversary, September the twelfth, searching in vain for her husband. Those names include a man who supported his wife in Mexico, sending home money every week. **Those names include a young Pakistani who prayed toward Mecca five times a day, and died that day trying to save others.**

The suffering of September the eleventh was inflicted on people of many faiths and many nations. All of the victims, including Muslims, were killed with equal indifference and equal satisfaction by the terrorist leaders. The terrorists are violating the tenets of every religion, including the one they invoke.

Last week, the Sheikh of Al-Azhar University, the world's oldest Islamic institution of higher learning, declared that terrorism is a disease, and that Islam prohibits killing innocent civilians. The terrorists call their cause holy, yet, they fund it with drug dealing; they encourage murder and suicide in the name of a great faith that forbids both. They dare to ask God's blessing as they set out to kill innocent men, women and children. But the God of Isaac and Ishmael would never answer such a prayer. And a murderer is not a martyr; he is just a murderer.

Time is passing. Yet, for the United States of America, there will be no forgetting September the eleventh. We will remember every rescuer who died in honor. We will remember every family that lives in grief. We will remember the fire and ash, the last phone calls, the funerals of the children.

And the people of my country will remember those who have plotted against us. We are learning their names. We are coming to know their faces. There is no corner of the Earth distant or dark enough to protect them. However long it takes, their hour of justice will come.

Every nation has a stake in this cause. As we meet, the terrorists are planning more murder, perhaps in my country, or perhaps in yours. They kill because they aspire to dominate. They seek to overthrow governments and destabilize entire regions.

Last week, anticipating this meeting of the General Assembly, they denounced the United Nations. **They called our Secretary General a criminal and condemned all Arab nations here as traitors to Islam.**

Few countries meet their exacting standards of brutality and oppression. Every other country is a potential target. And all the world faces the most horrifying prospect of all: These same terrorists are searching for weapons of mass destruction, the tools to turn their hatred into holocaust. They can be expected to use chemical, biological and nuclear weapons the moment they are capable of doing so. No hint of conscience would prevent it.

This threat cannot be ignored. This threat cannot be appeased. Civilization, itself, the civilization we share, is threatened. History will record our response, and judge or justify every nation in this hall.

The civilized world is now responding. We act to defend ourselves and deliver our children from a future of fear. We choose the dignity of life over a culture of death. We choose lawful change and civil disagreement over coercion, subversion, and chaos. These commitments, hope and order, law and life, unite people across cultures and continents. Upon these commitments depend all peace and progress. For these commitments, we are determined to fight.

The United Nations has risen to this responsibility. On the twelfth of September, these buildings opened for emergency meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Before the sun had set, these attacks on the world stood condemned by the world. And I want to thank you for this strong and principled stand.

I also thank the Arab Islamic countries that have condemned terrorist murder. Many of you have seen the destruction of terror in your own lands. The terrorists are increasingly isolated by their own hatred and extremism. **They cannot hide behind Islam. The authors of mass murder and their allies have no place in any culture, and no home in any faith.**

The conspiracies of terror are being answered by an expanding global coalition. Not every nation will be a part of every action against the enemy. But every nation in our coalition has duties. These duties can be demanding, as we in America are learning. We have already made adjustments in our laws and in our daily lives. We're taking new measures to investigate terror and to protect against threats.

The leaders of all nations must now carefully consider their responsibilities and their future. Terrorist groups like al Qaeda depend upon the aid or indifference of governments. They need the support of a financial infrastructure, and safe havens to train and plan and hide.

Some nations want to play their part in the fight against terror, but tell us they lack the means to enforce their laws and control their borders. We stand ready to help. Some governments still turn a blind eye to the terrorists, hoping the threat will pass them by. They are mistaken. And some governments, while pledging to uphold the principles of the united nations, have cast their lot with the terrorists. They support them and harbor

them, and they will find that their welcome guests are parasites that will weaken them, and eventually consume them.

For every regime that sponsors terror, there is a price to be paid. And it will be paid. The allies of terror are equally guilty of murder and equally accountable to justice.

The Taliban are now learning this lesson, that regime and the terrorists who support it are now virtually indistinguishable. Together they promote terror abroad and impose a reign of terror on the Afghan people. Women are executed in Kabal's soccer stadium. They can be beaten for wearing socks that are too thin. **Men are jailed for missing prayer meetings.**

The United States, supported by many nations, is bringing justice to the terrorists in Afghanistan. We're making progress against military targets, and that is our objective. Unlike the enemy, we seek to minimize, not maximize, the loss of innocent life.

I'm proud of the honorable conduct of the American military. And my country grieves for all the suffering the Taliban have brought upon Afghanistan, including the terrible burden of war. The Afghan people do not deserve their present rulers. Years of Taliban misrule have brought nothing but misery and starvation. Even before this current crisis, 4 million Afghans depended on food from the United States and other nations, and millions of Afghans were refugees from Taliban oppression.

I make this promise to all the victims of that regime: The Taliban's days of harboring terrorists and dealing in heroin and brutalizing women are drawing to a close. And when that regime is gone, the people of Afghanistan will say with the rest of the world: good riddance.

I can promise, too, that America will join the world in helping the people of Afghanistan rebuild their country. Many nations, including mine, are sending food and medicine to help Afghans through the winter. America has air-dropped over 1.3 million packages of rations into Afghanistan. Just this week, we air-lifted twenty thousand blankets and over two hundred tons of provisions into the region. We continue to provide humanitarian aid, even while the Taliban tried to steal the food we send.

More help eventually will be needed. The United States will work closely with the United Nations and development banks to reconstruct Afghanistan after hostilities there have ceased and the Taliban are no longer in control. And the United States will work with the United Nations to support a post-Taliban government that represents all of the Afghan people.

In this war of terror, each of us must answer for what we have done or what we have left undone. After tragedy, there is a time for sympathy and condolence. And my country has been very grateful for both. The memorials and vigils around the world will not be forgotten. But the time for sympathy has now passed; the time for action has now arrived.

The most basic obligations in this new conflict have already been defined by the United Nations. On September the twenty-eighth, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1373. Its requirements are clear: Every United Nations member has a responsibility to crack down on terrorist financing. We must pass all necessary laws in our own countries to allow the confiscation of terrorist assets. We must apply those laws to every financial institution in every nation.

We have a responsibility to share intelligence and coordinate the efforts of law enforcement. If you know something, tell us. If we know something, we'll tell you. And when we find the terrorists, we must work together to bring them to justice. We have a responsibility to deny any sanctuary, safe haven or transit to terrorists. Every known terrorist camp must be shut down, its operators apprehended, and evidence of their arrest presented to the United Nations. We have a responsibility to deny weapons to terrorists and to actively prevent private citizens from providing them.

These obligations are urgent and they are binding on every nation with a place in this chamber. Many governments are taking these obligations seriously, and my country appreciates it. Yet, even beyond Resolution 1373, more is required, and more is expected of our coalition against terror.

We're asking for a comprehensive commitment to this fight. We must unite in opposing all terrorists, not just some of them. In this world there are good causes and bad causes, and we may disagree on where the line is drawn. Yet, there is no such thing as a good terrorist. No national aspiration, no remembered wrong can ever justify the deliberate murder of the innocent. Any government that rejects this principle, trying to pick and choose its terrorist friends, will know the consequences.

We must speak the truth about terror. Let us never tolerate outrageous conspiracy theories concerning the attacks of September the eleventh; malicious lies that attempt to shift the blame away from the terrorists, themselves, away from the guilty. To inflame ethnic hatred is to advance the cause of terror.

The war against terror must not serve as an excuse to persecute ethnic and religious minorities in any country. Innocent people must be allowed to live their own lives, by their own customs, under their own religion. And every nation must have avenues for the peaceful expression of opinion and dissent. When these avenues are closed, the temptation to speak through violence grows.

We must press on with our agenda for peace and prosperity in every land. My country is pledged to encouraging development and expanding trade. My country is pledged to investing in education and combatting AIDS and other infectious diseases around the world. Following September eleventh, these pledges are even more important. In our struggle against hateful groups that exploit poverty and despair, we must offer an alternative of opportunity and hope.

The American government also stands by its commitment to a just peace in the Middle East. We are working toward a day when two states, Israel and Palestine, live peacefully together within secure and recognize borders as called for by the Security Council resolutions. We will do all in our power to bring both parties back into negotiations. But peace will only come when all have sworn off, forever, incitement, violence and terror.

And, finally, this struggle is a defining moment for the United Nations, itself. And the world needs its principled leadership. It undermines the credibility of this great institution, for example, when the Commission on Human Rights offers seats to the world's most persistent violators of human rights. The United Nations depends, above all, on its moral authority, and that authority must be preserved.

The steps I described will not be easy. For all nations, they will require effort. For some nations, they will require great courage. Yet, the cost of inaction is far greater. The only alternative to victory is a nightmare world where every city is a potential killing field.

As I've told the American people, freedom and fear are at war. We face enemies that hate not our policies, but our existence; the tolerance of openness and creative culture that defines us. But the outcome of this conflict is certain: There is a current in history and it runs toward freedom. **Our enemies resent it and dismiss it, but the dreams of mankind are defined by liberty, the natural right to create and build and worship and live in dignity.** When men and women are released from oppression and isolation, they find fulfillment and hope, and they leave poverty by the millions.

These aspirations are lifting up the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, and they can lift up all of the Islamic world.

We stand for the permanent hopes of humanity, and those hopes will not be denied. **We're confident, too, that history has an author who fills time and eternity with his purpose. We know that evil is real, but good will prevail against it. This is the teaching of many faiths, and in that assurance we gain strength for a long journey.**

It is our task, the task of this generation, to provide the response to aggression and terror. We have no other choice, because there is no other peace.

We did not ask for this mission, yet there is honor in history's call. **We have a chance to write the story of our times, a story of courage defeating cruelty and light overcoming darkness.** This calling is worthy of any life, and worthy of every nation. So let us go forward, confident, determined, and unafraid.

Thank you very much.

- 24 sections to extract
- 2072 words post-extraction

12. President Discusses War on Terrorism November 8 2001

Thank you all very much. Thank you so very much. We meet tonight after two of the most difficult, and most inspiring, months in our nation's history. We have endured the shock of watching so many innocent lives ended in acts of unimaginable horror. We have endured the sadness of so many funerals. We have faced unprecedented bioterrorist attack delivered in our mail.

Tonight, many thousands of children are tragically learning to live without one of their parents. And the rest of us are learning to live in a world that seems very different than it was on September the tenth.

The moment the second plane hit the second building, when we knew it was a terrorist attack, many felt that our lives would never be the same. What we couldn't be sure of then, and what the terrorists never expected, was that America would emerge stronger, with a renewed spirit of pride and patriotism.

I said in my speech to a Joint Session of Congress that we are a nation awakened to danger. We're also a nation awakened to service, and citizenship, and compassion. **None of us would ever wish the evil that has been done to our country, yet we have learned that out of evil can come great good.**

During the last two months, we have shown the world America is a great nation. Americans have responded magnificently, with courage and caring. **We've seen it in our children, who have sent in more than one million dollars for the children of Afghanistan. We have seen it in the compassion of Jewish and Christian Americans who have reached out to their Muslim neighbors. We have seen it as Americans have reassessed priorities, parents spending more time with their children, and many people spending more time in prayer and in houses of worship.**

We have gained new heroes: Those who ran into burning buildings to save others, our police and our firefighters. Those who battled their own fears to keep children calm and safe, America's teachers. Those who voluntarily placed themselves in harm's way to defend our freedom, the men and women of the Armed Forces.

And tonight, we join in thanking a whole new group of public servants who never enlisted to fight a war, but find themselves on the front lines of a battle nonetheless: Those who deliver the mail, America's postal workers. We also thank those whose quick response provided preventive treatment that has no doubt saved thousands of lives, our health care workers.

We are a different country than we were on September the tenth, sadder and less innocent; stronger and more united; and in the face of ongoing threats, determined and courageous.

Our nation faces a threat to our freedoms, and the stakes could not be higher. **We are the target of enemies who boast they want to kill, kill all Americans, kill all Jews, and kill all Christians.** We've seen that type of hate before, and the only possible response is to confront it, and to defeat it.

This new enemy seeks to destroy our freedom and impose its views. We value life; the terrorists ruthlessly destroy it. We value education; the terrorists do not believe women should be educated or should have health care, or should leave their homes. We value the right to speak our minds; for the terrorists, free expression can be grounds for execution. **We respect people of all faiths and welcome the free practice of religion; our enemy wants to dictate how to think and how to worship even to their fellow Muslims.**

This enemy tries to hide behind a peaceful faith. But those who celebrate the murder of innocent men, women, and children have no religion, have no conscience, and have no mercy.

We wage a war to save civilization, itself. We did not seek it, but we must fight it, and we will prevail.

This is a different war from any our nation has ever faced, a war on many fronts, against terrorists who operate in more than sixty different countries. And this is a war that must be fought not only overseas, but also here at home. I recently spoke to high school students in Maryland, and realized that for the first time ever, these seniors will graduate in the midst of a war in our own country. We've added a new era, and this new era requires new responsibilities, both for the government and for our people.

The government has a responsibility to protect our citizens, and that starts with homeland security. The first attack against America came by plane, and we are now making our airports and airplanes safer. We have posted the National Guard in America's airports and placed undercover air marshals on many flights. I call on Congress to quickly send me legislation that makes cockpits more secure, baggage screening more thorough, and puts the federal government in charge of all airport screening and security.

The second attack against America came in the mail. We do not know whether this attack came from the same terrorists; we don't know the origin of the anthrax, but whoever did this unprecedented and uncivilized act is a terrorist.

Four Americans have now died from anthrax, out of a total of seventeen people who have been infected. The Postal Service has processed more than thirty billion pieces of mail since September the eleventh, and so far we've identified three different letters that contained anthrax. We can trace the source of infection for all but one of the individuals, and we are still trying to learn how a woman who died in New York was exposed.

I'm proud of the way our health care and postal workers, and the American people, are responding with calm in the face of this deadly new threat. Public health officials have acted quickly to distribute preventive antibiotics to thousands of people who may have

been exposed. The government is purchasing and storing medicines and vaccines as a precaution against future attacks. We are cleaning facilities where anthrax has been detected, and purchasing equipment to sanitize the mail. Thousands of law enforcement officials are aggressively investigating this bioterrorism attack, and public health officials are distributing the most accurate, up-to-date information we have to medical professionals and to the public.

To coordinate our efforts we've created the new Office of Homeland Security. Its director, my good friend and former Governor, Tom Ridge, reports directly to me, and works with all our federal agencies, state and local governments, and the private sector on a national strategy to strengthen our homeland protections. For example, the Coast Guard has taken on expanded duties to protect our shores and our ports. The National Guard has increased, an increased role in surveillance at our border. We're imposing new licensing requirements for safer transportation of hazardous material.

We've passed a new antiterrorism law which gives our law enforcement officers the necessary tools to track terrorists before they harm Americans. A new terrorism task force is tightening immigration controls to make sure no one enters or stays in our country who would harm us. We are a welcoming country, we will always value freedom, yet we will not allow those who plot against our country to abuse our freedoms and our protections.

Our enemies have threatened other acts of terror. We take each threat seriously. And when we have evidence of credible threats, we will issue appropriate alerts.

A terrorism alert is not a signal to stop your life. It is a call to be vigilant, to know that your government is on high alert, and to add your eyes and ears to our efforts to find and stop those who want to do us harm.

A lot of people are working really hard to protect America. But in the long run, the best way to defend our homeland, the best way to make sure our children can live in peace, is to take the battle to the enemy and to stop them.

I have called our military into action to hunt down the members of the al Qaeda organization who murdered innocent Americans. I gave fair warning to the government that harbors them in Afghanistan. The Taliban made a choice to continue hiding terrorists, and now they are paying a price.

I'm so proud of our military. Our military is pursuing its mission. We are destroying training camps, disrupting communications, and dismantling air defenses. We are now bombing Taliban front lines. We are deliberately and systematically hunting down these murderers, and we will bring them to justice.

Throughout this battle, we adhere to our values. Unlike our enemy, we respect life. We do not target innocent civilians. We care for the innocent people of Afghanistan, so we continue to provide humanitarian aid, even while their government tries to steal the food

we send. When the terrorists and their supporters are gone, the people of Afghanistan will say with the rest of the world: good riddance.

We are at the beginning of our efforts in Afghanistan, and Afghanistan is only the beginning of our efforts in the world. No group or nation should mistake Americans' intentions: Where terrorist group exist of global reach, the United States and our friends and allies will seek it out and we will destroy it.

After September the eleventh, our government assumed new responsibilities to strengthen security at home and track down our enemies abroad. And the American people are accepting new responsibilities, as well.

I recently received a letter from a fourth grade girl that seemed to say it all. I don't know how to feel, she said, sad, mad, angry. It has been different lately. I know the people in New York are scared because of the World Trade Center and all, but if we're scared, we are giving the terrorists all the power. In the face of this great tragedy, Americans are refusing to give terrorists the power. Our people have responded with courage and compassion, calm and reason, resolve and fierce determination. We have refused to live in a state of panic, or a state of denial. There is a difference between being alert and being intimidated, and this great nation will never be intimidated.

People are going about their daily lives, working and shopping and playing, worshiping at churches and synagogues and mosques, going to movies and to baseball games. Life in America is going forward, and as the fourth grader who wrote me knew, that is the ultimate repudiation of terrorism.

And something even more profound is happening across our country. **The enormity of this tragedy has caused many Americans to focus on the things that have not changed, the things that matter most in life: our faith, our love for family and friends, our commitment to our country and to our freedoms and to our principles.**

In my inaugural address, I asked our citizens to serve their nation, beginning with their neighbors. This fall, I had planned a new initiative called Communities of Character, designed to spark a rebirth of citizenship and character and service. The events of September the eleventh have caused that initiative to happen on its own, in ways we could never have imagined.

Flags are flying everywhere, on houses, in store windows, on cars and lapels. Financial donations to the victims' families have reached more than a billion dollars. Countless Americans gave blood in the aftermath of the attacks. New Yorkers opened their homes to evacuated neighbors. We are waiting patiently in long security lines. Children across America have organized lemonade and cookie sales for children in Afghanistan.

And we can do more. Since September the eleventh, many Americans, especially young Americans, are rethinking their career choices. They're being drawn to careers of service,

as police or firemen, emergency health workers, teachers, counselors, or in the military. And this is good for America.

Many ask, what can I do to help in our fight. The answer is simple. All of us can become a September the eleventh volunteer by making a commitment to service in our own communities. So you can serve your country by tutoring or mentoring a child, comforting the afflicted, housing those in need of shelter and a home. You can participate in your Neighborhood Watch or Crime Stoppers. You can become a volunteer in a hospital, emergency medical, fire or rescue unit. You can support our troops in the field and, just as importantly, support their families here at home, by becoming active in the USO or groups and communities near our military installations.

We also will encourage service to country by creating new opportunities within the AmeriCorps and Senior Corps programs for public safety and public health efforts. We'll ask state and local officials to create a new modern civil defense service similar to local volunteer fire departments, to respond to local emergencies when the manpower of governments is stretched thin. We will find ways to train and mobilize more volunteers to help when rescue and health emergencies arise.

Americans have a lot to offer, so I've created a task force to develop additional ways people can get directly involved in this war effort, by making our homes and neighborhoods and schools and workplaces safer. And I call on all Americans to serve by bettering our communities and, thereby, defy and defeat the terrorists.

Our great nation, national challenge is to hunt down the terrorists and strengthen our protection against future attacks. Our great national opportunity is to preserve forever the good that has resulted. Through this tragedy, we are renewing and reclaiming our strong American values.

Both Laura and I were touched by a recent newspaper article that quoted a little four-year-old girl, who asked a telling and innocent question. Wondering how terrorists could hate a whole nation of people they don't even know, she asked, Why don't we just tell them our names? Well, we can't tell them all our names, but together we can show them our values.

Too many have the wrong idea of Americans as shallow, materialistic consumers who care only about getting rich or getting ahead. But this isn't the America I know. **Ours is a wonderful nation, full of kind and loving people, people of faith who want freedom and opportunity for people everywhere.** One way to defeat terrorism is to show the world the true values of America through the gathering momentum of a million acts of responsibility and decency and service.

I'm encouraging schoolchildren to write letters of friendship to Muslim children in different countries. Our college students and those who travel abroad for business or vacation can all be ambassadors of American values. Ours is a great story, and we must tell it, through our words and through our deeds.

I came to Atlanta today to talk about an all-important question: How should we live in the light of what has happened? We all have new responsibilities. Our government has a responsibility to hunt down our enemies, and we will. Our government has a responsibility to put needless partisanship behind us and meet new challenges, better security for our people, and help for those who have lost jobs and livelihoods in the attacks that claimed so many lives. I made some proposals to stimulate economic growth which will create new jobs, and make America less dependent on foreign oil. And I ask Congress to work hard and put a stimulus plan into law to help the American people.

Our citizens have new responsibilities. We must be vigilant. Obviously, we must inspect our mail, and stay informed on public health matters. We will not give in to exaggerated fears or passing rumors. We will rely on good judgment and good, old common sense. We will care for those who have lost loved ones, and comfort those who might at times feel afraid.

We will not judge fellow Americans by appearance, ethnic background, or religious faith. We will defend the values of our country, and we will live by them. We will persevere in this struggle, no matter how long it takes to prevail.

Above all, we will live in a spirit of courage and optimism. Our nation was born in that spirit, as immigrants yearning for freedom courageously risked their lives in search of greater opportunity. That spirit of optimism and courage still beckons people across the world who want to come here. And that spirit of optimism and courage must guide those of us fortunate enough to live here.

Courage and optimism led the passengers on Flight 93 to rush their murderers to save lives on the ground. **Led by a young man whose last known words were the Lord's Prayer and Let's roll.** He didn't know he had signed on for heroism when he boarded the plane that day. Some of our greatest moments have been acts of courage for which no one could have ever prepared.

We will always remember the words of that brave man, expressing the spirit of a great country. We will never forget all we have lost, and all we are fighting for. Ours is the cause of freedom. We've defeated freedom's enemies before, and we will defeat them again.

We cannot know every turn this battle will take. Yet we know our cause is just and our ultimate victory is assured. We will, no doubt, face new challenges. But we have our marching orders. My fellow Americans, let's roll.

- 13 sections to extract
- 2592 words post-extraction

13. President Discusses Stronger Economy and Homeland Defense October 24 2001

Thank you all very much. Please be seated. I'm glad my SBA Director is here, Hector Barreto is in charge of the Small Business Association. And, Hector, thank you for coming. I want to thank the employees of Dixie Printing, and my fellow Americans.

Some might ask why, in the midst of war, I would come to Dixie Printing. They say, here you are conducting a campaign against terrorists, and you take time to come to a small business. And the answer is, because we fight in the war on two fronts. We fight a war at home; and part of the war we fight is to make sure that our economy continues to grow.

When the terrorists struck our homeland, they thought we would fold. They thought our economy would crater. That's what they wanted. But they don't understand America. They don't understand the entrepreneurial spirit of our country. They don't understand the spirit of the working men and women of America. They don't understand that small business owners all across our country are saying, we're not going to allow you to terrorize us. We're going to make sure our.

I am here to report that we're doing well on both fronts. Overseas, our diplomatic efforts are strong. Nations all across the globe have bound with the United States to send a clear message that we'll fight terrorism wherever it may exist.

Recently I was in China. I had an interesting meeting, as you can imagine, with the President of Russia, the head of China, Mexico, Chile, were all represented. **And to a leader, from all kinds of nations, some Muslim, some not, the people said, we stand with America. We stand with America in our noble goal of finding the evildoers and bringing them to justice.**

As you know, I have asked our military to take an active role in the campaign. I set out a doctrine to America that said the following: Not only will we hold terrorists accountable for their activities, we will also hold those accountable, those nations accountable that harbor them, that hide them, that try to feed them. And that's exactly what we're doing in Afghanistan.

I gave the Afghan government, the Taliban government, plenty of time to respond to the demands of the United States. I said, you must hand over the al Qaeda leadership which hides in your country. I said, you must free those who you illegally detain in your country. And I said, you must destroy the camps that have been used to train the terrorists. And they had time to respond, and they didn't respond positively, and, therefore, they're paying a price.

Our military is conducting a campaign to bring the terrorists to justice, not to harm the Afghan people. While we are holding the Taliban government accountable, we're also feeding Afghan people. You need to be proud of the United States military. It's doing its job. It is slowly, but surely, encircling the terrorists so that we'll bring them to justice.

We're patient. We're firm. We have got a strategy that is going to work. And make no mistake about it, justice will be done.

But there is another front in this war, and the front is here at home. It's something that, obviously, we're not used to in America. We've had oceans which have protected us over our history. Except for Pearl Harbor, we've never really been hit before. And yet, on September eleventh, this great land came under attack. And it's still under attack as we speak. Anybody who puts poison in mail is a terrorist. **Anybody who tries to affect the lives of our good citizens is evil.**

I'm oftentimes asked by our friends in the press, do I know if there's a direct connection between what took place on September the eleventh and what's happening today. I have no direct evidence, but there are some links. **Both series of actions are motivated by evil and hate.** Both series of actions are meant to disrupt Americans' way of life. Both series of actions are an attack on our homeland. And both series of actions will not stand.

It's important for the American people to know our government is doing everything we can on both fronts of this war. On the home front, we've got an Office of Homeland Security, the job of which is to organize and coordinate our functions of government in such a way as to disrupt and find those who would harm our citizens. We've got thousands of FBI agents scouring the information, asking questions, following up leads, all aimed to raise the risk of someone who would harm our citizens.

And, as well, we've responded to every incident that has occurred. Our nation has responded with bravery and courage. I'm proud of our health officials who responded so quickly to the incidents that took place. **And, unfortunately, we lost life, and our prayers are with anybody who lose life in America.** But I firmly believe their quick actions saved many lives, as well.

We're learning about terror and evil, and our country is responding forcefully. The American people have got remarkable spirit and remarkable resolve. We are strong, we are united, and we are determined to prevail.

One of the effects of the attacks has been on our economy. Make no mistake about it, September the eleventh affected economic growth, and our government must respond in an effective way. And so I'm here to talk about an important part of the home front security, and that is our economy.

First of all, the bases for economic growth are very strong. The entrepreneurial spirit is really strong in America. We're the haven for small business opportunity in our country. I mean, more jobs are created through small business owners and the entrepreneurs of America than they are through large corporate America. And so, as we think through how to encourage economic growth, we've got to always keep in mind the small business and the medium-sized businesses of America.

Secondly, our tax structure has been improved. In other words, we're giving people more of their own money back. And that's an important part of economic growth. We just finished distributing about forty billion dollars in rebate checks. Maybe some of you have received a six hundred or three hundred dollar check. That's part of encouraging growth. And, by the way, those tax cuts that have just begun will continue next year, and the year after that, as well.

And we've acted confidently and quickly to spend money necessary to help the country recover from the attacks. We spent money on helping rebuild New York City and the Pentagon. We have spent money to stabilize our airline industry, which was the industry most directly affected by the attacks of September the eleventh. We've spent money to take care of workers who have lost jobs, and that's necessary and that's important.

And we've taken enough money, spending money to make sure we defend our country and accomplish our mission overseas. That spending has amounted to about sixty billion dollars, above and beyond our budget. That money will help with job creation and will help our economy grow. It's necessary to spend that kind of money in a time of emergency, and we're in times of emergency.

But I strongly believe it's time to balance this amount of spending with additional tax relief. My judgment, we've provided a lot of money in the short run, and in order to encourage and stimulate our economy, we ought to offset that money with additional tax relief, and I want to describe some of what that means.

First, we need to accelerate the tax relief that is already going to happen. In other words, instead of waiting for next year's tax relief to happen, let's put it into this year, to bolster consumer spending. We want you to have more money to spend, particularly as we head into the Christmas season. We want our consumers feeling confident.

One way to feel confident is for the people to know there's a strong homeland security initiative and strategy, that our country is doing everything we can to succeed. And there's nothing like boosting confidence than a little extra money in the pocket, too.

I also believe we ought to have rebates for low- and moderate-income workers, people who might have filed an income tax return, but didn't get any rebate last time. Those good folks have been particularly hard-hit as a result of September the eleventh. And that ought to be a part of our consumer confidence package.

And then there's the business side, and I want you to know that we've thought very carefully about how to stimulate economic vitality and growth. And it's a package that will help small business America. It's a package that will do two things: One, encourage more investment, immediate investment in plant and equipment, and, therefore, one that will help small businesses not only retain their work force, but, hopefully, expand their work forces.

And, therefore, we need to reform the corporate income tax to get rid of the alternative minimum tax, which so severely affects small businesses like Dixie. As well, we need to allow businesses to deduct more of the cost of new investments immediately. We need to say to the Dixie Printings of America, if you invest in equipment now, you're rewarded for that investment. To me, that makes common sense. It's a good way to make sure that we enhance the employment opportunities of America.

The terrorists wanted our economy to stop. It hasn't. They wanted to diminish the spirit of America. It didn't. They thought the government wouldn't be able to react. The government is going to react with an economic stimulus package that is good for workers. The House is getting ready to vote on that package. I urge them to pass it. And then I urge the Senate to act quickly to make sure that the American people understand that at this part of our homeland defense, our country and the Congress is united.

You know, I said early on that through my tears I see opportunity. **And I believe my faith teaches that out of evil can come good.** And there's been a lot of good that has come out of this terrible situation. By the way, there's a spirit of cooperation in Washington that is very positive. We've got Republicans and Democrats talking to each other. That's good. It's very important during this time in our history that we in Washington, D.C. show that we can work together.

I don't know if you know this or not, but I'm now having a weekly breakfast with the leaders of the House and the Senate, both Republicans and Democrats. And I can report that there is no party that has got a lock on patriotism. The Democrats, just like Republicans, want to win this war. And we're talking about how to best solve the problems with which we're confronted.

But there's also a lot of other good, too. **We've got moms and dads reassessing values, recognizing there are things that are so precious in life, like their children and their marriage and their family, and their church and their synagogue and their mosque.** Values are strong in America. **Those who struck our country didn't realize, didn't realize because they're so evil and so dark and so negative, they couldn't realize that there's going to be such good that comes out of what took place in America.**

We're resolved. We are strong. We're determined. We're patient. And this nation is going to do whatever it takes. You see, my attitude is, is that how the Dixie Printings behave, and how the workers behave here, and how the citizens of Maryland behave are incredibly important. How you respond to these attacks are incredibly important, not only to help win the war today, but to set the example for future generations of Americans.

It's important that we win today, place that flag of freedom squarely in the world. Because this is the first battle of the twenty-first century, and it's a battle we must win, we have no choice, for our children and our grandchildren. And it means that the country is going to have to do what it takes.

And I'm here to report, we are. We are going to do it.

So I want to thank you for giving me a chance to drop in to say hello. I am so honored to be the President of this great nation, and I mean, great. What a fabulous land we have. And the reason why is because we've got such fabulous citizens.

Thank you for letting me come by. **God bless.**

- 8 sections to extract
- 1957 words post-extraction

14. President Rallies Troops October 17 2001

Thank you all very much. I appreciate such a warm welcome. I'm about to cross the Pacific on my favorite Air Force airplane. And there's really only one place to leave from, that's called the Gateway to the Pacific. Thank you for your hospitality. I can't tell you how proud I am to be with the men and women who wear the uniform of the great United States of America.

I want to thank the Air Force and the Army and the Navy troops who are here. I'm also proud to be with the husbands and wives and sons and daughters. And to the families of those of you whose mom or dad or husband or wife have been deployed, I want you to know that they're on a noble mission. The cause is just, and we will win.

I want to thank Lone Star Lefforge for the introduction. My fellow Texan. There may be a few other Texans here, as well. I want to thank General Becker and Colonel Rubeor, as well, for your hospitality. Thank you, Colonel. Thank you, General, very much.

And I want to thank the Air Force Band of the Golden West. Thank you all for your entertainment. I want to thank the state and local officials who have come today. I'm honored that you took time out of your day.

The planes to the left and right of where we stand here represent the unmatched air power of the United States. But that's not our real strength. Our real strength are the people who fly them, and who maintain them, the people who make the military go. The real strength of this proud nation are the men and women who wear the uniform. That's the real strength of this country.

You're among the first to be deployed in America's new war against terror and against evil, and I want you to know, America is proud, proud of your deeds, proud of your talents, proud of your service to our country.

I'm told that one of the pilots here, a fellow named Randy, was asked if anyone at Travis had personal connections to any of the victims of the attacks on September the eleventh.

And here's what he said: I think we all do; they're all Americans. When you strike one American, you strike us all.

The victims of September eleventh were innocent, and this nation will never forget them. **The men and women who murdered them were instruments of evil, and they have died in vain.** This nation is strong. This nation is united. This nation is resolved. This nation will defeat terror wherever we find it across the globe.

And not only will we find the terrorists, we will enforce the doctrine that says if you harbor a terrorist, you're a terrorist. If you feed a terrorist, if you fund a terrorist, you're a terrorist. And this great, proud nation of free men and women will hold you just as responsible for the actions that take place on American soil.

And that's what's happening in Afghanistan. I gave the people in Afghanistan a choice. I said to the Taliban, turn them over, destroy the camps, free people you're unjustly holding. I said, you've got time to do it. But they didn't listen. They didn't respond, and now they're paying a price. They are learning that anyone who strikes America will hear from our military, and they're not going to like what they hear. **In choosing their enemy, the evildoers and those who harbor them have chosen their fate.**

We don't quarrel with the innocent folks of Afghanistan; they're not our enemy. **Nor is any religion the enemy of the United States of America. The evil ones have tried to hijack a religion to justify their murder. But I want to assure the people of the world that our military fights not against Muslims or fights not against the Islam religion; we fight against evil people.** We fight against people who believe that they can harm the United States of America. We fight against people who have no country, no ideology; they're motivated by hate.

And make no mistake about it, this great nation will do what it takes to win. We are determined. We are patient. We are steadfast. We are resolved. We will not tire and we will not fail.

And we're making progress. We're making progress. The terrorist camps are being destroyed. The enemy's air force and air defenses are being demolished. We're paving the way for friendly troops on the ground to slowly, but surely, tighten the net to bring them to justice.

I can't tell you how proud as Commander-in-Chief I am to know that we've got a great United States military backing our nation. A Commander-in-Chief must know he can count on the skill and resolve of our military. And from Secretary Rumsfeld to General Myers to the good troops of this base, I have all the confidence in the world that our military will fulfill its mission.

And you must have confidence in this, my commitment: that for the mission that lies ahead, our military, the men and women who wear our uniform, will have everything you

need to win, every resource, every weapon, every means to assure full victory for the United States and our allies and our friends in the cause of freedom.

There is no question that we're inflicting pain upon the Taliban government. There is also no question that we're a compassionate nation; at the same time we do so, we're dropping airlifts of food and medicine, so the innocent citizens of that country can survive the brutal winter.

As I walked up, I saw some of the schoolchildren here holding dollar bills. We've got schoolchildren all across the country out raising a dollar to send to the children of Afghanistan. **We've got boys and girls from all religions and all walks of life who have heard the call to love a neighbor just as they'd like to be loved themselves.**

The evildoers have struck our nation, but out of evil comes good. We are a good, kind-hearted, decent people, and we're showing the world just that in our compassion and our resolve.

And one thing I fully understand is that when American forces answer the call of duty, they count on their families for support and encouragement. Every deployment brings uncertainty and, I know, every deployment brings worry and concern. Our military is made up of brave men and women, and brave families, as well.

Recently, a four-year old son of a cargo specialist said good-bye to his Dad here at Travis. And according to his Mom, the boy has been telling the neighbors that Daddy is saving the world.

The boy is right. The boy is right. The future of the world is at stake. Freedom is at stake. But I want to tell that boy his Daddy has got plenty of help. There are a lot of people like his Daddy fighting this war. We fight it overseas and we fight it at home, as well.

We must be steadfast. We must be resolved. We must not let the terrorists cause our nation to stop traveling, to stop buying, to stop living ordinary lives. We can be alert and we will be alert, but we must show them that they cannot terrorize the greatest nation on the face of the Earth. And we won't. We will not be terrorized, we will not be cowed.

We've got a homeland security that's strong. I want to tell the moms and dads here that we're doing everything we can to find them and disrupt them and stop them, if they happen to try to strike on American soil. We're strong at home. We're active at home. But make no mistake about it; the best homeland defense is to find them and bring them to justice, and that's exactly what our nation will do.

Now that they got the plane fueled up, I'm heading over to China. Of course, we'll talk about economics and trade. **But the main thing that will be on my mind is to continue to rally the world against terrorists; is to remind people that it happened to us, sure, but it could happen to them, as well, is to remind them that evil knows no borders,**

no boundaries, and to remind them that we must take a stand; that those of us who have been given the responsibility of high office must not shirk from our duty; that now is the time to claim freedom for future generations.

The people have struck us. They've tested our mettle and tested our character. But they are going to find that this nation understands we've reached a pivotal moment in history, where we will plant our flag on the ground, a flag that stands for freedom, and say to anybody who wants to harm us or our friends or allies, you will pay a serious price, because we're a nation that is strong and resolved and united.

You all are here to serve your country, and your country is grateful. You have confidence in America. But make no mistake about it; America has confidence in you.

Thank you all for such a warm greeting. **May God bless, may God bless the men and women who wear our uniform. May God protect this great land. And may God bless America.** Thank you all very much.

- 12 sections to extract
- 1301 words post-extraction

“We've got boys and girls from all religions and all walks of life who have heard the call to love a neighbor just as they'd like to be loved themselves.” A reference to Leviticus 19:18, Matthew 22:29, Mark 12:31, Luke 10:27

15. Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People September 20, 2001

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans. In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground, passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. **We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers, in English, Hebrew, and Arabic.** We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own. My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union, and it is strong.

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. **All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing God Bless America.** And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering forty billion dollars to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military.

Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate. **We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo.** We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.

Nor will we forget the citizens of eighty other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than one hundred and thirty Israelis; more than two hundred and fifty citizens of India, men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause, so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity of purpose with America. Thank you for coming, friend.

On September the eleventh, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars, but for the past one hundred and thirty six years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks, but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day, and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking, Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. **But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world, and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere. The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics, a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children.**

This group and its leader, a person named Osama bin Laden, are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than sixty countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. **They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.**

The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world.

Afghanistan's people have been brutalized, many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. **Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate.** A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan, after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid, but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate. **I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends.** Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them.

Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber -- a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. **They hate our freedoms, our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.**

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. **They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.** These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way. We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the twentieth century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command, every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war, to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat. Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me, the Office of Homeland Security.

And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend, Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee and coordinate a

comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows.

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. **All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers.** And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military. Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud.

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded, with sympathy and with support. **Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world.** Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what, we're not going to allow it.

Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. **No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.**

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security, and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September eleventh, and they are our strengths today.

And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together.

Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency.

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike.

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work.

Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers, Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City.

After all that has just passed, all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them, it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time, now depends on us. Our nation, this generation, will lift a dark threat of violence from

our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came, where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever. And I will carry this. It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end.

I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. **Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.**

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice, assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. **In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.**

Thank you.

- 25 sections to extract
- 2518 words post-extraction

Phase 4 Speeches: Second Term Presidency

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1. State of the Union Speech, January 23 2007

Thank you very much. And tonight, I have a high privilege and distinct honor of my own as the first President to begin the State of the Union message with these words, Madam Speaker.

In his day, the late Congressman Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr. from Baltimore, Maryland, saw Presidents Roosevelt and Truman at this rostrum. But nothing could compare with the sight of his only daughter, Nancy, presiding tonight as Speaker of the House of Representatives. Congratulations, Madam Speaker.

Two members of the House and Senate are not with us tonight, and we pray for the recovery and speedy return of Senator Tim Johnson and Congressman Charlie Norwood.

Madam Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens.

The rite of custom brings us together at a defining hour when decisions are hard and courage is needed. We enter the year 2007 with large endeavors underway, and others that are ours to begin. In all of this, much is asked of us. We must have the will to face difficult challenges and determined enemies, and the wisdom to face them together.

Some in this chamber are new to the House and the Senate, and I congratulate the Democrat majority. Congress has changed, but not our responsibilities. Each of us is guided by our own convictions, and to these we must stay faithful. **Yet we're all held to the same standards, and called to serve the same good purposes: To extend this nation's prosperity, to spend the people's money wisely, to solve problems, not leave them to future generations, to guard America against all evil, and to keep faith with those we have sent forth to defend us.**

We're not the first to come here with a government divided and uncertainty in the air. Like many before us, we can work through our differences, and achieve big things for the American people. Our citizens don't much care which side of the aisle we sit on, as long as we're willing to cross that aisle when there is work to be done. Our job is to make life better for our fellow Americans, and to help them to build a future of hope and opportunity, and this is the business before us tonight.

A future of hope and opportunity begins with a growing economy, and that is what we have. We're now in the forty-first month of uninterrupted job growth, in a recovery that has created seven point two million new jobs, so far. Unemployment is low, inflation is

low, and wages are rising. This economy is on the move, and our job is to keep it that way, not with more government, but with more enterprise.

Next week, I'll deliver a full report on the state of our economy. Tonight, I want to discuss three economic reforms that deserve to be priorities for this Congress.

First, we must balance the federal budget. We can do so without raising taxes. What we need to do is impose spending discipline in Washington, D.C. We set a goal of cutting the deficit in half by 2009, and met that goal three years ahead of schedule. Now let us take the next step. In the coming weeks, I will submit a budget that eliminates the federal deficit within the next five years. I ask you to make the same commitment. Together, we can restrain the spending appetite of the federal government, and we can balance the federal budget.

Next, there is the matter of earmarks. These special interest items are often slipped into bills at the last hour, when not even C-SPAN is watching. In 2005 alone, the number of earmarks grew to over 13,000 and totaled nearly eighteen billion dollars. Even worse, over ninety percent of earmarks never make it to the floor of the House and Senate, they are dropped into committee reports that are not even part of the bill that arrives on my desk. You didn't vote them into law. I didn't sign them into law. Yet, they're treated as if they have the force of law. The time has come to end this practice. So let us work together to reform the budget process, expose every earmark to the light of day and to a vote in Congress, and cut the number and cost of earmarks at least in half by the end of this session.

And, finally, to keep this economy strong we must take on the challenge of entitlements. Social Security and Medicare and Medicaid are commitments of conscience, and so it is our duty to keep them permanently sound. Yet, we're failing in that duty. And this failure will one day leave our children with three bad options: huge tax increases, huge deficits, or huge and immediate cuts in benefits. Everyone in this chamber knows this to be true, yet somehow we have not found it in ourselves to act. So let us work together and do it now. With enough good sense and goodwill, you and I can fix Medicare and Medicaid, and save Social Security.

Spreading opportunity and hope in America also requires public schools that give children the knowledge and character they need in life. Five years ago, we rose above partisan differences to pass the No Child Left Behind Act, preserving local control, raising standards, and holding those schools accountable for results. And because we acted, students are performing better in reading and math, and minority students are closing the achievement gap.

Now the task is to build on the success, without watering down standards, without taking control from local communities, and without backsliding and calling it reform. We can lift student achievement even higher by giving local leaders flexibility to turn around failing schools, and by giving families with children stuck in failing schools the right to choose someplace better. We must increase funds for students who struggle, and make

sure these children get the special help they need. And we can make sure our children are prepared for the jobs of the future and our country is more competitive by strengthening math and science skills. The No Child Left Behind Act has worked for America's children, and I ask Congress to reauthorize this good law.

A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care. When it comes to health care, government has an obligation to care for the elderly, the disabled, and poor children. And we will meet those responsibilities. For all other Americans, private health insurance is the best way to meet their needs. But many Americans cannot afford a health insurance policy.

And so tonight, I propose two new initiatives to help more Americans afford their own insurance. First, I propose a standard tax deduction for health insurance that will be like the standard tax deduction for dependents. Families with health insurance will pay no income on payroll tax, or payroll taxes on fifteen thousand dollars of their income. Single Americans with health insurance will pay no income or payroll taxes on seven thousand, five hundred dollars of their income. With this reform, more than one hundred million men, women, and children who are now covered by employer-provided insurance will benefit from lower tax bills. At the same time, this reform will level the playing field for those who do not get health insurance through their job. For Americans who now purchase health insurance on their own, this proposal would mean a substantial tax savings, four thousand five hundred dollars for a family of four making sixty thousand dollars a year. And for the millions of other Americans who have no health insurance at all, this deduction would help put a basic private health insurance plan within their reach. Changing the tax code is a vital and necessary step to making health care affordable for more Americans.

My second proposal is to help the states that are coming up with innovative ways to cover the uninsured. States that make basic private health insurance available to all their citizens should receive federal funds to help them provide this coverage to the poor and the sick. I have asked the Secretary of Health and Human Services to work with Congress to take existing federal funds and use them to create "Affordable Choices" grants. These grants would give our nation's governors more money and more flexibility to get private health insurance to those most in need.

There are many other ways that Congress can help. We need to expand Health Savings Accounts. We need to help small businesses through Association Health Plans. We need to reduce costs and medical errors with better information technology. We will encourage price transparency. And to protect good doctors from junk lawsuits, we need to pass medical liability reform. In all we do, we must remember that the best health care decisions are made not by government and insurance companies, but by patients and their doctors.

Extending hope and opportunity in our country requires an immigration system worthy of America, with laws that are fair and borders that are secure. When laws and borders are

routinely violated, this harms the interests of our country. To secure our border, we're doubling the size of the Border Patrol, and funding new infrastructure and technology.

Yet even with all these steps, we cannot fully secure the border unless we take pressure off the border, and that requires a temporary worker program. We should establish a legal and orderly path for foreign workers to enter our country to work on a temporary basis. As a result, they won't have to try to sneak in, and that will leave Border Agents free to chase down drug smugglers and criminals and terrorists. We'll enforce our immigration laws at the work site and give employers the tools to verify the legal status of their workers, so there's no excuse left for violating the law.

We need to uphold the great tradition of the melting pot that welcomes and assimilates new arrivals. We need to resolve the status of the illegal immigrants who are already in our country without animosity and without amnesty. Convictions run deep in this Capitol when it comes to immigration. Let us have a serious, civil, and conclusive debate, so that you can pass, and I can sign, comprehensive immigration reform into law.

Extending hope and opportunity depends on a stable supply of energy that keeps America's economy running and America's environment clean. For too long our nation has been dependent on foreign oil. And this dependence leaves us more vulnerable to hostile regimes, and to terrorists, who could cause huge disruptions of oil shipments, and raise the price of oil, and do great harm to our economy.

It's in our vital interest to diversify America's energy supply, the way forward is through technology. We must continue changing the way America generates electric power, by even greater use of clean coal technology, solar and wind energy, and clean, safe nuclear power. We need to press on with battery research for plug-in and hybrid vehicles, and expand the use of clean diesel vehicles and biodiesel fuel. We must continue investing in new methods of producing ethanol, using everything from wood chips to grasses, to agricultural wastes.

We made a lot of progress, thanks to good policies here in Washington and the strong response of the market. And now even more dramatic advances are within reach. Tonight, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing a great goal. Let us build on the work we've done and reduce gasoline usage in the United States by twenty percent in the next ten years. When we do that we will have cut our total imports by the equivalent of three-quarters of all the oil we now import from the Middle East.

To reach this goal, we must increase the supply of alternative fuels, by setting a mandatory fuels standard to require thirty five billion gallons of renewable and alternative fuels in 2017, and that is nearly five times the current target. At the same time, we need to reform and modernize fuel economy standards for cars the way we did for light trucks, and conserve up to eight point five billion more gallons of gasoline by 2017.

Achieving these ambitious goals will dramatically reduce our dependence on foreign oil, but it's not going to eliminate it. And so as we continue to diversify our fuel supply, we must step up domestic oil production in environmentally sensitive ways. And to further protect America against severe disruptions to our oil supply, I ask Congress to double the current capacity of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

America is on the verge of technological breakthroughs that will enable us to live our lives less dependent on oil. And these technologies will help us be better stewards of the environment, and they will help us to confront the serious challenge of global climate change.

A future of hope and opportunity requires a fair, impartial system of justice. The lives of our citizens across our nation are affected by the outcome of cases pending in our federal courts. We have a shared obligation to ensure that the federal courts have enough judges to hear those cases and deliver timely rulings. As President, I have a duty to nominate qualified men and women to vacancies on the federal bench. And the United States Senate has a duty, as well, to give those nominees a fair hearing, and a prompt up-or-down vote on the Senate floor.

For all of us in this room, there is no higher responsibility than to protect the people of this country from danger. Five years have come and gone since we saw the scenes and felt the sorrow that the terrorists can cause. We've had time to take stock of our situation. We've added many critical protections to guard the homeland. We know with certainty that the horrors of that September morning were just a glimpse of what the terrorists intend for us, unless we stop them.

With the distance of time, we find ourselves debating the causes of conflict and the course we have followed. Such debates are essential when a great democracy faces great questions. Yet one question has surely been settled: that to win the war on terror we must take the fight to the enemy.

From the start, America and our allies have protected our people by staying on the offense. The enemy knows that the days of comfortable sanctuary, easy movement, steady financing, and free flowing communications are long over. For the terrorists, life since September the eleventh has never been the same.

Our success in this war is often measured by the things that did not happen. We cannot know the full extent of the attacks that we and our allies have prevented, but here is some of what we do know: We stopped an al Qaeda plot to fly a hijacked airplane into the tallest building on the West Coast. We broke up a Southeast Asian terror cell grooming operatives for attacks inside the United States. We uncovered an al Qaeda cell developing anthrax to be used in attacks against America. And just last August, British authorities uncovered a plot to blow up passenger planes bound for America over the Atlantic Ocean. For each life saved, we owe a debt of gratitude to the brave public servants who devote their lives to finding the terrorists and stopping them.

Every success against the terrorists is a reminder of the shoreless ambitions of this enemy. **The evil that inspired and rejoiced in September the eleventh is still at work in the world.** And so long as that's the case, America is still a nation at war.

In the mind of the terrorist, this war began well before September the eleventh, and will not end until their radical vision is fulfilled. And these past five years have given us a much clearer view of the nature of this enemy. **Al Qaeda and its followers are Sunni extremists, possessed by hatred and commanded by a harsh and narrow ideology.** Take almost any principle of civilization, and their goal is the opposite. **They preach with threats, instruct with bullets and bombs, and promise paradise for the murder of the innocent.**

Our enemies are quite explicit about their intentions. They want to overthrow moderate governments, and establish safe havens from which to plan and carry out new attacks on our country. By killing and terrorizing Americans, they want to force our country to retreat from the world and abandon the cause of liberty. They would then be free to impose their will and spread their totalitarian ideology. Listen to this warning from the late terrorist Zarqawi. We will sacrifice our blood and bodies to put an end to your dreams, and what is coming is even worse. Osama bin Laden declared, Death is better than living on this Earth with the unbelievers among us.

These men are not given to idle words, and they are just one camp in the Islamist radical movement. In recent times, it has also become clear that we face an escalating danger from Shia extremists who are just as hostile to America, and are also determined to dominate the Middle East. Many are known to take direction from the regime in Iran, which is funding and arming terrorists like Hezbollah, a group second only to al Qaeda in the American lives it has taken.

The Shia and Sunni extremists are different faces of the same totalitarian threat. Whatever slogans they chant, when they slaughter the innocent they have the same wicked purposes. They want to kill Americans, kill democracy in the Middle East, and gain the weapons to kill on an even more horrific scale.

In the sixth year since our nation was attacked, I wish I could report to you that the dangers had ended. They have not. And so it remains the policy of this government to use every lawful and proper tool of intelligence, diplomacy, law enforcement, and military action to do our duty, to find these enemies, and to protect the American people.

This war is more than a clash of arms, it is a decisive ideological struggle, and the security of our nation is in the balance. To prevail, we must remove the conditions that inspire blind hatred, and drove nineteen men to get onto airplanes and to come and kill us. What every terrorist fears most is human freedom

Societies where men and women make their own choices, answer to their own conscience, and live by their hopes instead of their resentments. Free people are not drawn to violent and malignant ideologies, and most will choose a better way when

they're given a chance. So we advance our own security interests by helping moderates and reformers and brave voices for democracy. The great question of our day is whether America will help men and women in the Middle East to build free societies and share in the rights of all humanity. And I say, for the sake of our own security, we must.

In the last two years, we've seen the desire for liberty in the broader Middle East, and we have been sobered by the enemy's fierce reaction. In 2005, the world watched as the citizens of Lebanon raised the banner of the Cedar Revolution, they drove out the Syrian occupiers and chose new leaders in free elections. In 2005, the people of Afghanistan defied the terrorists and elected a democratic legislature. And in 2005, the Iraqi people held three national elections, choosing a transitional government, adopting the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world, and then electing a government under that constitution. Despite endless threats from the killers in their midst, nearly twelve million Iraqi citizens came out to vote in a show of hope and solidarity that we should never forget.

A thinking enemy watched all of these scenes, adjusted their tactics, and in 2006 they struck back. In Lebanon, assassins took the life of Pierre Gemayel, a prominent participant in the Cedar Revolution. Hezbollah terrorists, with support from Syria and Iran, sowed conflict in the region and are seeking to undermine Lebanon's legitimately elected government. In Afghanistan, Taliban and al Qaeda fighters tried to regain power by regrouping and engaging Afghan and NATO forces. **In Iraq, al Qaeda and other Sunni extremists blew up one of the most sacred places in Shia Islam, the Golden Mosque of Samarra. This atrocity, directed at a Muslim house of prayer, was designed to provoke retaliation from Iraqi Shia, and it succeeded. Radical Shia elements, some of whom receive support from Iran, formed death squads.** The result was a tragic escalation of sectarian rage and reprisal that continues to this day.

This is not the fight we entered in Iraq, but it is the fight we're in. Every one of us wishes this war were over and won. Yet it would not be like us to leave our promises unkept, our friends abandoned, and our own security at risk. Ladies and gentlemen. On this day, at this hour, it is still within our power to shape the outcome of this battle. Let us find our resolve, and turn events toward victory.

We're carrying out a new strategy in Iraq, a plan that demands more from Iraq's elected government, and gives our forces in Iraq the reinforcements they need to complete their mission. Our goal is a democratic Iraq that upholds the rule of law, respects the rights of its people, provides them security, and is an ally in the war on terror.

In order to make progress toward this goal, the Iraqi government must stop the sectarian violence in its capital. But the Iraqis are not yet ready to do this on their own. So we're deploying reinforcements of more than twenty thousand additional soldiers and Marines to Iraq. The vast majority will go to Baghdad, where they will help Iraqi forces to clear and secure neighborhoods, and serve as advisers embedded in Iraqi Army units. With Iraqis in the lead, our forces will help secure the city by chasing down the terrorists, insurgents, and the roaming death squads. And in Anbar Province, where al Qaeda

terrorists have gathered and local forces have begun showing a willingness to fight them, we're sending an additional four thousand United States Marines, with orders to find the terrorists and clear them out. We didn't drive al Qaeda out of their safe haven in Afghanistan only to let them set up a new safe haven in a free Iraq.

The people of Iraq want to live in peace, and now it's time for their government to act. Iraq's leaders know that our commitment is not open-ended. They have promised to deploy more of their own troops to secure Baghdad, and they must do so. They pledged that they will confront violent radicals of any faction or political party, and they need to follow through, and lift needless restrictions on Iraqi and coalition forces, so these troops can achieve their mission of bringing security to all of the people of Baghdad. Iraq's leaders have committed themselves to a series of benchmarks, to achieve reconciliation, to share oil revenues among all of Iraq's citizens, to put the wealth of Iraq into the rebuilding of Iraq, to allow more Iraqis to re-enter their nation's civic life, to hold local elections, and to take responsibility for security in every Iraqi province. But for all of this to happen, Baghdad must be secure. And our plan will help the Iraqi government take back its capital and make good on its commitments.

My fellow citizens, our military commanders and I have carefully weighed the options. We discussed every possible approach. In the end, I chose this course of action because it provides the best chance for success. Many in this chamber understand that America must not fail in Iraq, because you understand that the consequences of failure would be grievous and far-reaching.

If American forces step back before Baghdad is secure, the Iraqi government would be overrun by extremists on all sides. **We could expect an epic battle between Shia extremists backed by Iran, and Sunni extremists aided by al Qaeda and supporters of the old regime.** A contagion of violence could spill out across the country, and in time, the entire region could be drawn into the conflict.

For America, this is a nightmare scenario. For the enemy, this is the objective. Chaos is the greatest ally, their greatest ally in this struggle. And out of chaos in Iraq would emerge an emboldened enemy with new safe havens, new recruits, new resources, and an even greater determination to harm America. To allow this to happen would be to ignore the lessons of September the eleventh and invite tragedy. Ladies and gentlemen, nothing is more important at this moment in our history than for America to succeed in the Middle East, to succeed in Iraq and to spare the American people from this danger.

This is where matters stand tonight, in the here and now. I have spoken with many of you in person. I respect you and the arguments you've made. We went into this largely united, in our assumptions and in our convictions. And whatever you voted for, you did not vote for failure. Our country is pursuing a new strategy in Iraq, and I ask you to give it a chance to work. And I ask you to support our troops in the field, and those on their way.

The war on terror we fight today is a generational struggle that will continue long after you and I have turned our duties over to others. And that's why it's important to work

together so our nation can see this great effort through. Both parties and both branches should work in close consultation. It's why I propose to establish a special advisory council on the war on terror, made up of leaders in Congress from both political parties. We will share ideas for how to position America to meet every challenge that confronts us. We'll show our enemies abroad that we are united in the goal of victory.

And one of the first steps we can take together is to add to the ranks of our military so that the American Armed Forces are ready for all the challenges ahead. Tonight I ask the Congress to authorize an increase in the size of our active Army and Marine Corps by ninety-two thousand in the next five years. A second task we can take on together is to design and establish a volunteer Civilian Reserve Corps. Such a corps would function much like our military reserve. It would ease the burden on the Armed Forces by allowing us to hire civilians with critical skills to serve on missions abroad when America needs them. It would give people across America who do not wear the uniform a chance to serve in the defining struggle of our time.

Americans can have confidence in the outcome of this struggle because we're not in this struggle alone. We have a diplomatic strategy that is rallying the world to join in the fight against extremism. In Iraq, multinational forces are operating under a mandate from the United Nations. We're working with Jordan and Saudi Arabia and Egypt and the Gulf States to increase support for Iraq's government.

The United Nations has imposed sanctions on Iran, and made it clear that the world will not allow the regime in Tehran to acquire nuclear weapons. **With the other members of the Quartet, the United Nations, the European Union, and Russia, we're pursuing diplomacy to help bring peace to the Holy Land, and pursuing the establishment of a democratic Palestinian state living side-by-side with Israel in peace and security.** In Afghanistan, NATO has taken the lead in turning back the Taliban and al Qaeda offensive, the first time the Alliance has deployed forces outside the North Atlantic area. Together with our partners in China, Japan, Russia, and South Korea, we're pursuing intensive diplomacy to achieve a Korean Peninsula free of nuclear weapons.

We will continue to speak out for the cause of freedom in places like Cuba, Belarus, and Burma, and continue to awaken the conscience of the world to save the people of Darfur.

American foreign policy is more than a matter of war and diplomacy. **Our work in the world is also based on a timeless truth: To whom much is given, much is required.** We hear the call to take on the challenges of hunger and poverty and disease -- and that is precisely what America is doing. We must continue to fight HIV and AIDS, especially on the continent of Africa. Because you funded our Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, the number of people receiving life-saving drugs has grown from fifty thousand to more than eight hundred thousand in three short years. I ask you to continue funding our efforts to fight HIV and AIDS. I ask you to provide one point two billion dollars over five years so we can combat malaria in fifteen African countries.

I ask that you fund the Millennium Challenge Account, so that American aid reaches the people who need it, in nations where democracy is on the rise and corruption is in retreat. And let us continue to support the expanded trade and debt relief that are the best hope for lifting lives and eliminating poverty.

When America serves others in this way, we show the strength and generosity of our country. These deeds reflect the character of our people. The greatest strength we have is the heroic kindness, courage, and self-sacrifice of the American people. You see this spirit often if you know where to look, and tonight we need only look above to the gallery.

Dikembe Mutombo grew up in Africa, amid great poverty and disease. He came to Georgetown University on a scholarship to study medicine, but Coach John Thompson got a look at Dikembe and had a different idea. Dikembe became a star in the NBA, and a citizen of the United States. **But he never forgot the land of his birth, or the duty to share his blessings with others.** He built a brand new hospital in his old hometown. **A friend has said of this good-hearted man, Mutombo believes that God has given him this opportunity to do great things.** And we are proud to call this son of the Congo a citizen of the United States of America.

After her daughter was born, Julie Aigner-Clark searched for ways to share her love of music and art with her child. So she borrowed some equipment, and began filming children's videos in her basement. The Baby Einstein Company was born, and in just five years her business grew to more than twenty million dollars in sales. In November 2001, Julie sold Baby Einstein to the Walt Disney Company, and with her help Baby Einstein has grown into a two hundred million dollars business. Julie represents the great enterprising spirit of America. And she is using her success to help others, producing child safety videos with John Walsh of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. Julie says of her new project, I believe it's the most important thing that I have ever done. I believe that children have the right to live in a world that is safe. And so tonight, we are pleased to welcome this talented business entrepreneur and generous social entrepreneur, Julie Aigner-Clark.

Three weeks ago, Wesley Autrey was waiting at a Harlem subway station with his two little girls, when he saw a man fall into the path of a train. With seconds to act, Wesley jumped onto the tracks, pulled the man into the space between the rails, and held him as the train passed right above their heads. He insists he's not a hero. He says, We got guys and girls overseas dying for us to have our freedoms. We have got to show each other some love. There is something wonderful about a country that produces a brave and humble man like Wesley Autrey.

Tommy Rieman was a teenager pumping gas in Independence, Kentucky, when he enlisted in the United States Army. In December 2003, he was on a reconnaissance mission in Iraq when his team came under heavy enemy fire. From his Humvee, Sergeant Rieman returned fire, he used his body as a shield to protect his gunner. He was shot in the chest and arm, and received shrapnel wounds to his legs, yet he refused medical

attention, and stayed in the fight. He helped to repel a second attack, firing grenades at the enemy's position. For his exceptional courage, Sergeant Rieman was awarded the Silver Star. And like so many other Americans who have volunteered to defend us, he has earned the respect and the gratitude of our entire country.

In such courage and compassion, ladies and gentlemen, we see the spirit and character of America, and these qualities are not in short supply. This is a decent and honorable country, and resilient, too. We've been through a lot together. We've met challenges and faced dangers, and we know that more lie ahead. Yet we can go forward with confidence, because the State of our Union is strong, our cause in the world is right, and tonight that cause goes on. **God bless.**

See you next year. **Thank you for your prayers.**

- 18 sections extracted
- 5199 words post-extraction

“Our work in the world is also based on a timeless truth: To whom much is given, much is required.” Reference from Luke 12:48

2. President Bush Discusses Progress in Afghanistan, Global War on Terror, February 15 2007

Chris, thanks for inviting me. I appreciate the chance to come and share some thoughts with the men and women of the American Enterprise Institute. I admire the American Enterprise Institute a lot, I'm sure you know that. After all, I have been consistently borrowing some of your best people. More than twenty American Enterprise Institute scholars have worked in my administration. A few have returned to the fold, you'll have to wait two more years to get another one to return to the fold. Dick Cheney is occupied. He sends his best.

I appreciate what the American Enterprise Institute stands for. This Institute has been a tireless voice for the principles of individual liberty, free enterprise, limited government, and a strong national defense. And no one embodied these principles better than the late Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. She was a professor, author, diplomat, presidential advisor, and a key architect in our victory in the Cold War.

In 2003, I had the honor of asking her to lead the U.S. delegation to the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva. I would like to share with you what she told that commission. She said, America's national policy is to assert that all human beings are born free. All human beings are equal in inherent rights and human dignity. That's the policy of the Bush administration, as well. **I believe in the universality of freedom, and I believe that this country, this grand country of ours, has an obligation to help people realize the blessings of freedom.** I appreciate so very much that Jeane

Kirkpatrick was such a well-spoken advocate for that basic truth. I am proud to join you in paying tribute to her life and the legacy of a great American stateswoman.

I appreciate the board of directors of the American Enterprise Institute for giving me this forum. Thanks for trying to stay on the leading edge of thought, as well. It's really important that ideas be conceived, circulated and embraced. I want to thank members of the Congress who have joined us today, there they are. Good, yes. All friends, Pete King from New York, Trent Franks from Arizona, Mario Diaz-Balart from Florida, and fellow Texan Mike McCaul. Thanks for coming. Appreciate you being here. I thank the members of the diplomatic corps who have joined us, proud you're here. Thanks for taking time out of a busy schedule to come and hear this address. I appreciate members of the United States Armed Forces who have joined us. I thank the dignitaries and friends of the American Enterprise Institute and members of my administration who have joined. Don't linger. Get back to work, but thank you for being here. I fully expect you to stay awake for the entire address.

As scholars and thinkers, you are contributing to a nationwide debate about the direction of the war on terror. A vigorous debate is healthy for our country, it really is, and I welcome the debate. It's one of the true hallmarks of a free society, where people can get up and express their beliefs in open forum. Yet five years into this war, there is one principle of which every member of every party should be able to agree on, in other words, after all the debate, there is one thing we all ought to be able to agree on, and that is We've got to fight the terrorists overseas, so we don't have to face them here at home again.

We're acting on that principle. Since the attacks of September the eleventh, we have been on the offense. I believe the best way to do our duty in securing the homeland is to stay on the offense. And we're not alone. That's what our fellow citizens have got to understand. We're not in this fight against extremists and murders alone.

Recently in the Philippines, that country's special forces conducted raids in which they killed two top leaders of an al Qaeda-affiliated terrorist organization, a group that we believe was responsible for kidnapping four American citizens and killing two of them. In Tunisia, authorities recently broke up a terrorist cell that was planning to attack the American and British Embassies. In Spain, police captured several fugitives wanted for aiding the escape of terrorists responsible for the Madrid train bombings. And in the past year, nations including Denmark, Italy, France, Indonesia, Jordan, Malaysia, Turkey, Canada, and Britain have broken up terrorist cells. The enemy is active, and so are those of us who love freedom. It's in the interests of the United States to encourage other nations not to relent and not to give in, but to keep the pressure on those who try to have their way by murdering the innocent. And that's exactly what we'll continue to do.

This war against the terrorists, this war to protect ourselves, takes place on many fronts. One such front is Iraq. We're on the offense in Iraq, as we should be, against extremists and killers. I recently announced a new strategy for Iraq, it's a plan that demands more from the Iraqi government. Not only do we demand more from the Iraqi government, but

so do the Iraqi people demand more from the Iraqi government. They want to live in peace. It's important for our fellow citizens to understand a mother in downtown Baghdad wants her child to be able to walk the streets peacefully, just like mothers here in America want their children to be able to go to a playground and play peacefully.

I made Baghdad the top security priority. In other words, it's important, in order to achieve our objective, that the capital city of this grand country be secure. And I sent reinforcements to our troops so they can accomplish that mission. I spent a lot of time with members of my administration thinking about the way forward in Iraq. And we listened to a lot of opinions and a lot of different ideas. In the end, I chose this course of action because it provides the best chance for success.

And the reason why I mention success is, it's important for us to succeed. It's important for us to help this young democracy fight off the extremists so moderation can prevail. It's important for us to stand with this young democracy as they live, as they try to build a society under the most modern constitution written in the Middle East, a constitution approved by millions of their citizens.

One of the interesting things that I have found here in Washington is there is strong disagreement about what to do to succeed, but there is strong agreement that we should not fail. People understand the consequences of failure. If we were to leave this young democracy before the job is done, there would be chaos, and out of chaos would become vacuums, and into those power vacuums would flow extremists who would be emboldened, extremists who want to find safe haven.

As we think about this important front in the war against extremists and terrorists, it's important for our fellow citizens to recognize this truth: If we were to leave Iraq before the job is done, the enemy would follow us home.

Our new commander in Iraq, General David Petraeus, is now on the ground in Baghdad. I visited him by secure video yesterday. He reports that coalition troops are arriving on schedule. He says the Iraqi government is following through on its commitment to deploy three additional army brigades in the capital. Prime Minister Maliki has said part of our strategy is to put more Iraqis in the fight in the capital city to achieve our objective, and he's doing that. So far, coordination between Iraqi and coalition forces has been good, they are beginning joint operations to secure the city by chasing down the terrorists, and insurgents, and the criminals, and the roaming death squads. They're doing what the Iraqi people want in Baghdad, they want a peaceful life.

The initial signs of progress are encouraging. Yet it's important for us to recognize that this is the beginning of what will be a difficult operation in the Iraqi capital. Our troops are risking their lives. As they carry out the new strategy, they need our patience, and they need our support. When General Petraeus' nomination was considered three weeks ago in the United States Senate, the senators voted unanimously to confirm him to his new position, and I appreciate that affirmation, that strong statement for this good General.

Now, the House is debating a resolution that disapproves of our new strategy. This may become the first time in the history of the United States Congress that it has voted to send a new commander into battle and then voted to oppose his plan that is necessary to succeed in that battle.

Members of Congress have every right to express their opinion, and I fully expect them to do so. The resolution they are debating is non-binding. Soon the Congress is going to vote on a piece of legislation that is binding, a bill to provide emergency funding for our troops. Our men and women in uniform are counting on their elected leaders to provide them with the support they need to accomplish their mission. We have a responsibility, Republicans and Democrats have a responsibility to give our troops the resources they need to do their job and the flexibility they need to prevail.

As we implement a new strategy in Iraq, we are also taking new steps to defeat the terrorists and extremists in Afghanistan. My administration has just completed a top-to-bottom review of our strategy in that country, and today I want to talk to you about the progress we have made in Afghanistan, the challenges we face in Afghanistan, and the strategy we're pursuing to defeat the enemies of freedom in Afghanistan.

It wasn't all that long ago that we learned the lessons of how terrorists operate. It may seem like a long time ago, five years is a long time in this day and age of instant news cycles, but it really isn't all that long ago, when you think about the march of history. In Afghanistan, we saw how terrorists and extremists can use those safe havens, safe havens in a failed state, to bring death and destruction to our people here at home.

It was an amazing turning point in the history of our country, really, when you think about it. It was a defining moment for the twenty first century. Think about what I just said, that in the remote reaches of the world, because there was a failed state, murderers were able to plot and plan and then execute a deadly attack that killed nearly three thousand of our citizens. It's a lesson that we've got to remember. And one of the lessons of that September the eleventh day is that we cannot allow terrorists to gain sanctuary anywhere, and we must not allow them to reestablish the safe haven they lost in Afghanistan.

Our goal in Afghanistan is to help the people of that country to defeat the terrorists and establish a stable, moderate, and democratic state that respects the rights of its citizens, governs its territory effectively, and is a reliable ally in this war against extremists and terrorists.

Oh, for some that may seem like an impossible task. But it's not impossible if you believe what Jeane Kirkpatrick said, and that freedom is universal, that we believe all human beings to live in freedom and peace.

Over the past five years, we've made real progress toward this goal I just described. **In 2001, Afghanistan was a totalitarian nightmare, a land where girls could not go to**

school, where religious police roamed the streets, where women were publicly whipped, where there were summary executions in Kabul's soccer stadium, and terrorists operated freely, they ran camps where they planned and trained for horrific attacks that affected us and other nations.

Today, five short years later, the Taliban have been driven from power, al Qaeda has been driven from its camps, and Afghanistan is free. That's why I say we have made remarkable progress. Afghanistan has a democratically-elected President, named Hamid Karzai. I respect him. I appreciate his courage. Afghanistan has a National Assembly chosen by the Afghan people in free elections.

Under the Taliban, women were barred from public office. Today, Afghanistan's parliament includes ninety-one women, and President Karzai has appointed the first woman to serve as a provincial governor.

Under the Taliban, free enterprise was stifled. Today, the Afghan economy has doubled in size since liberation. Afghanistan has attracted eight hundred million dollars in foreign investment during that time.

Under the Taliban, there were about nine hundred thousand children in school. Today, more than five million children are in school, about one point eight million of them are girls.

Under the Taliban, an estimated eight percent of Afghans had access to basic health care. Today, the United States has built or renovated six hundred and eighty one health clinics across the country, now more than eighty percent of Afghans have access to basic health coverage, health care.

Under the Taliban, Afghans fled the country in large numbers, seeking safety abroad. Today, more than four point six million Afghan refugees have come home, one of the largest return movements in history.

In today's Afghanistan, people are free to speak their minds, they're free to begin to realize dreams. In today's Afghanistan there's a NATO Alliance is taking the lead to help provide security for the people of Afghanistan. In today's Afghanistan, the terrorists who once oppressed the Afghan people and threatened our country are being captured and killed by NATO forces and soldiers and police of a free Afghanistan. Times have changed. Our work is bringing freedom. A free Afghanistan helps make this country more secure.

We face a thinking enemy. And we face a tough enemy, they watch our actions, they adjust their tactics. And in 2006, this enemy struck back with vengeance. As freedom began to spread, an enemy that cannot stand the thought of a free society tried to do something about it, tried to stop the advance of this young democracy. It's not the only place in the world where the enemy struck back in 2006. They struck back in Iraq. They

struck in Lebanon. This should be a lesson for our fellow citizens to understand, where these group of people find freedom they're willing to resort to brutal tactics.

It's an interesting enemy, isn't it? An enemy that can't stand the thought of somebody being able to live a peaceful life, a life of hope, an optimistic life. And it's an enemy we've got to take seriously.

Across Afghanistan last year, the number of roadside bomb attacks almost doubled, direct fire attacks on international forces almost tripled, and suicide bombings grew nearly five-fold. These escalating attacks were part of a Taliban offensive that made 2006 the most violent year in Afghanistan since the liberation of the country.

And so the fundamental question is, how do you react? Do you say, maybe it's too tough? Let's just kind of let this young democracy wither and fade away. Do we forget the lessons of September the eleventh? And the answer is absolutely not.

And so the Taliban offensive that was launched was turned back by incredible courage of the Afghan soldiers, and by NATO forces that stood strong. You see, I believe the Taliban felt that they could exploit weakness. I believe that they said to themselves, if we can, we'll test NATO and cause NATO leaders to turn their back on this young democracy.

After the fierce battles throughout the year 2006, the Taliban had failed in their objective of taking and holding new territory.

In recent months, the intensity of the fighting has died down -- that's only natural. It does every year when the snow and ice set in there in Afghanistan. But even in these winter months, we stayed on the offensive against the Taliban and al Qaeda. This January, NATO reconnaissance units observed a major Taliban incursion from Pakistan, with about one hundred and fifty Taliban fighters crossing the border into the Paktika province. So NATO and Afghan forces launched a coordinated air assault and ground assault, and we destroyed the Taliban force. A large number of enemy fighters were killed, they were forced to retreat, where they were engaged by Pakistani troops.

Just two weeks ago, NATO launched an air strike against Taliban fighters who had seized the town of Musa Qala in Helmand province, a key Taliban commander was brought to justice.

The snow is going to melt in the Hindu Kush Mountains, and when it does we can expect fierce fighting to continue. The Taliban and al Qaeda are preparing to launch new attacks. Our strategy is not to be on the defense, but to go on the offense. This spring there is going to be a new offensive in Afghanistan, and it's going to be a NATO offensive. And that's part of our strategy, relentless in our pressure. We will not give in to murderers and extremists.

And we're focused on five key goals that I want to share with you. First, the United States and our allies will help President Karzai increase the size and capabilities of the Afghan security forces. After all, for this young democracy to survive in the long term, they'll have their own security forces that are capable and trained. We don't have to teach them courage. These folks understand courage. They're willing to fight for their country. They're willing to defend this young democracy. And so it's in our interest and the interest of NATO countries to provide training so they have more, more strong fighters, so we're going to increase the size of the national police from sixty one thousand to eighty two thousand by the end of 2008. And we'll help them develop new specialties, new civil order brigades, counter-narcotics, and border surveillance.

We're going to increase the Afghanistan army. Today, it's thirty two thousand, that's not enough to do the job in this vast country, to seventy thousand by the end of 2008. It's one thing to get them trained and one thing to get them uniforms, but they're also going to have to have ways to move around their country. So we're going to add commando battalions, a helicopter unit, combat support units. In other words, we're going to help this young democracy have a fully integrated security force that will respond to the commands of the elected officials.

Capable troops need intelligence. This is a war that requires good intelligence on all fronts. So the United States and our allies will also work with Afghanistan's leaders to improve human intelligence networks, particularly in areas that are threatened by the Taliban. Together with the Afghan government and NATO, we created a new Joint Intelligence Operations Center in Kabul, so all the forces fighting the terrorists in Afghanistan have a common picture of the enemy. That may sound simple to those of us who have gotten used to sophisticated systems to protect ourselves. This is important innovation in Afghanistan.

America and our allies are going to stand with these folks. That's the message I want to deliver to the Afghanistan people today. Free debates are important. But our commitment is strong: we will train you, we will help you, and we will stand with you as you defend your new democracy.

The second part of our strategy is to work with our allies to strengthen the NATO force in Afghanistan. Today, Afghanistan is NATO's most important military operation. Isn't it interesting that NATO is now in Afghanistan? I suspect twenty years ago if a President stood in front of the American Enterprise Institute and said, I'll make a prediction to you that NATO would be a force for freedom and peace outside of Europe, you probably never would have invited the person back. Today, NATO is in Afghanistan. And I thank the leaders of the NATO countries for recognizing the importance of Afghanistan in our own security and enhancing the security of our own countries.

For NATO to succeed, member nations must provide commanders on the ground with the troops and the equipment they need to do their jobs. Many allies have made commitments of additional forces and support, and I appreciate those commitments, but nearly as much as the people in Afghanistan appreciate them. Norway, Lithuania and the Czech Republic

have all agreed to send special operation forces to Afghanistan. Britain, Poland, Turkey and Bulgaria have agreed to additional troops. Italy has agreed to send aircraft. Romania will contribute to the European Union police mission. Denmark, Greece, Norway and Slovakia will provide funding for Afghan security forces. Iceland will provide airlift. The people of Afghanistan need to know that they've got a lot of friends in this world who want them to succeed.

For NATO to succeed, allies must make sure that we fill the security gaps. In other words, when there is a need, when our commanders on the ground say to our respective countries, we need additional help, our NATO countries must provide it in order to be successful in this mission.

As well, allies must lift restrictions on the forces they do provide so NATO commanders have the flexibility they need to defeat the enemy wherever the enemy may make a stand. The alliance was founded on this principle: An attack on one is an attack on all. That principle holds true whether the attack is on the home soil of a NATO nation, or on allied forces deployed on a NATO mission abroad. By standing together in Afghanistan, NATO forces protect our own people, and they must have the flexibility and rules of engagement to be able to do their job.

Third, the United States and our allies will help President Karzai improve provincial governance and develop Afghanistan's, and to help develop Afghanistan's rural economy. Many Afghans in remote regions fight with the Taliban simply because there are no other jobs available. The best way to dry up Taliban recruits is to help Afghanistan's government create jobs and opportunity. So NATO is operating twenty five provincial reconstruction teams across the country. These teams are made up of civilian and military experts. They are helping the Afghan government extend its reach into distant regions, they're improving security, and they're helping to deliver reconstruction assistance. In other words, I just described military operations that are necessary, but in order for these young democracies to survive, there's got to be more than just military. There has to be political development, and tangible evidence that a government can provide opportunity and hope. And these provincial reconstruction teams do just that.

These teams will help build irrigation systems, improve power production, provide access to micro-credit. The idea is to encourage entrepreneurship, job formation, enterprise. These teams will undertake new efforts to train provincial and local leaders. We take democracy for granted. Democracy hasn't exactly been rooted deeply in Afghan history. It takes a while for people to understand how to function as an elected official. It takes help for people to understand the obligations to respond to the people, and these teams will change provincial and local leaders.

Another key element to bringing stability to Afghanistan is building roads. Lieutenant General Eikenberry, who served with distinction in Afghanistan, just finished his tour, he was the senior commander there, said really something very interesting that caught my attention. He said, Where the roads end in Afghanistan, the Taliban begin. So in order to help the security of this country, the international community has stepped up its road-

building campaign across Afghanistan. So far, the United States and other nations have completed construction of more than four thousand miles of roads, that sounds like a lot, and it is a lot. We're also talking about a big country.

Much of the ring road, we call it the ring road, that links key provincial capitals to Kabul, is pretty well complete. And that's important, because, first of all, road building brings jobs to young men who might be recruited to the Taliban. But roads enable people to get commerce to centers of trade. In other words, roads promote enterprise. Enterprise provides hope. Hope is what defeats this ideology of darkness. And so we're going to build another one thousand roads in 2007. It's an important effort, and our allies need to follow through on their commitments to help this young democracy have a road system that will enable it to flourish and survive.

Fourth, the United States and our allies will help President Karzai reverse the increase in poppy cultivation that is aiding the Taliban. After a decline in 2005, Afghanistan saw a marked increase in poppy cultivation last year. This is a direct threat to a free future for Afghanistan. I have made my concerns to President Karzai pretty clear, not pretty clear, very clear, and that in order for him to gain the confidence of his people, and the confidence of the world, he's got to do something about it, with our help.

The Taliban uses drug money to buy weapons, they benefit from this cultivation, and they pay Afghans to take up arms against the government. And so we're helping the President in a variety of ways to deal with the problem. First, he has established what's called a Central Narcotics Tribunal in Kabul. One way to deal with the drug problem is for there to be a push back to the drug dealers, and a good way to push back on the drug dealers is convict them and send them to prison. He has improved the Afghan Eradication Force this is mobile units that can deploy across the country to help governors in their eradication efforts.

We're supporting him. We're supporting him through direct aid on these mobile units, and we're supporting him to expand alternative livelihood programs. These poppy growers are trying to make a living. And the idea is to provide these farmers with credit, and seeds, and fertilizer, and assistance to bring their products to market. So the strategy to eliminate poppies is to encourage the government to eradicate, and to provide alternative means for a livelihood, and to help have the roads so that when somebody grows something somebody wants to buy in Kabul, there's a road to be able to take the product along to the markets.

It's important, and we're going to stay focused on the poppy issue. And when the President and his government is able to make progress on it, it will really inspire countries who want to help to do more.

Finally, we're going to help President Karzai fight corruption. And one place where he needs help is in the judicial system. There's nothing more discouraging when justice is not fair. And Afghans too often see their courts run by crooked judges. It's important to

have the confidence of the people in a free society. Crooked judges makes it hard to earn that confidence.

President Karzai, to his credit, has established a Criminal Justice Task Force that is now after public corruption. This task force has four hundred prosecutors and there are ongoing investigations. The United States, Britain and Norway are providing full time prosecutors, judges, police, and defense attorneys to mentor their Afghan counterparts, and I appreciate our own citizens going over there. It is must be neat, really, I guess "neat" isn't a sophisticated word, but it must be heartening to be somebody who's helping this young democracy develop a judicial system that is worthy. And I cannot thank our citizens for taking time out of their lives to go.

The United States has built or renovated forty judicial facilities, we've distributed more than eleven thousand copies of the Afghan constitution. we've trained more than seven hundred and fifty Afghan judges and lawyers and prosecutors. The international community is helping this new government build a justice system so they can replace the rule of the Taliban with the rule of law.

Now, there's another part of our strategy I want to share with you, and that is to help President Musharraf defeat the terrorists and extremists who operate inside of Pakistan. We're going to work Pakistan and Afghanistan to enhance cooperation to defeat what I would call a common enemy. Taliban and al Qaeda fighters do hide in remote regions of Pakistan, this is wild country, this is wilder than the Wild West. And these folks hide and recruit and launch attacks.

The President understands our desire to work with him to eliminate this kind of action. People say, well, do you think President Musharraf really understands the threat of extremists in his midst? I said, yes, I do. You know how I know? They've tried to kill him. Al Qaeda has launched attacks against the President of this country. He understands. He also understands that extremists can destabilize countries on the border, or destabilize countries from which they launch their attacks. And so he's launched what they call a frontier strategy, and that is to find and eliminate the extremists and deliver a better governance and economic opportunity.

We're helping him in these efforts. It's in our interest to help him. We provided him, we're helping him equip his security forces that are patrolling the border regions with Afghanistan. We're funding construction of more than one hundred border outposts, which will provide their forces with better access to remote regions of this part of the country. We've given him high-tech equipment to help the Pakistani forces locate the terrorists attempting to cross the border. We're funding an air wing, with helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft, to give Pakistan better security, better swift response and better surveillance.

President Musharraf is going to better be able to now deal with this problem. Bob Gates went out and visited with him recently, had a good response. He's an ally in this war on terror and it's in our interest to support him in fighting the extremists.

I also had an interesting meeting at the White House last September, and that is, I hosted a private dinner with President Musharraf and President Karzai, right there in what's called the Family Dining Room. It was a fascinating discussion. Clearly there are different histories, different anxieties about the way forward. We did reach some agreements, however, that it's in all our interests for people to work together, for example, to improve intelligence sharing. It's in our interest to expand trade between these two countries. In other words, on the one hand it's in our interest to work closely on security for security operations, but it's also in our mutual interest, all three of our interests, to provide different alternatives for people to choose from.

Remember I said earlier that oftentimes people support the Taliban, or sometimes they support the Taliban in Afghanistan because it's the only job they can find. If that's the case, and I believe it's true, we need to help these folks provide an economy that gives hope. And so one way we can do this is what we call reconstruction opportunity zones that exist on both sides of the Pak and Afghan border. These zones will give residents the chance to export locally made products to the United States, duty free. That's our contribution. Got a vast market, wealthy country with a lot of consumers, and it's not going to take much to provide hope if we can get little manufacturing enterprises set up, local entrepreneurs to be able to manufacture goods and sell them here in our countries. It's a tiny contribution for us and a major contribution for providing the conditions necessary for stability.

I'm going to continue to work with both the leaders. It's a useful role for the President of the United States to be in constant contact with both Presidents, to remind them of the great obligations we have to fight the extremists and to help people realize dreams.

So our strategy in this country is robust and important. A lot of attention here in the United States is on Iraq. One reason I've come to address you is I want to make sure people's attention is also on Afghanistan. I'm asking Congress for eleven point eight billion dollars over the next two years to help this young democracy survive. I've ordered an increase in U.S. forces in Afghanistan. We've extended the stay of three thousand two hundred troops now in the country, for four months, and we'll deploy a replacement force that will sustain this increase for the foreseeable future.

These forces and funds are going to help President Karzai defeat common enemies. Success in Afghanistan is important for our security. We are engaged in a long ideological struggle between the forces of moderation and liberty versus the forces of destruction and extremism. And a victory for the forces of liberty in Afghanistan will be a resounding defeat in this ideological struggle. It's in our national interest that we succeed, that we help President Karzai and the people of Afghanistan succeed. And I'm confident, I'm confident that with persistence and patience and determination, we will succeed.

And the biggest source for success is the Afghan people, themselves. They want their freedom. Freedom is universal. **Jeane Kirkpatrick was right, people around the world, regardless of their faith, their background, or their gender, want to be free.**

There is tangible evidence in Afghanistan, eight million people went to the polls to choose their President in a free election. We take it for granted. Eight million said we want to be free. Imagine how far that society has come from the days of the Taliban. There's courage in that country. People are showing faith and freedom and courage to defend that freedom.

I want to tell you an interesting story about an Afghan security office at Camp Phoenix near Kabul. This fellow has worked at this base for four years, nearly four years. His job was to guard the front gate and screen cars before they are allowed to approach a U.S. military checkpoint. He is very popular with our troops, people who have gotten to know him like him a lot. They appreciate his courage and his personality and they call him Rambo. Must have been a lot for the Afghan citizen to be called Rambo, but that's what they call him.

One day Rambo was on duty, a car loaded with explosives tried to crash through the front gate, they were attempting to get to our troops. This fellow did not hesitate, he jumped in the car and he prevented the terrorist from exploding the device. He saw somebody who was about to harm our citizens, our troops, he then jumps into the car and stops the attack. A U.S. Army sergeant then responded, helped him pull the guy out of the car.

One of our United States soldiers who was there said this, he said, He saved our lives. I promised him I'd name my firstborn son after him. The guy is hoping for a boy.

It's a human story. It's a story that speaks of courage and alliance, respect for life. To me it's a story that says these people in Afghanistan want to do what is necessary to survive and succeed, and it's in our interest to help them.

I am really proud that our nation helped liberate the twenty five million people of that country. We should be proud to stand alongside the people of Afghanistan, the newly liberated Afghanistan. And I know we're all proud of the men and women who have helped liberate that country, the men and women who wear our uniform who helped liberate that country and continue to make the sacrifices necessary.

I thank you for giving me a chance to come and talk about a strategy for success, a strategy that is part of our efforts to make sure that a generation of Americans, beyond our generation, will look back and say they did their duty to protect the homeland and, as a result, we can live in peace.

God bless.

- 4 sections to extract
- 5949 words post-extraction

3. President Bush Discusses Care for America's Returning Wounded and the War on Terror at the American Legion, March 6 2007

Thank you very much, Paul, for that warm welcome. I appreciate the fact that you've given me a chance to come and address you. I welcome you to our nation's capital. I offer a special greeting to members of Post seventy seven from Houston, Texas. If you're here, my advice is, behave yourself. What happens in Washington stays in Washington.

People who know something about the Legion understand firsthand how much this organization does for our men and women in uniform, for those who have been wounded on the field of battle, and for their remarkable families. Our nation has been able to call upon the Legion in times of promise and peril, and our nation is grateful for your service.

I thank, not only do I thank your Commander, I thank Earl Ruttkofsky. I appreciate Beverly, his wife, and JoAnn Cronin, who happens to be the President of the American Legion Auxiliary. She gets her hair done at the same place my mother does. Like, if you're listening, mom, that's a compliment.

I appreciate so very much Secretary Jim Nicholson, who's in my Cabinet, Department of Veterans Affairs, Mr. Secretary. I want to thank the members of the Congress who have joined us, starting with Senator Jim Bunning, Senator Orrin Hatch, and Senator Lindsey Graham. I'm honored you three men are here. Thanks for your time. And I thank you for your articulate defense for the support of our troops.

I appreciate so very much Congressman Jim Saxton from New Jersey, Mike Pence, Indiana, and Joe Wilson from South Carolina. Welcome, and thank you for coming.

Since it's founding in the aftermath of World War I, the American Legion has assumed a sacred obligation: to preserve the traditions of our great democracy and to watch over those charged with its defense. In every war, and in every era, our country's veterans have kept faith with the American people. And it's the obligation of the government to keep faith with our veterans.

Support of our veterans has been a high priority in my administration. This year I've asked Congress for more than eighty-six billion dollars for veterans' services. And if Congress approves my request, this would amount to a seventy seven percent increase of the budget since I took office, it would be the highest level of support for our veterans in American history.

We share with your concern about making sure our vets have good health care. I've talked to your commanders past, and suspect I'll be talking to your commanders future, about making sure that our veterans have got good, decent, quality health care. Since 2001, we've helped over one million more veterans, we've added a million veterans, take advantage of the VA health care system.

The 2008 budget proposal will increase the VA health care budget by eighty three percent since I took office. The Department of Defense's health care budget has grown from nineteen billion dollars to thirty eight billion dollars. And that's an important commitment, and I look forward to working with Congress to say to our veterans, we care about you. Money is one thing, delivery of services is another.

I know I share, listen, I am as concerned as you are about the conditions at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. My decisions have put our kids in harm's way. And I'm concerned about the fact that when they come back they don't get the full treatment they deserve. Many people working at Walter Reed are fine people. If you've been out there, you know what I'm talking about. They're dedicated, honorable healers who care deeply about our soldiers. Fine doctors, nurses and therapists work day and night to help the wounded. Yet some of our troops at Walter Reed have experienced bureaucratic delays and living conditions that are less than they deserve. It's unacceptable to me, it is unacceptable to you, it's unacceptable to our country, and it's not going to continue.

I recently asked Secretary of Defense Bob Gates to assess the situation at Walter Reed firsthand and report back to me. He confirmed that there are problems, real problems. He has taken action to address those problems and hold people to account, including relieving the general in charge of the facility and accepting the resignation of the Secretary of the Army.

As we work to improve conditions at Walter Reed, we are also taking steps to find out whether similar problems exist at other military and veterans hospitals. The best way to do so in a constructive way, in a way that will bring forth the truth, is to create a bipartisan Presidential Commission. I've asked two distinguished public servants to lead the commission, and they have accepted, Senator Bob Dole and former Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala.

The Commission will conduct a comprehensive review of the care America is providing our wounded servicemen and women returning from the battlefield. This review will examine their treatment from the time they leave the battlefield through their return to civilian life as veterans, so we can ensure that we're meeting the physical and mental health needs of all. As this commission begins its work and considers its recommendations, I have also directed the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to lead a task force composed of seven members of my Cabinet to focus and respond to immediate needs.

We have an obligation, we have a moral obligation to provide the best possible care and treatment to the men and women who have served our country. They deserve it, and they're going to get it.

My Administration appreciates your strong support of the flag. The flag is emblazoned on the uniforms of brave men and women who serve our country. It is draped on the coffins of those who fall on the field of battle. It is a symbol of a noble nation and of a higher

calling. I join with you and the elected legislatures of all fifty states in urging Congress to provide the flag with the Constitutional protection it deserves.

My administration also shares your determination to keep faith with our prisoners of war and those missing in action. We cannot rest, and must not rest, until we have accounted for every member of our Armed Forces, from every war and every corner of the globe.

American Legion halls have been mainstays of our communities and neighborhoods for generations. **You have taught millions of young people the importance of good citizenship and the values of God and country.** And I appreciate these valuable lessons in America. I saw them firsthand when I was the Governor of Texas. After all, you sponsor Boys State and Girls State. They're great programs. I found it very interesting how the executive director describes the programs. He says, the programs don't, the programs, the program, does not emphasize, he has a little trouble with the English. And so do I. Describes this as an initiative that, does not emphasize classroom and textbook learning. That's my kind of program.

Your example of service offers invaluable lessons for future generations. In times of peace, you counsel vigilance. In times of war, you counsel resolve. More than five years have passed since the attacks of September the eleventh, 2001. And we find ourselves debating the causes of this conflict and the course we have followed. Yet even among our differences, there are a few questions that surely have been settled. One is that September the eleventh was not only a crime but an act of war, a war waged by fanatics who believe it is their duty to kill Americans, and impose their hateful ideology as far as they can spread it.

Since September the eleventh, they have continued to try to attack us here at home. They're relentless, and they're determined. We stopped an al Qaeda plot to fly a hijacked airplane into the tallest building on the West Coast. We stopped a Southeast Asian terror cell grooming operatives for attacks inside the United States. We stopped an al Qaeda cell developing anthrax to be used in attacks against America. For each life saved, we owe a debt of gratitude to our military, and intelligence, and law enforcement personnel who devote their lives to finding the terrorists and stopping and protect, stopping them and protecting the American people.

Our most solemn duty is to protect you. The most solemn duty of this government is to protect the American people from further harm. And the best way to do so is to stay on the offense. So we have pursued the enemy aggressively around the world, degrading their ability to organize and coordinate new attacks here at home. In the wake of September the eleventh, Americans made a choice: instead of waiting for the enemy to strike on their terms, we would fight the enemy on our terms.

And we fight this war on many fronts. In Afghanistan and Iraq, we removed two of the world's most brutal regimes. And now we are undertaking the complex work of helping the people of these two countries establish functioning democracies that can protect their own people and be allies in this global war on terror. Sometimes we lose sight of the importance of this work in the midst of heated debates, and this is especially true when it

comes to Iraq. The fight in Iraq is more than a conflict in one country, it is part of a larger struggle against extremism that is unfolding across the broader Middle East. The extremists are fighting to take control of Iraq so they can establish it as a base from which to overthrow moderate governments in the region, and plan new attacks on the American people. If we fail in Iraq, the enemy will follow us home. Their success in Iraq would bring danger to America, and that is why America must prevail in Iraq.

I appreciate your strong support for those who have volunteered to wear our uniform. Thousands of courageous men and women have stepped forward to protect us. And they're not alone. Since this war began, nearly one hundred and twenty thousand Iraqis have volunteered to serve in their army. More than eight thousand Iraqis in uniform have died in the defense of their new nation. **Recently in Anbar province, where al Qaeda terrorists have gathered, one thousand Sunnis volunteered for the police force in a period of two weeks. Last month in Hillah, an Iraqi police officer threw himself onto a suicide bomber, a final, heroic act that saved an untold number of Iraqis gathered outside a local mosque.**

Every month, Iraqis risk reprisals from the terrorists and extremists to provide thousands of tips to coalition and Iraqi authorities. One recent tip from an Iraqi led to the discovery of a factory where insurgents developed sophisticated roadside bombs to kill our troops. With these acts of bravery, the Iraqis are standing up for the democratic future that twelve million of them voted for. The vast majority of Iraq's citizens want to live in peace, and they're showing their courage every day. And the United States of America will not abandon them in their hour of need.

To reach our goals, and to prevail, we must recognize that the nature of the war in Iraq has changed. In 2005, the terrorists tried and failed to stop the Iraqi people as they held three national elections. They choose a transitional government, they adopted the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world, and then they elected a government under that constitution. So a thinking enemy adjusted their tactics, and in 2006 they struck.

Last February, al Qaeda and other Sunni extremists blew up the Golden Mosque of Samarra. This atrocity was designed to provoke retaliation from the Iraqi Shia, and it succeeded. Radical Shia elements, some of whom receive support from Iran, formed death squads. And the result was a tragic escalation of sectarian rage and reprisal.

This changed the nature of the conflict in Iraq. We still faced the threat from al Qaeda, but the sectarian violence was getting out of hand, and threatened to destroy this young democracy before it had a chance to succeed. So last fall, I ordered my national security team to conduct a comprehensive review of our strategy in Iraq. We devised an approach that is markedly different from previous efforts. This approach demands more from Iraq's elected government, makes bringing security to Baghdad our top priority, and gives our troops the reinforcements they need to carry out their missions. And to carry out this

strategy, I put in place a highly-regarded commander, an expert on counterinsurgency, General David Petraeus.

General Petraeus' mission is to help Iraq's leaders implement the plan that they developed to secure Baghdad. Today they can't do this on their own. So I have ordered reinforcements of more than twenty thousand additional combat soldiers and Marines to Iraq. The majority will go to Baghdad, where they will help Iraqi forces to clear and secure neighborhoods, and where they will partner with Iraqi units. The Iraqis in the lead, our forces will help secure the city by chasing down the terrorists, insurgents, and murderers, and roaming death squads.

We're fixing one of the major problems with our previous approach in Baghdad. In the past, our forces would help Iraqis clear out neighborhoods during the day, and then go back to their bases at night, and often the enemy returned as soon as American forces left. This time, we will hold the neighborhoods we have cleared by establishing over thirty joint security stations throughout Baghdad. These will be neighborhood outposts where Iraqi forces, with U.S. help, will be deployed twenty four hours a day to secure the population, provide emergency aid to the communities, and gather information to root out extremist networks throughout the capital. At the same time, our forces will continue to train Iraqi Army and Police, so that we can help ensure that the Iraqi forces left behind are capable of providing security that Baghdad needs.

It's too early to judge the success of this operation. General Petraeus recently arrived in the Iraqi capital, and the plan he is executing is in its early stages. This strategy is going to take time. And we can expect al Qaeda and other extremists to try to derail the strategy by launching spectacular attacks.

Yet even at this early hour, there are some encouraging signs: The Iraqi government has completed the deployment of three additional Iraqi Army brigades to the capital. They said they were going to employ three brigades, and they did. Iraq's leaders have lifted restrictions on Iraqi and coalition forces that prevented them from going into certain areas. Already, about half of the joint security stations have been established in neighborhoods across Baghdad. **Iraqi and U.S. forces have rounded up more than seven hundred people affiliated with Shia extremists.** They have recovered large weapons caches, including mortar weapons systems and rocket-propelled grenades.

Iraqi and American forces have also launched successful operations against the Sunni extremists. United States and Iraqi forces recently killed al Qaeda terrorists in Baghdad, who were responsible for some of those bomb attacks that you're seeing on your TV screens. In the past two weeks, U.S. and Iraqi forces have also uncovered large stockpiles of Explosively Formed Projectiles, or EFPs, which are used by extremist groups to attack our troops. Iraqi and U.S. forces are making gradual but important progress almost every day, and we will remain steadfast until our objectives are achieved.

In addition to the steps they are taking to secure their capital, Iraq's leaders are also taking steps to achieve political reconciliation, reconciliation that is necessary after years of

brutal tyranny. They have committed themselves to a series of benchmarks to advance this reconciliation, to share oil revenues amongst all Iraq's citizens, to put the wealth of Iraq into rebuilding of Iraq, to allow more Iraqis to re-enter their nation's civic life, to hold local elections, and to take responsibility for security in every Iraqi province.

Iraqis have already begun to deliver on some of these promises. For example, Iraq's Council of Ministers recently agreed on legislation they will submit to their parliament on the development of Iraq's oil resources and the sharing of revenues. Last month, the Iraqi government approved a budget that includes ten billion dollars for reconstruction and capital investment. These are encouraging signs. And now Iraq's leaders must meet the other pledges they have made.

To succeed, Iraq's leaders also need the help of the international community. So the United States supports the Iraqi government as it pursues an international initiative to build diplomatic, economic, and security support for its young democracy. **Last week, the Iraqis announced that they will hold a conference in Baghdad that will include officials from Iraq's neighboring countries, as well as the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the Arab League, and the Organization of Islamic Conference.**

It will be followed next month by a second conference that includes Secretary Rice and her counterparts from around the world. These meetings will be an important test. They'll be a test of whether Iran and Syria are truly interested in being constructive forces in Iraq. It will be a test for the international community to express its support for this young democracy, to support a nation that will be at peace with its neighbors.

Diplomacy is going to play an important part of securing Iraq's future. Yet diplomacy will fail without a robust military strategy. The goal of the enemies in Iraq is power, and they're willing to kill themselves and innocent men, women, and children to achieve that goal. People like these can't be satisfied by negotiations or diplomatic concessions. Our strategy recognizes the hard truth. So we're going to continue to pursue our enemies in Iraq relentlessly, and at the same time, we'll work with moderate forces to achieve reconciliation between sectarian factions.

Here in Washington, we have important decisions on Iraq ahead of us. And the most pivotal question is whether the United States Congress will stand behind General Petraeus and our troops as they work to secure Baghdad. General Petraeus has my confidence, and he also has the confidence of the United States Senate. In fact, he was recently confirmed to his post without one single vote against him. Yet almost immediately the House passed a resolution that disapproved of his strategy for success in Iraq. I know you find that puzzling, you're not the only one. This may be the first time in the history of the United States Congress that voted to send a new commander into battle and then voted to oppose the plan he said was critical in winning that battle.

Members of Congress have every right to express their opinion. They have every right. They also have a responsibility to fund our war fighters. Some in Congress have called

for cutting off funds for our troops, only to find opposition from their colleagues on Capitol Hill. Now others in Congress are planning to use an emergency war spending bill that will provide funds for the war on terror as an opportunity to add on billions of dollars for unrelated domestic programs. Tacking extra domestic spending to an emergency war spending bill only will complicate Congress' ability to provide the support that our troops urgently need. I ask the Congress to approve the funds we requested and our troops are counting on without strings and without delay.

Equally important to funding our troops is giving our commanders the flexibility to carry out their missions, without undue interference from politicians in Washington. Some members of Congress say that we can succeed in Iraq without providing the reinforcements that our forces have been promised and are expecting. I disagree. More importantly, our commanders disagree. Other members of Congress seem to believe that we can have it all: that we can fight al Qaeda, pursue national reconciliation, initiate aggressive diplomacy, and deter Iran's ambitions in Iraq, all while withdrawing from Baghdad and reducing our force levels. That sounds good in theory, but doing so at this moment would undermine everything our troops have worked for.

There are no short cuts in Iraq. Our intelligence and military experts agree that given the current situation, Iraq will not be a stable nation until its capital is more secure. Political reconciliation is difficult when a country's seat of government is under constant siege. Economic improvements cannot take root when Baghdad's neighborhoods are the scene of daily sectarian violence and reprisals. And you cannot effectively battle al Qaeda by ignoring the sectarian violence they are inciting, especially in the capital.

If American forces were to step back from Baghdad now, before it is more secure, the scale and scope of attacks would increase and the intensity would increase. A contagion of violence could spill out across the entire country, and in time, the entire region. The enemy would emerge from the chaos emboldened, with new safe havens and new recruits and new resources and an even greater determination to harm America.

For our country, this is a nightmare scenario. For the enemy, it's their plan. They're not debating whether the war in Iraq is worth it. Hear the words of bin Laden, in a message to the American people just last year. He says of Iraq. The war is for you or for us to win. If we win it, it means your defeat and disgrace forever. In the face of such a determined enemy, the idea of pulling back from the fight and hoping for the best is not a reasonable position. America did not drive al Qaeda out of their safe haven in Afghanistan only to let them set up a shop in a free Iraq.

Now that the battle for Baghdad is underway, our country is best served by standing behind our troops and doing everything we can to aid in their success. The outcome of this conflict involves more than the fortunes of any one President or any political party. Our mission is America's mission, and our failure would be America's failure.

Our country is fortunate that our mission is in the hands of America's finest citizens, the men and women who wear our uniform. They've been on the battlefield. They have seen

this war up close. They know the consequences of failure. And they appreciate something larger: the consequences of success. We know what a free Iraq could mean for the region and the world, because we know how your sacrifices half a century ago helped create a free Germany that transformed Europe, and a free Japan that sparked a wave of democracy and prosperity throughout much of Asia. We know that a free Iraq has the potential to spark a similar transformation in the Middle East, and bring us closer to the day when moms and dads in the Arab world see a future of hope for their children. And we know that the sacrifices that our troops are making in Iraq today will lay the foundation of peace for generations of Americans to come.

Last year, I received a letter from a Navy Seabee named Andy Clements. He was serving in Iraq. He says he worked alongside Iraqis on a daily basis, and that they appreciate what America is doing for their country. And he told me this story. I was at Baghdad International Airport several weeks ago and had a small Iraqi boy, near the same age as my own son, run up to me and salute. He kept repeating thank you in broken English, and wanted to shake my hand. I will remember that chance meeting forever. And that to me is what being done here is all about.

In the brief history of our nation, we've seen freedom remake the world many times, and yet we always seem surprised by the quiet power of our ideals. It's in our power to show those who hunger for liberty the path away from tyranny and terror. Throughout our history, we have gone through tough moments and we have come out stronger on the other side. We've been guided by our belief that freedom is not an American privilege, but a value that belongs to all mankind.

The struggle in Iraq may be hard, but this should not be a time for despair. We can have confidence in the final outcome of this struggle, because we have men on our side like Timothy Tardif. The twenty five yearold Marine was in an Iraqi town when his squad came under heavy fire. He was engaged in combat so intense that Marine Corps Commandant, General Mike Hagee, described it as a hand grenade throwing contest. In that combat, Sergeant Tardif was seriously wounded by grenade fragments. Yet he refused medical attention until the battle had been won. Later, when he was evacuated, he called his wife from the transit hospital in Germany and he said this, Honey, I could come home right now, but I feel I have responsibilities, and I'm going back to Iraq. He borrowed a uniform, he convinced his doctor to let him out of the hospital, and the man returned to his squad.

A lot of you can tell stories like this. Each of you knows a fellow patriot whose name is carried in your heart or who sits proudly beside you in this hall today. I want to thank you for the sacrifices you have made. I thank you for example you have set. And I thank you for the steadfast support of the men and women who wear our uniform.

You know that America can overcome any challenge or any difficulty. You know America's brightest days are still ahead. And you know that nothing we say here, no speech, or vote, or resolution in the United States Congress, means more to the future of

our country than the men and women who wake up every morning and put on the uniform of our country and defend the United States of America.

I thank you for your time. **God bless.**

- 10 sections extracted
- 4178 words post-extraction

4. President Discusses Economy, War on Terror During Remarks to the Cattleman's Beef Association March 28 2007

Thanks for having me. Thank you, please be seated. Not a bad introduction by a cowboy. Thanks for having me. Welcome to Washington. I'm glad to be with you. I was telling Laura this morning, I'm really looking forward to going over to talk to the nation's cattlemen. **I appreciate being with people who understand the importance of faith, family, hard work, good values.** I like to remind people, every day is Earth Day if you make a living off the land. It's good to be with fellow conservationists.

I'm going to talk a little bit about two big priorities: one, how to keep this economy strong so people can make a living, and secondly, how this country needs to stay resolved and firm in protecting the security of our country. And I appreciate you giving me a chance to come over and visit.

I do want to thank John Queen. I want to thank the Board of Directors. Thanks for being here and making your voices heard. You can influence the debate in Washington. And this is a town where people do listen to other people's voices. I've got a few suggestions for you when you go up to Capitol Hill. But before I give them, I do want to recognize Senator Craig Thomas from the state of Wyoming, and Marilyn Musgrave from Colorado. Appreciate you both being here.

Let me talk about how to keep this economy growing. You know, one of the main jobs of government is to create the conditions for economic growth. A main job of government is not to try to create wealth. The fundamental question we've got to ask here in Washington is, what do we need to do to encourage investment and risk-takers, and to encourage entrepreneurship? And I believe the heart of good economic policy is keeping people's taxes low.

The reason I say that is there's a fundamental debate in Washington, when you really get down to it, and the debate is who best to spend your money. And I believe a cattleman can spend their money better than the government can. Now, obviously, we need some amount of money here, and that's called setting priorities. But beyond that, the best way to keep this economy growing is to let you keep more of your own tax money. The tax cuts we passed are working.

You know, when you cut the individual tax rates, you affect farmers and ranchers. Many farmers and ranchers are Sub-chapter S corporations, or limited partnerships, or sole proprietorships, which means you pay tax at the individual income tax level. And if you're worried about a vibrant agricultural economy, it makes sense to let those who work the land keep more of their own money so they can invest, so they can make the necessary changes so that their businesses can remain vibrant.

I say the tax cuts work. Since we enacted major tax reform in 2003, in response to recession and a terrorist attack, this economy of ours has created more than seven million jobs, new jobs, and it's expanded thirteen percent. The tax cuts are working, and the United States Congress needs to make those tax cuts permanent.

One of the taxes that concerns you a lot, I know, is the death tax. It should. You get taxed while you're living and then you get taxed after you die. It's double taxation at its worst. We put the death tax on the road to extinction. Notice I didn't say it is going to be extinct. Under current law, it will come back into effect in 2011, which puts people in an awkward position in 2010.

I really believe Congress needs to pay attention to the effects of the death tax on our farmers and ranchers. If people are concerned about keeping land in the hands of the family rancher, the best way to do so is to get rid of the death tax for those who ranch the land, once and for all.

When you're working the halls of Congress, I hope you work hard on the death tax issue. There's no excuse not to get rid of it. Now, you'll hear people say, we don't want to give tax relief to the billionaires. Okay, fine. But let's put a bill on the President's desk that respects the ranchers of the United States of America, and the farmers, and the small business owners, and I'll sign it.

To keep the economy growing, we've got to be wise about our budgets. Now, what you'll hear here in Washington is, we've got to raise your taxes in order to balance the budget. That's not the way Washington, D.C. works. They will raise your taxes and figure out new ways to spend your money. All I do is ask you to look at the budget that the Senate just recently passed. You know, we changed hands here in Washington in the Senate and the House, and the new leadership there in the Senate passed a new budget which raises taxes so they can increase spending, and the House is looking at the same type of approach.

I have a different view. **My attitude is, keep the taxes low so the economy grows to generate more tax revenues, and don't overspend, to set priorities with the people's money, not try to be all things to all people.** And so I submitted a budget to the House and the Senate that balances the budget in five years without raising one dime on the working people of the United States of America.

I'm looking forward to working with you on a farm bill that's good and decent and fair. I just put up a, submitted some ideas through our Secretary of Agriculture, Mike Johanns. I

want to remind you in the bill we submitted to Congress we asked for a seventeen billion dollar increase in conservation spending over a ten year period. That's an increase over the last farm bill. That includes money for CRP, and a thirty percent increase for equip. Plus one point seven five billion dollars on water conservation programs. I think this is a wise use of our money.

I'm interested in a farm bill that enhances conservation, that recognizes the contribution our ranchers make, that is fair, that is reform oriented, and helps us compete in the global marketplace. I appreciate your efforts to work on a good farm bill. I'm looking forward to working with you on it.

Finally, to keep the economy growing, we ought to open up markets for United States goods and services. If you're interested in economic vitality and growth, the way to encourage that growth is to find new markets for United States products. And I want to spend a little time talking about trade today.

Last year, the United States exported one point four trillion dollars worth of goods and services. That makes us the largest exporter in the world. To me, that says, is that when we have opportunities that are fair, we produce the kinds of goods and services people want to buy. Every time we break down a barrier to trade, it makes it more likely somebody who's raising a cow will have an opportunity to sell that cow into a better market.

Free trade lowers consumer prices. In other words, when you open up trade, it's good for consumers. Trade is good for people working. I don't know if you realize this or not, but jobs exported by, supported by exports pay wages that are thirteen to eighteen percent higher than the average. If you manufacture a good that is sold overseas, you're making more money than somebody who's not exporting. Isn't that an interesting fact?

I happen to believe competition is good. I believe competition brings out the best in everybody. So I don't mind competition, so long as the playing rules are fair. My attitude on trade is, you treat us the way we treat you, and then let's compete. America is five percent of the world's population, which means ninety five percent of the rest of the world are potential customers for things that we grow or manufacture.

I think it's good business to open up trade agreements. When I came into office we only had trade agreements with three nations, now we have eleven of them in force, and more on the way. The countries that America has free trade agreements with represent seven percent of the world's GDP, yet they account for forty-three percent of our exports. The reason I bring this up to you is there's a lot of room for expansion when it comes to trade. There's a lot of opportunity.

And so this administration is committed to open up markets. And there's a vital vote getting ready to come up in front of the, up to the Congress, and that is agreements that we have cut with Peru, Colombia and Panama. I believe these are important markets for you, and important markets for United States goods and services. Congress needs to

make sure that they send an affirmative message when it comes to trade on these three agreements.

Now, trade obviously creates issues. We end up with disputes and opportunities for people to make mischief when it comes to trade, people to use excuses for not opening up markets. And we went through one of those periods with you all, and that is with the BSE issue. BSE was discovered in 2003, and we worked with our cattle folks aggressively to address the issue, to prevent further introduction and spread of the disease. In other words, there was a proactive effort by government and the cattle raisers to address the issue.

In the last three years, we've conducted over eight hundred thousand tests to assess the health of our cattle herds. Thanks to these and other science-based measures, we've helped the farmers and ranchers manage any possible BSE risk in the cattle population. And today, because of our collaborative efforts and a strong scientific approach to deal with BSE, we can say to global consumers with complete assurance, American beef is safe and it is good to eat.

And the word is getting out. In 2006, exports of beef and beef products totaled more than two billion dollars. That's nearly a fiftypercent increase from 2005. It's not at the levels we want, but there has been some improvement in sales. And that's important for you. The more markets there are that are open for your product, the easier it's going to be for you to make a living. And I understand that, and it's important for Congress to understand that, as well.

Today, more than one hundred countries have fully or partially opened their markets to United States beef. The objective of this administration, however, is to make sure that they're better than partially opened, they're fully opened, including the countries like Japan and Korea. We're also working to open up markets that have still got a ban on our imports. In other words, this is an important part of our foreign policy. When I'm talking to leaders and they've got an issue with American beef, it's on the agenda. I say, if you want to get the attention of the American people in a positive way, you open up your markets to U.S. beef. People understand that when it comes to being treated fairly in the world marketplace.

We got an opportunity to expand further, open up further markets by expanding trade through the Doha Round of the World Trade Organization. It gives us a chance to level the playing field. It gives us a chance so that I can say to our cattle raisers and others that, you'll be treated fairly. Now, you got to compete, you got to grow some product that somebody wants. But you should be treated fairly. The rules will treat you fairly. That's all you can expect.

And so I want you to know that we're going to work hard to bring Doha to a successful conclusion. It's hard work. This weekend the President of Brazil is coming to see me, and we'll be talking about how we can work together to open up markets, and at the same time, address their concerns about our farm issues.

The only way that we can complete Doha and make headway on other trade agreements, however, is for Congress to extend trade promotion authority. This authority allows the President to negotiate complicated trade deals, and then send them to the United States Congress for an up or down vote on the whole agreement. Presidents of both parties have considered this an incredibly important tool for completing trade agreements. In other words, our trade partners have got to say, if that's the deal we negotiate, that's the one that somebody is going to have to vote up or down on. You can't negotiate a deal in fairness with the United States if you think it's going to be changed on the floor of the Congress. So the up or down vote is important to get, and that's what you get when you get trade promotion authority.

And yet, this authority will expire on July the first unless Congress acts. And I want to thank the National Cattlemen's Beef Association for joining with the administration and other organizations in urging the Congress to renew trade promotion authority.

There's going to be a vigorous debate about trade in Congress, and I thank you for engaging in that debate. And you know, trashing trade will make a good sound bite on the evening news. But walling off America from the rest of the world would harm this economy, and it would harm our cattle raisers. The road to protectionism may seem broad and inviting, yet it ends in danger and decline. So I urge Congress to reject protectionism and to keep this economy open to tremendous opportunities that the world has to offer for our ranchers and farmers and entrepreneurs.

Just as our prosperity depends on rejecting economic isolationism, so, too, our security depends on rejecting calls for America to abandon its leadership in this world.

September the eleventh is an important moment in this country's history. It's a sad moment. But it should serve as a wake-up call to the realities of the world in which we live. On September the eleventh, we saw problems originating in a failed state some seven thousand miles away that affected how we live. See, September the eleventh was not only a day we were attacked, it is a day that our country must never forget, and the lessons of that day must never be forgot, that what happens overseas matters here at home. It may be tempting to say, oh, just let it run its natural course. But for me, allowing the world to run its natural course, which could lead to more violence and hatred, would end up reducing the security of the United States, not enhancing the security. And our biggest job in America, the biggest job of this government, is to protect you from harm.

I think about it every day, and so do a lot of other good, decent citizens of this country. The best way to protect this country is to defeat the enemy overseas so we don't have to face them here at home. And for the long-term peace and security of this country, we must advance an ideology that stands in stark contrast to the ideology of the killers. The best way to secure this homeland is to stay on the offense, and in the meantime, encourage the spread of liberty as an alternative to tyranny.

And it's hard work, but it is necessary work. We went into Afghanistan, and we did so to remove a vicious tyranny that had harbored terrorists who planned the September the eleventh attacks on our country. Our message was, if you provide safe haven, if you provide comfort to an enemy, you're just as guilty as the enemy. And so, along with allies, we captured or killed hundreds of al Qaeda and Taliban fighters, we closed down their training camps, we helped the people of Afghanistan replace the Taliban regime with a democratic government. And it's in our nation's long-term interests that we help the people of Afghanistan survive the threats and onslaughts by people who want to reinstate tyranny.

And then we went into Iraq. And we removed the dictator who was a threat to the United States and to the world. And now we're undertaking the difficult and dangerous work of helping the Iraqi people establish a functioning democracy that can protect their own people and serve as an ally in this global war against those who would do America harm.

In 2005, I want you to remember, in 2005, the Iraqi people held three national elections. Oh, it seems like a decade ago, doesn't it? And yet in the march of history, it's not all that long ago that the Iraqi people showed up at the election box, after having lived under the thumb of a brutal and murderous tyrant, to express their will about the future of their country. They chose a transitional government. They adopted the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world. And then they elected a government underneath that constitution. Despite the endless threats from killers, nearly twelve million Iraqi citizens came out to vote, in a show of hope and solidarity that the United States should never forget.

A thinking enemy watched all this. See, there are some who can't stand the thought of a free society emerging in their midst. And this enemy escalated attacks. **Al Qaeda is very active in Iraq. And they and other Sunni extremists blew up one of the most sacred places in Shia Islam, the Golden Mosque of Samarra.** Why did they do that? They did that to provoke retaliation. They did that to cause people to take up, arm themselves. And they succeeded. **Radical Shia elements, some of whom have received support from Iran, increased their support of death squads, and then the situation began to escalate.**

And so I had a choice to make. Last fall, I looked at the facts, I consulted with a lot of folks in Congress, and our military commanders. And my choice really boiled down to this: Do we withdraw our troops and let violence spiral out of control, let this young democracy fail, or do I send reinforcements to help the Iraqis quell the violence and secure their capital? In other words, do we give them breathing space to get on the path of reconciliation so that this young democracy could survive?

Well, I weighed the options, and the military commanders and I concluded that the consequences of withdrawal would be disastrous for the United States of America. And let me tell you why. If we were to step back from Baghdad before it was more secure, before the government could secure its own capital, it would leave a security vacuum. **And into that vacuum could quickly come Sunni and Shia extremists, bolstered by**

outside forces. A contagion of violence could spill out across the country, and in time, the violence of these emboldened extremists could affect the entire region. The terrorists could emerge from chaos, see, they benefit when the situation is chaotic, with new safe havens to replace the one they had lost in Afghanistan.

There's no doubt in my mind that their intention is to try to strike us again, and they need the resources and the safe haven to do so. If we were to abandon this young democracy to chaos, it would embolden these extremists. It would enable them to be able to recruit more. It would give them new resources from which to plot and plan. I believe the consequences of failure in Iraq affect the security of the United States of America, and that's why I made the decision I made.

And so instead of retreating, we reinforced, troops led by a capable commander named General David Petraeus. The Iraqi government saw our firm support, and they're now beginning to carry out an aggressive plan to secure their nation's capital. And the plan is still in the beginning stages. I mean, General Petraeus had been on the ground just for about two months. Only half of the reinforcements that he needs have arrived. And he says it's going to be early June before all the troops that are dedicated to the operation are even in place. In other words, I've sent reinforcements into Baghdad with a new commander, with a plan to help the Iraqis secure the plan, a plan that we believe will be successful. He's been there for about two months. Half the troops that he needs have arrived.

And, look, I recognize it's going to require a sustained, determined effort to succeed, I know that. And there are some early signs that are encouraging. For example, the Iraqi leader has appointed a commander for Baghdad who is working closely with our generals. The last of the nine Iraqi surge battalions arrived in the Iraqi capital. In other words, they said, we're going to commit troops to this plan to secure the capital, and they're delivering. Iraqis are showing up. Iraqi leaders have lifted restrictions that once prevented Iraqi and American forces from going into areas like Sadr City. You've been reading about Sadr City, well, my attitude is, murderers are murderers, and they ought to be brought to justice. And so any political restrictions preventing our people are being lifted. Iraqis are in the lead, we're helping them.

We're now setting up checkpoints across Baghdad. When I say we, that is the Iraqis, with American help. They're hardening perimeters around markets and areas that have been targets for these spectacular attacks, all aimed at shaking the confidence of the American people and shaking the confidence of the Iraqi people. We've got joint security stations throughout the Iraqi capital. In the past, we would clear an area, and then we'd go home, and then the insurgents or killers would move back in. Now we've got a strategy of clear, hold, that's what that means, and then using money to help reconstruct Iraq. By the way, most of the money is coming from the Iraqis, he's put out a ten billion dollars reconstruction budget. That's what we expect. A government of and by the people should be spending the people's money to help rebuild their country.

American forces are now deployed twenty four hours in these neighborhoods, and guess what's happening. The Iraqi people are beginning to gain confidence. Support from the Iraqi people can be measured by the tips our people get. In other words, people saying, so-and-so is over here, a cache of weapons over there. And we're using the tips to aggressively pursue. **We've launched successful operations against Shia extremists.** We've captured hundreds of fighters that are spreading sectarian violence. In other words, we're after killers. **We're after, we don't say, this religious group, or this religious group.** We're saying, if you're trying to destabilize this young democracy, the Iraqis, with coalition help, are coming after you.

Last week, we captured a Shia extremist leader and his associates who were implicated in the kidnaping and murder of five United States soldiers in Karbala. Last month, American and Iraqi forces uncovered more than four hundred weapons caches. We're conducting dozens and dozens of operations on a daily basis throughout that country, with the Iraqi forces.

See, ultimately, the Iraqis are going to have to defend themselves. Ultimately, it is their responsibility. That's what the twelve million people who voted want. We just need to give them some breathing space so they can gain their confidence and have the capabilities necessary to protect this country.

We're destroying bomb factories. Just last week, we captured the head of the al Qaeda bomb network, responsible for some of the most horrific bombings in Baghdad. It's interesting, I mentioned al Qaeda, al Qaeda wants us to fail in Iraq. This is what their leaders have clearly said, and they're willing to kill innocent women and children to achieve their objectives.

The missions I described are only the opening salvos in what is going to be a sustained effort. Yet, the Iraqi people are beginning to say, see positive changes. I want to share with you how two Iraqi bloggers, they have bloggers in Baghdad, just like we've got here, Displaced families are returning home, marketplaces are seeing more activity, stores that were long shuttered are now reopening. We feel safer about moving in the city now. Our people want to see this effort succeed. We hope the governments in Baghdad and America do not lose their resolve.

I want to read something that Army Sergeant Major Chris Nadeau says, the guy is on his second tour in Iraq. He says, I'm not a Democrat or a Republican. I'm a soldier. The facts are the facts. Things are getting better, we're picking up momentum.

These are hopeful signs, and that's positive. Yet at the very moment that General Petraeus's strategy is beginning to show signs of success, the Democrats in the House of Representatives have passed an emergency war spending bill that undercuts him and the troops under his command. This bill would damage our effort in Iraq three ways. First, the House bill would impose restrictions on our commanders in Iraq, as well as rigid conditions and arbitrary deadlines on the Iraqi government. It would mandate a precipitous withdrawal of American forces, if every one of these conditions is not met by

a date certain. Even if they are met, the bill would still require that most American forces begin retreating from Iraq by March 1st of next year, regardless of conditions on the ground.

It's unclear what the military significance of this date is. What is clear is that the consequences of imposing such a specific and random date for withdrawal would be disastrous. If the House bill becomes law, our enemies in Iraq would simply have to mark their calendars. They'd spend the months ahead picking how to use their new, plotting how to use their new safe havens once we were to leave. It makes no sense for politicians in Washington, D.C. to be dictating arbitrary time lines for our military commanders in a war zone six thousand miles away.

I want to read to you what a major newspaper editorial page said and by the way, this editorial page, like, generally not singing my praises. Imagine if Dwight Eisenhower had been forced to adhere to a congressional war plan in scheduling the Normandy landings, or if, in 1863, President Lincoln had been forced by Congress to conclude the Civil War the following year. This is the worst kind of congressional meddling in military strategy.

Second, the House bill also undermines the Iraqi government, and contradicts the Democrats' claim that they simply want to help the Iraqis solve their own problems. For example, the House bill would cut funding for the Iraqi security forces if Iraqi leaders did not meet arbitrary deadlines.

The Democrats cannot have it both ways. They can't say that the Iraqis must do more, and then take away the funds that will help them do so. Iraq is a young democracy. It is fighting for its survival in a region that is vital to our security. The lesson of September the eleventh must not be forgot. To cut off support for the security forces would put our own security at risk.

Third, the House bill would add billions of dollars in domestic spending that is completely unrelated to the war. For example, the bill includes seventy four million dollars for peanut storage, twenty five million dollars for spinach growers. These may be emergencies, they may be problems, but they can be addressed in the normal course of business. They don't need to be added on to a bill that's supporting our troops. There's six point four million dollars for the House of Representatives' salaries and expense accounts. I don't know what that is, but it is not related to the war and protecting the United States of America.

This week the Senate is considering a version that is no better. The Senate bill sets an arbitrary date for withdrawal. It also undermines the Iraqi government's ability to take more responsibility for their own country by cutting funds for Iraqi reconstruction and law enforcement. And just like their colleagues in the House, Senate Democrats have loaded their bill with special interest spending.

The bill includes forty million dollars for tree assistance. You know, all these matters may be important matters. They don't need to be loaded on to a bill that is an emergency

spending bill for our troops. There's three and a half million dollars for visitors to tour the Capitol and see for themselves how Congress works. I'm not kidding you.

Here's the bottom line. The House and Senate bills have too much pork, too many conditions on our commanders, and an artificial timetable for withdrawal. And I have made it clear for weeks, if either version comes to my desk, I'm going to veto it. It is also clear from the strong opposition in both houses that my veto would be sustained. Yet Congress continues to pursue these bills, and as they do, the clock is ticking for our troops in the field. Funding for our forces in Iraq will begin to run out in mid-April. Members of Congress need to stop making political statements, and start providing vital funds for our troops. They need to get that bill to my desk so I can sign it into law.

Now, some of them believe that by delaying funding for our troops, they can force me to accept restrictions on our commanders that I believe would make withdrawal and defeat more likely. That's not going to happen. If Congress fails to pass a bill to fund our troops on the front lines, the American people will know who to hold responsible. Our troops in Iraq deserve the full support of the Congress and the full support of this nation.

I know when you see somebody in the uniform, you praise them, and I thank you for that. We need to praise those military families, too, that are strong, standing by their loved one in this mighty struggle to defend this country. They risk their lives to fight a brutal and determined enemy, an enemy that has no respect for human life.

We saw that brutality in a recent attack. Just two weeks ago, terrorists in Baghdad put two children in the back of an explosive-laden car, and they used them to get the car past a security checkpoint. And once through, the terrorists fled the vehicle and detonated the car with the children inside. **Some call this civil war, others call it emergency, I call it pure evil. And that evil that uses children in a terrorist attack in Iraq is the same evil that inspired and rejoiced in the attacks of September the eleventh, 2001. And that evil must be defeated overseas, so we don't have to face them here again.**

If we cannot muster the resolve to defeat this evil in Iraq, America will have lost its moral purpose in the world, and we will endanger our citizens, because if we leave Iraq before the job is done, the enemy will follow us here. Prevailing in Iraq is not going to be easy. Four years after this war began, the nature of the fight has changed, but this is a fight that can be won. We can have confidence in the outcome, because this nation has done this kind of work before.

You know, following World War II, after we fought bitter enemies, we lifted up the defeated nations of Japan and Germany and stood with them as they built their representative governments. We committed years and resources to this cause. And the effort has been repaid many times over in three generations of friendship and peace. After the Korean War, had you predicted that Korea would have been a major trading partner in the world, or Japan would have been a major trading partner and vibrant economy, or China would be developing an open market, and the Far East would be relatively

peaceful, they'd have called you a hopeless idealist. And yet, because of America's presence and influence, the Far East has emerged as I've described it.

The stakes are high in the efforts we're undertaking in Iraq. It's a part of a long ideological struggle against those who spread hatred, and lack of hope, and lack of opportunity. But I believe, with patience and resolve we will succeed. The efforts we're undertaking today will affect a generation of Americans who are coming up in our society.

You know, it's important for you to understand that the Iraqi people want to live in freedom and peace. I believe strongly in the universality of liberty. I believe people want to be free, and if given a chance, they will take the risks necessary to be free. And that's what's happened in Iraq. We see the desire for liberty in Iraqi soldiers who risk their lives every day. We see the desire in the shopkeepers and civic leaders who are working to reform their neighborhoods. We see it in the desire of Iraq moms and dads who want the same thing for their children that we want for our children.

If we stand by the Iraqi people today and help them develop their young Iraqi-style democracy, they're going to be able to take responsibility for their own security. And when that day comes, our forces can come home, and that we will leave behind a stable country that can serve as an example for others, and be an ally in this global struggle against those who would do us harm.

It's tough work, but it's necessary work, work the United States has done before, and work the United States will complete now.

- 12 sections extracted
- 5448 words post-extraction

“My attitude is, keep the taxes low so the economy grows to generate more tax revenues, and don't overspend, to set priorities with the people's money, not try to be *all things to all people* (italics mine).” Reference to 1 Corinthians 9:22

5. President Visit with the Troops at Fort Irwin, April 4 2007

Thank you for greeting me. General Cone, thanks. I appreciate your service to our country and thanks for leading these men and women. I'm honored also to be with Jill. Thank you for joining us today for lunch. Command Sergeant Kim Boyink has been a generous host. Sarge, I appreciate being with you. Thank you for your service. Thanks for setting such a good example for the enlisted folks.

I often tell people that the backbone of the Army is the sergeant. And I appreciate you sergeants who have joined us here, and I appreciate you serving.

I want to thank two members of the United States Congress who have traveled with me today, men who have concerns about Fort Irwin and have reflected those concerns in different appropriations measures in the United States Congress. In other words, they understand the importance of this mission and they understand the importance of making sure the folks who are stationed here have the best possible housing and food, could work a little bit on it, but.

But I do want to introduce to you the Congressmen from this district, Congressman Buck McKeon, where are you, Buck? There he is. Thanks, Buck. And Congressman Jerry Lewis, ranking member of the Appropriations Committee.

I'm proud to be here with Mayor Dale, of the city of Barstow. I appreciate you coming, Mr. Mayor. Nice of you to be here. Thanks for being here.

I appreciate not only those who wear the uniform who are here today, I want to thank your families, too, for coming. It means a lot to me to be with our military families. I'll say a word about our military families here in a minute.

I do want to thank those who have just returned from Afghanistan, the six hundred and ninety-ninth Maintenance Company.

I guess the best words I can say are, welcome, I mean, thanks and welcome back. We're glad you're here.

I appreciate those of you who are about to deploy in an important theater in this war against radicals and extremists, this war on terror, the Red Devils of the fifty-eighth Engineers, the Renegades of the five hundred and fifty seventh Maintenance Company, the Super HETT of the second Transportation Company. I appreciate your.

Ours is a remarkable country when people volunteer to serve our country in a time of war. The amazing thing about our United States military is thousands and thousands have signed up knowing full well that we're a nation at war. The government didn't say, you have to do this, you chose to do it on your own. You decided to put your country ahead of self in many ways. I'm proud to be the Commander-in-Chief of such decent people, such honorable people, and such noble people. And I'm proud to be in your presence today.

I also want to thank the families. I understand how difficult this war is on America's military families. I understand the rotations are difficult for the moms and husbands, and sons and daughters. I understand that when a loved one is deployed, it creates anxiety. I also understand our military families are very supportive of those who wear the uniform. And so, on behalf of a grateful nation, I say thanks to the families who are here, and all across the United States of America. You're an integral part of making sure this volunteer army is as successful as it is today.

This country's life changed on September the eleventh, 2001, and my attitude about the world changed that day, too. I decided that I, that our most important task in Washington

was to protect you, protect the American people. And I decided that I would use all the resources at our disposal to do that. Like many Americans, we struggle with understanding with what this attack meant. But if you think about the lead-up to the attack, you think about the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in 1993, or the extremist attack on our troops in Lebanon, or the embassies in Africa, Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, or the USS Cole.

In other words, the attack on September the eleventh wasn't the first move by the extremists. As a matter of fact, they conducted their acts of murder believing that there wouldn't be a response. They became convinced that free nations were weak. And they grew bolder believing that history was on their side.

After the attacks of September the eleventh I vowed to our country that we wouldn't tire, that we would use whatever it took to protect us. And so we changed our strategy. The strategy is to defeat the enemy overseas so we don't have to face them here at home. The strategy is to find those who would kill Americans and bring them to justice. So for those of you in, who have been in Afghanistan, you're helping this young democracy recover from a period of time in which brutal extremists provided safe haven to an enemy which attacked the United States. Part of our doctrine is if you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorists.

Another part of the doctrine is when you see a threat, we must take threats seriously, before they come here to hurt us. See, what changed on September the eleventh is oceans can no longer protect the people in the United States from harm. I saw a threat in Saddam Hussein. The world is better off without Saddam Hussein in power. And so are the citizens of Iraq.

In the long-term, we must remember that freedom is universal, and the best way to defeat an ideology, and make no mistake about it, these extremists believe things, for example, they don't believe you can worship freely, they don't believe you should speak your mind, they don't believe in dissent, they don't believe in human rights. We believe in the right for people to worship. We believe in the dignity of each human being. Our ideology is based on the universality of liberty. Their dark ideology is based upon hatred. And the way to defeat, ultimately defeat those who would do harm to America is give people a chance to live in a free society.

And that's the work we're doing, whether it be in Afghanistan or in Iraq. And I want to thank you for your sacrifice and service.

Iraq, obviously, has got the attention of the United States, as it should. It's a tough war. The American people are weary of this war. They wonder whether or not we can succeed. They're horrified by the suicide bombings they see. **I analyzed all the situation here this fall, I listened to the advice from the military, I listened to the advice from the political people, all in reaction to the fact that al Qaeda and the extremists bombed a sacred place, which caused sectarian violence to begin to rage.** And it looked like that

if action wasn't taken, the capital of this young democracy would be overwhelmed by chaos.

And I had a choice to make, and that is whether or not to pull back and hope that chaos wouldn't spread, or to do something about the sectarian violence that was taking place and to help the Iraqis bring order to their capital in order to give them breathing space, time to reconcile their differences after having lived under the thumb of a tyrant for years.

In weighing the options I thought about the consequences of a country that could sustain itself and defend itself and serve as an ally in the war on terror. And those consequences will have profound impact over the next years, over the decades, to know that in the midst of the Middle East there can flourish free societies, societies where people can live together, societies where people can express their opinions, societies where people can live a free life.

That's important because history has proven, has shown that free societies don't war with each other. But it's also important to have allies in this war against the extremists who would do us harm.

I've also thought about the consequences of failure and what it would mean to the American people. **If chaos were to reign in the capital of that country it could spill out to the rest of the country, it could then spill out to the region, where you would have religious extremists fighting each other with one common enemy, the United States of America, or our ally, for example, like Israel.**

The enemy that had done us harm would be embolden. They would have seen the mighty United States of America retreat before the job was done, which would enable them to better recruit. They have made it clear, they, being people like Osama bin Laden or Zawahiri, have made it clear they want to drive us from Iraq to establish safe haven in order to launch further attacks. In my judgment, defeat, leaving before the job was done, which I would call defeat, would make this United States of America at risk to further attack.

In other words, this is a war in which, if we were to leave before the job is done, the enemy would follow us here. That's the lesson of September the eleventh. It's an integral part of my thinking about how to secure this country, to do the most important job that the government must do, and that is to protect the American people.

So I made a decision, in consultation with our military commanders, people of sound military judgment, people who have made a career about how to set strategies in place to achieve military victories. And the new strategy we developed was to, rather than retreat, reinforce, rather than pull back was to go in with additional troops to help this young democracy do the job that the twelve million people who voted in free elections want them to do, which is to provide security, so a mother can raise her child the way we would want our mothers to be able to raise our children, to provide security so that the political reconciliation necessary can go forward in a more secure environment.

As I made the decision to send in more troops, I also made the decision to send in a new commander, General David Petraeus. He's an expert on counter-insurgency. Right now about half of the reinforcements that are expected to go to Baghdad have arrived. American and Iraqi troops are, however, on the move. **They're rounding up both Shia and Sunni extremists, they're rounding up those who would do harm to innocent people.**

We're after al Qaeda. After all, al Qaeda wants us to fail because they can't stand the thought of a free society in their midst. We're destroying car bomb factories, killing and capturing hundreds of insurgents. And neighborhoods are being reclaimed. There is progress, but the enemy sees that progress and they're responding in a brutal way.

I was amazed by the story of the extremists who put two children into a automobile so that they could make it into a crowded area, then they got of the car and blew up the car with the children inside. It only hardens my resolve to help free Iraq from a society in which people can do that to children, and it makes me realize the nature of the enemy that we face, which hardens my resolve to protect the American people. **The people who do that are not people, you know, it's not a civil war, it is pure evil. And I believe we have an obligation to protect ourselves from that evil.** So while we're making progress, it also is tough. And so the way to deal with it is to stay on the offense, is to help these Iraqis.

I had a meeting, a SVTS, what they call a SVTS, it's a real-time video conference, with Prime Minister Maliki. I urged him, of course, to continue making the actions necessary to reconcile in their society, pass an oil law, a de-Baathification law. It's interesting to watch a government emerge. It's interesting to watch this new democracy begin to take on responsibilities. And they are. They said they would commit additional troops into Baghdad, they have. They said they'd name a commander for the city of Baghdad, they did. They said they would man checkpoints, they are. They said they'd spend a significant amount of their own money for their reconstruction, they have, budgeted ten billion dollars.

And there's more work to be done. And I reminded the Prime Minister of that. And I reminded him that our patience is not unlimited. I also reminded him that we want him to succeed, that it's in the interest of the United States that this young democracy succeed. It's in the interest we gain a new ally in the war on terror, in the midst of a part of the world that produced nineteen kids that came and killed three thousand of our citizens.

Just as the strategy is starting to make inroads, a narrow majority in the Congress passed legislation they knew all along I would not accept. Their bills impose an artificial deadline for withdrawal from Iraq. Their bills substitute the judgment of Washington politicians for the judgment of our military commanders. Their bills add billions of dollars in pork barrel spending, spending that is unrelated to the war that you're engaged in. Then, instead of sending an acceptable bill to my desk, they went on spring break.

In the meantime, the clock is ticking for our military. The Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Chief of Staff of the Army have warned that if Congress delays these funds past mid-April, we'll have significant consequences for our Armed Forces. Army Chief of Staff says this, Without approval of the supplemental funds in April, we will be forced to take increasingly draconian measures, which will impact Army readiness and impose hardship on our soldiers and their families.

For example, the Army says that without these funds, it will be forced to consider cutting back on training for Guard and Reserve units, and eventually for active duty personnel. The folks at Fort Irwin know firsthand how important training is. Washington has a responsibility to ensure that you have the resources you need to keep this training going.

Soon Congress will return from its break. I urge them to work on legislation to fund our troops, but that does not tell our military how to conduct war and sets an artificial timetable for withdrawal. The enemy does not measure the conflict in Iraq in terms of timetables. They plan to fight us, and we've got to fight them, alongside the Iraqis. A strategy that encourages this enemy to wait us out is dangerous, it's dangerous for our troops, it's dangerous for our country's security. And it's not going to become the law.

There are fine, fine people debating this issue in Washington, D.C. They're patriotic. They're people who have got passionate points of view about this war. And I understand that. Yet, we cannot allow honest differences in Washington to harm our troops in battle, or their families here at home. Members of Congress have sent their message, now they need to send me a war-spending measure that I can sign into law, so we can provide our troops and their families with the funds and support they deserve and they need.

I spent some time with the soldiers out in the field, and I want to share with you what I told them. The work that you have volunteered to do will have a lasting impact on the world in which we live. When we succeed in helping this Iraqi government become a country that can sustain itself, defend itself, govern itself, and serve as an ally in the war on terror, we will have delivered a significant blow to those who have designs on harming the American people, because they can't stand the thought of free societies in their midst. They can't stand the thought of people being able to have a government of, by, and for the people. It is the opposite of what they do.

But we have done this kind of work before. The United States of America has done the kind of work that spread liberty in parts of the world where people never thought liberty could take hold. For example, after World War two, after we had a brutal war with the Japanese and Nazi Germany, our troops stayed behind and helped these societies recover and grow and prosper. **And now we're reaping the benefits of helping our former enemies realize the blessings of liberty.** Europe is free and at peace.

You know, after the Korean War, if you had asked somebody, can you imagine an American President being able to stand up in front of some troops and say the Far East is peaceful, a part of the world where we lost thousands of our troops in World War II and Korea is now a relatively peaceful part of the world, they would have said what a

hopeless idealist that person is. And yet, I can report to you that. **And I believe it is because our troops not only helped in Korea and helped rebuild Japan, but I believe it's because the presence of the United States gave breathing space to people to realize the blessings of liberty.**

I believe liberty is universal. I don't believe it is just for the United States of America alone. **I believe there is an Almighty, and I believe the Almighty's gift to people worldwide is the desire to be free.** And I think, if given a chance, people will seize that moment. And that's the work you're doing.

And so that's why I report to our citizens that the hard work we're doing today is laying the foundation of peace for generations to come. And it gives me great confidence to know that standing with the President of the United States is a fantastic military, well-trained, courageous, and dedicated to protecting this country.

I'm proud to be your Commander-in-Chief. **May God bless you all.**

- 11 sections extracted
- 2755 words post-extraction

6. President Bush Discusses Iraq War Supplemental, War on Terror April 10 2007

Thank you all. Good morning. please be seated. Thank you for your warm hospitality. It's a pleasure to be here at Legion Post one hundred and seventy seven, Fairfax, Virginia. I appreciate you inviting me. And I've come to share some thoughts about service to our country, this war we face, and the need for the United States Congress to make sure our troops have what is necessary to complete their mission.

Bob Sussan greeted me coming in. I appreciate you, Commander, greeting a fellow from Post seventy seven, we dropped the one in Houston. He not only presented me with a cake, he gave me a chance to express my gratitude to the Legion, its members and the service you provide for those who wear the uniform today.

I appreciate the example you have set. You know, there's something to be said for a country where people serve something greater than themselves, where people in this era volunteer in the face of danger to defend the United States of America. And those who have worn the uniform in the past have set such a powerful example for our brave men and women who wear the uniform today and I thank you for that a lot, I don't know if you know that or not, but the example of our veterans have inspired many to wear the uniform today.

I find the history of this post interesting, Bob. In November of 1944, a group of World War one veterans gathered here in Fairfax to form an organization to help the troops returning from the battlefield in Word War two. Veterans said, What can I do to help a fellow veteran? The founders rallied support for the soldiers and the sailor and the airmen

and the Marines. In other words, these veterans understood what it meant to be in war, what it meant to be far from home, and they provided necessary support for our troops.

And when they came back from war, they helped make the transition to civilian life. In other words, there was somebody there available to help them, somebody to, Brother or sister, how can I help you? What can I do to help you after you have served our country? It's a proud American tradition and a tradition being carried on here at Post one hundred and seventy seven, and I thank you for that a lot.

Today, the men and women at this post visit the wounded in our military hospitals. And I thank you for going to Walter Reed in Bethesda. You know, we're going to make sure that the care is superb care. I went over there the other day and I made it clear to the caregivers that there were some bureaucratic snafus that were unacceptable. Secretary Gates and our military folks will clean that up. But the care that our troops get from the doctors and nurses is superb care, and we owe those people in the front lines of providing care for the wounded a real debt of gratitude, just like we owe the families and the soldiers the best health care possible.

I appreciate very much the Reserve Officer Training Corps scholarships you provide, particularly for George Mason University students. I'm a big believer in education, I know you are, as well. But rather than talking on the subject, you're acting, and I appreciate that a lot. But, more importantly, the students do, too.

And thanks for sending the care packages to our troops. It matters. Iraq and Afghanistan are far away from home, a little different from the wars you fought, however, there is email today, and cell phones. But, nevertheless, there is a sense of loneliness that can sometimes affect our troops, and the fact that you would take time to send them care packages to remind those who wear the uniform that you support them, a stranger reaches out to them and offers support, I thank you a lot for that.

This is an unusual era in which we live, defined on September the eleventh, 2001. See, that's a date that reminded us the world had changed significantly from what we thought the world was. We thought that, we thought that oceans and friendly neighbors could protect us from attack. And, yet, on that day, less than 20 miles from this post, an airplane crashed into the Pentagon and killed 184 men, women and children. An airplane driven by fanatics and extremists and murderers crashed into the Pentagon. And as you know, on that day nearly three thousand people died in New York that day. And more would have died had not the people on United Flight ninety-three showed incredible courage and saved no telling how many lives here in Washington, D.C. by taking that plane to the ground.

My attitude about the world changed, and I know the attitude about the world from a lot of folks here in America's attitude changed. It reminded me that the most solemn duty of your federal government is to protect the American people from harm. The most solemn duty we have is to protect this homeland. I vowed that day that we would go on the

offense against an enemy, that the best way to defeat this enemy is to find them overseas and bring them to justice so they will not hurt the folks here at home.

In other words, we don't have the luxury of hoping for the best, of sitting back and being passive in the face of this threat. In the past we would say oceans would protect us, and therefore what happened overseas may not matter here at home. That's what changed on September the eleventh. What happens overseas affects the security of the United States. And it's in this nation's interest that we go on the offense and stay on the offense. We want to defeat them there, so we don't have to face them here.

On September the eleventh, we saw that problems originating in a failed and oppressive state seven thousand miles away can bring death to our citizens. I vowed that if you harbor a terrorist you're equally as guilty as the terrorist. That's a doctrine. In order for this country to be credible, when the President says something, he must mean it. I meant it, and the Taliban found out that we meant what we said. And, therefore, we ended al Qaeda's safe haven in a failed state.

The two points I want to make is, doctrine matters, and secondly, a failed state can lead to severe consequences for the American people. And therefore it's in our interests not only to pursue the enemy overseas, so we don't have to face them here, it's in our interest to spread an alternative ideology to their hateful ideology. **These folks do not believe in the freedom to worship.** They don't believe that women have got an equal place in society. They don't believe in human rights and human dignity.

We believe that people have the right to worship the way they see fit. We believe all humans are created equal. We believe in dissent. We believe in public discourse. Our ideology is based upon freedom and liberty, theirs is based upon oppression. And the best way to secure this country in the long run is to offer up an alternative that stands in stark contrast to theirs.

And that's the hard work we're doing in Afghanistan and Iraq. In Afghanistan the Taliban that ran that country and provided safe haven to al Qaeda, where thousands of people were able to train in order to be able to launch attacks on innocent people, innocent Americans, for example. That Taliban no longer is in power. And, in fact, there is a young, struggling democracy in Afghanistan.

The people in Afghanistan went to the polls and voted. President Karzai is now representing a government of and by and for the people. It's an unimaginable sequence of events. Had you asked people in the mid-1990s, is it possible for there to be a democracy in Afghanistan, of course not. But there is a democracy in place, and it's in our interest to deny al Qaeda and the Taliban and the radicals and the extremists a safe haven. And it's in our interest to stand with this young democracy as it begins to spread its wings in Afghanistan.

And then we're doing the hard work in Iraq. I made a decision to remove a dictator, a tyrant who was a threat to the United States, a threat to the free world, and a threat to the Iraq people, and the world is better off without Saddam Hussein in power.

And now we're undertaking the difficult and dangerous work of helping the Iraqi people establish a functioning democracy. I think it's necessary work to help them establish a functioning democracy. It's necessary because it is important for the moderate people, people who want to live in peace and security, to see what is possible in the Middle East. It is hard work because we face an enemy that understands the consequences of liberty taking root, and are willing to kill innocent lives in order to achieve their political objectives.

A minority, and I emphasize minority, of violent extremists have declared that they want to turn that country into a terrorist base from which to launch an ideological war in the Middle East and attacks on the United States of America. That is the stated objective of al Qaeda in Iraq. It's important that we listen to the enemy. It's important we take their threats seriously.

In contrast, however, the vast majority of Iraqis have made it clear they want to live in peace. After all, about twelve million of them went to the polls, a feat that was, again, unimaginable in the mid-1990s. If you had said, can you imagine Iraqis being able to vote for a constitution and then a government under that constitution in the mid-1990s, they would have said, you're too idealistic, that's impossible. And, yet, that's what happened.

The terrorists, recognizing that this country was headed toward a society based upon liberty, a society based upon an ideology that is the opposite of what they believe, struck. **And they struck by blowing up the Golden Mosque of Samarra, which is a holy shrine, a holy site.** It's a site that a lot of people hold dear in their heart. **And they were attempting to provoke retaliation by a segment of that society, the Iraqi Shia.** And they succeeded. And the result was a tragic escalation of violence.

And in the face of the violence, in other words, there was reprisal, people said, we're going to get even, how dare these people do this, and in the face of this violence, I had a choice to make. See, we could withdraw our troops from the capital of Iraq and hope that violence would not spiral out of control, or we could send reinforcements into the capital in the hopes of quelling sectarian violence, in order to give this young democracy time to reconcile, time to deal, with the politics necessary for a government that can sustain itself and defend itself to emerge.

I made the decisions after, to reinforce. But I didn't do it in a vacuum. I called in our military commanders and experts, and I listened to a lot of opinions, and there's a lot of opinions in Washington, D.C., in case you hadn't noticed. The opinions that matter a lot to me are what our military folks think. After all, this is a military operation, and as the Commander-in-Chief, you must listen to your military and trust their judgment on military matters. And that's what I did.

They recognized what I recognized, and it's important for the American citizen to recognize this, that if we were to have stepped back from Baghdad before the Iraqis were capable of securing their capital, before they had the troops trained well enough to secure the capital, there would have been a vacuum that could have easily been filled by Sunni and Shia extremists, radicals that would be bolstered by outside forces. In other words, the lack of security would have created an opportunity for extremists to move in. Most people want to live in peace in Iraq. There are extremists who can't stand the thought of a free society that would have taken advantage of the vacuum. A contagion of violence could spill out across the country, and in time the violence could affect the entire region.

What happens in the Middle East matters here in America. The terrorists would have emerged under this scenario more emboldened. They would have said, our enemy, the United States, the enemy that we attacked, turns out to be what they thought: weak in the face of violence, weak in the face of challenge. They would have been able to more likely recruit. They would have had new safe haven from which to launch attacks. Imagine a scenario in which the extremists are able to control oil revenues to achieve economic blackmail, to achieve their objectives. This is all what they have stated. This is their ambition.

If we retreat -- were to retreat from Iraq, what's interesting and different about this war is that the enemy would follow us here. And that's why it's important we succeed in Iraq. If this scenario were to take place, fifty years from now people would look back and say, What happened to those folks in the year 2007? How come they couldn't see the danger of a Middle East spiraling out of control where extremists competed for power, but they shared an objective which was to harm the United States of America? How come they couldn't remember the lesson of September the eleventh, that we were no longer protected by oceans and chaos and violence, and extremism could end up being a serious danger to the homeland?

That's what went through my mind as I made a difficult decision, but a necessary decision. And so rather than retreat, I sent more troops in. Rather than pull back, I made the decision to help this young democracy bring order to its capital so there can be time for the hard work of reconciliation to take place after years of tyrannical rule, brutal tyrannical rule.

And now it's time for these Iraqis, the Iraqi government, to stand up and start making some, making some strong political moves. And they're beginning to. I speak to the Prime Minister quite often and remind him that here at home we expect them to do hard work, we want to help, but we expect them to do some hard work. And he reminds me, sometimes legislative bodies and parliaments don't move as quickly as the executive branch would like. But he understands. He understands we expect them to spend money on their reconstruction, and they've committed ten billion dollars to do so.

They understand that when we said we were going to send more troops in, you need to send more troops into Baghdad, that we expect them to, and they have. They understand

that when we work together to set up a security plan where there is a top military figure in charge of Baghdad's security from the Iraq side, that we expect somebody there who is going to be non-sectarian and implement security for all the people of Baghdad, they responded. See, the understand that. **And now we expect them to get an oil law that helps unify the country, to change the de-Baathification law so that, for example, Sunni teachers that had been banned from teaching are allowed back in the classroom, and that there be provincial elections.** And we'll continue to remind them of that.

In sending more troops, in other words, in sending troops in, it is, I recognize that this is more than a military mission. It requires a political response from the Iraqis, as well.

The Iraqi people, by the way, have already made a political response, they voted. I also sent a new commander in, General David Petraeus. He is an expert in counterinsurgency warfare. He's been in Baghdad two months. A little less than half of, only about half of the reinforcements that he's asked for have arrived. In other words, this operation is just getting started. There's kind of, I guess, knowledge or a thought in Washington that all you got to say is send twenty one thousand in and they show up the next day, that's not the way it works. It takes a while for troops to be trained and readied and moved into theater. And that's what our military is doing now.

And there are some encouraging signs. There's no question it's violent, no question the extremists are dangerous people. But there are encouraging signs. Iraqi and American forces have established joint security stations across Baghdad. As you might remember, we had a strategy of clear, hold and build. Well, because we didn't have enough troops, nor did the Iraqis have enough troops, we would do the clear part, but we didn't do the hold part, and so it made it hard to do the build part. And now because of our presence and more Iraqi troops, along with coalition troops, they're deployed twenty four hours a day in neighborhoods to help change the psychology of the capital, that for a while was comfortable in its security, and then violence began to spiral out of control. That's the decision point I had to make, do you try to stop it? And what I'm telling you is, according to David Petraeus, with whom I speak on a weekly basis, we're beginning to see some progress toward the mission, that they're completing the mission.

Our troops are also training Iraqis. In other words, part of the effort is not only to provide security to neighborhoods, but we're constantly training Iraqis so that they can do this job. The leaders want to do the job. Prime Minister Maliki makes it clear he understands it's his responsibility. We just want to make sure that when they do the job, they've got a force structure that's capable of doing the job. So that's why I rely upon our commanders, like General Petraeus, that let me know how well the Iraqis are doing. So it's the combination of providing security in neighborhoods through these joint security stations, and training that is the current mission we're going through, with a heavy emphasis on security in Baghdad.

Iraqis see our forces out there, joint forces, both coalition and Iraqi forces, and they have confidence. And as a result of the confidence, they're now cooperating more against the

extremists. Most people want to live in peace. **Iraqi mothers, regardless of their religious affiliation, want their children to grow up in a peaceful world.** They want there to be opportunities. They don't want their children to be subject to random murder. They expect our government to provide security. And when the government doesn't provide security, it causes a lack of confidence. And they're beginning to see more security, and so people are coming into the stations and talking about different, giving different tips about where we may be able to find the extremists or radicals who kill innocent people to achieve political objectives.

We're using the information wisely. And I say we, every time I say we, it's just not American troops, there are brave Iraqi troops with us. **Our forces have launched successful operations against extremists, both Shia and Sunni.** My attitude is, if you're a murderer, you're a murderer, and you ought to be held to account. Recently, Iraqi and American forces captured the head of a Baghdad car bomb network that was responsible for the attacks that you see on your TV screens, some of the attacks you see on your TV screen.

Look, these people are smart people, these killers. They know that if they can continue the spectacular suicide bombings they will cause the American people to say, is it worth it? Can we win? Is it possible to succeed? And that really speaks to the heart of the American people, I think. I mean, we are a compassionate people. We care about human life. And when we see the wanton destruction of innocent life, it causes us to wonder whether or not it is possible to succeed. I understand that.

But I also understand the mentality of an enemy that is trying to achieve a victory over us by causing us to lose our will. Yet we're after these car bombers. In other words, slowly but surely these extremists are being brought to justice by Iraqis, with our help. Violence in Baghdad, sectarian violence in Baghdad, that violence that was beginning to spiral out of control is beginning to subside. And as the violence decreases, people have more confidence, and if people have more confidence, they're then willing to make difficult decisions of reconciliation necessary for Baghdad to be secure and this country to survive and thrive as a democracy.

The reinforcements are having an impact, and as more reinforcements go in, it will have a greater impact. Remember, only about half of the folks we've asked to go in are there.

It's now been sixty four days since I have requested that Congress pass emergency funding for these troops. We don't have all of them there. About half more are going to head in. We're making some progress. And sixty four days ago, I said to the United States Congress, these troops need funding. And instead of approving that vital funding, the Democrat leadership in Congress has spent the past sixty four days pushing legislation that would undercut our troops, just as we're beginning to make progress in Baghdad. In both the House and the Senate, majorities have passed bills that substitute the judgment of politicians in Washington for the judgment of our commanders on the ground. They set arbitrary deadlines for withdrawal from Iraq, and they spend billions of dollars on pork barrel projects and spending that are completely unrelated to this war.

Now, the Democrats who pass these bills know that I'll veto them, and they know that this veto will be sustained. Yet they continue to pursue the legislation. And as they do, the clock is ticking for our troops in the field. In other words, there are consequences for delaying this money. In the coming days, our military leaders will notify Congress that they will be forced to transfer one point six billion dollars from other military accounts to cover the shortfall caused by Congress's failure to fund our troops in the field. That means our military will have to take money from personnel accounts so they can continue to fund United States Army operations in Iraq and elsewhere.

This one point six billion dollars in transfers come on top of another one point seven billion dollars in transfers that our military leaders notified Congress about last month. In March, Congress was told that the military would need to take money from military personnel accounts, weapons and communications systems so we can continue to fund programs to protect our soldiers and Marines from improvised explosive devices and send hundreds of mine-resistant vehicles to our troops on the front lines. These actions are only the beginning, and the longer Congress delays, the worse the impact on the men and women of the Armed Forces will be.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Peter Pace, recently testified that if Congress fails to pass a bill I can sign by mid-April, the Army will be forced to consider cutting back on equipment repair and quality of life initiatives for our Guard and Reserve forces. The Army will also be forced to consider curtailing some training for Guard and Reserve units here at home. This would reduce their readiness, and could delay their availability to mobilize for missions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

If Congress fails to pass a bill I can sign by mid-May, the problems grow even more acute. The Army will be forced to consider slowing or even freezing funding for its depots, where the equipment our troops depend on is repaired. They will have to consider delaying or curtailing the training of some active duty forces, reducing the availability of those the force, of those forces to deploy overseas. And the Army may also have to delay the formation of new brigade combat teams, preventing us from getting those troops into the pool of forces that are available to deploy.

So what does that mean? These things happen. Some of our forces now deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq may need to be extended, because other units are not ready to take their places. In a letter to Congress, the Army Chief of Staff, Pete Shoemaker, recently warned, Without approval of the supplemental funds in April, we will be forced to take increasingly draconian measures, which will impact Army readiness and impose hardships on our soldiers and their families.

The bottom line is this: Congress's failure to fund our troops will mean that some of our military families could wait longer for their loved ones to return from the front lines. Others could see their loved ones headed back to war sooner than anticipated. This is unacceptable. It's unacceptable to me, it's unacceptable to our veterans, it's unacceptable to our military families, and it's unacceptable to many in this country.

The United States Senate has come back from its spring recess today. The House will return next week. When it comes to funding our troops, we have no time to waste. It's time for them to get the job done. So I'm inviting congressional leaders from both parties, both political parties, to meet with me at the White House next week. At this meeting, the leaders in Congress can report on progress on getting an emergency spending bill to my desk. We can discuss the way forward on a bill that is a clean bill, a bill that funds our troops without artificial timetables for withdrawal, and without handcuffing our generals on the ground.

I'm hopeful we'll see some results soon from the Congress. I know we have our differences over the best course in Iraq. These differences should not prevent us from getting our troops the funding they need without withdrawal and without giving our commanders flexibility.

The Democrat leaders in, Democratic leaders in Congress are bent on using a bill that funds our troops to make a political statement about the war. They need to do it quickly and get it to my desk so I can veto it, and then Congress can get down to the business of funding our troops without strings and without further delay.

We are at war. It is irresponsible for the Democratic leadership in Congress to delay for months on end while our troops in combat are waiting for the funds they need to succeed. As the national commander of the American Legion, Paul Morin, recently put it, The men and women of the armed forces in the theater of operations are dependent on this funding to sustain and achieve their military missions. This funding is absolutely critical to their success and individual well being. I thank the commander and the American Legion for their strong support on this issue. You do not make a political statement, you're making a statement about what is necessary for our troops in the field, and I am grateful.

I'm always amazed at the men and women who wear our uniform. Last week, before I went down to Crawford, for a snowy Easter, I might add, I was in California at Fort Irwin. And I had a chance to visit with some who had just come back from Iraq and some who were going over to Iraq, and it just amazes me that these young men and women know the stakes, they understand what we're doing, and they have volunteered to serve. We're really a remarkable country, and a remarkable military, and therefore, we owe it to the families and to those who wear the uniform to make sure that this remarkable group of men and women are strongly supported, strongly supported, by the way, during their time in uniform, and then after their time in uniform through the Veterans Administration.

I tried to put this war into a historical context for them. In other words, I told them that they're laying the foundation of peace. In other words, the work we're doing today really will yield peace for a generation to come. And part of my discussion with them was I wanted them to think back to the work after World War two. After World War two, we defeated, after we defeated Germany and Japan, this country went about the business of helping these countries develop into democracies. Isn't it interesting a country would go

to, have a bloody conflict with two nations, and then help democracy succeed? Why? Because our predecessors understood that forms of government help yield peace. In other words, it matters what happens in distant lands.

And so today, I can report to you that Japan is a strong ally of the United States. I've always found that very ironic that my dad, like many of your relatives, fought the Japanese as the sworn enemy, and today one of the strongest allies in keeping the peace is the Prime Minister of Japan. Something happened between when old George H. W. Bush was a Navy fighter pilot, and his boy is the President of the United States. Well, what happened was the form of government changed. Liberty can transform enemies into allies. The hard work done after World War two helped lay the foundation of peace.

How about after the Korean War? Some of you are Korean vets, I know. I bet it would have been hard for you to predict, if you can think back to the early 1950's, to predict that an American President would say that we've got great relations with South Korea, great relations with Japan, that China is an emerging marketplace economy, and that the region is peaceful. This is a part of the world where we lost thousands of young American soldiers, and yet there's peace.

I believe that United States presence there has given people the time necessary to develop systems of government that make that part of the world a peaceful part of the world, to lay the foundation for peace. And that's the work our soldiers are doing in the Middle East today. And it's necessary work. It is necessary because what happens in the Middle East, for example, can affect the security of the United States of America. **And it's hard work, and we've lost some fantastic young men and women, and we pray for their families, and we honor their service and their sacrifice by completing the mission, by helping a generation of Americans grow up in a peaceful world.**

I cannot tell you how honored I am to meet with the families of the fallen. They bear an unbelievable pain in their heart. And it's very important for me to make it clear to them that I believe the sacrifice is necessary to achieve the peace we all long for.

I thank you for supporting our troops. I thank you for setting such a fantastic example for a great group of men and women who have volunteered to serve our country. And thanks for being such fine Americans.

God bless.

- 10 sections extracted
- 5042 words post-extraction

7. President Bush Discusses the Iraq War Supplemental April 16 2007

Thank you all. Please be seated. Welcome to the White House. You know, I get to welcome a lot of guests here. I don't think there's a more important guest than a veteran

or the family of a serviceman or woman, or the families of those whose loved one has given their life to the country. And so I welcome an incredibly important group of guests. And thank you for coming, and thank you for your time.

I appreciate very much to be in the presence of moms and dads, husbands and wives, sons and daughters of some of the finest citizens our nation has ever produced. I want to thank the leaders of organizations that support our military families. I appreciate your tireless work to send a clear signal that many in the United States of America support our troops. Each of you knows what is stake, what is at stake in this war on terror. And I appreciate your efforts to rally our nation to support our troops, and to support the mission for which they have risked and, in some cases, have given their lives. I thank you for coming. Thanks for your service to the United States of America.

Many of the families here today have relatives serving in harm's way. Others have lost loved ones in the struggle. They have come here to Washington with a message for their elected leaders in our nation's capital: Our troops need the resources, equipment and weapons to fight our enemies. Congress needs to pass an emergency war spending bill, without strings and without further delay.

On Wednesday, I will meet with congressional leaders from both parties right here at the White House. I'm going to pass on your message to them.

I appreciate members of the Families United for Our Troops and Their Mission. Thanks for doing what you do. I want to thank the members of the Armed Forces Foundation, and those who serve with our Veterans Service Organizations.

A time of war is a time of sacrifice for our nation, but especially for our military families. Being left behind when a loved one goes to war is one of the hardest jobs in our military. The families here today inspire our nation, inspire them with their sense of duty and with their deep devotion to our country.

The families gathered here understand that we are a nation at war. Like me, they wish we weren't at war, but we are. They know that the enemies who attacked us on September the eleventh, 2001 want to bring further destruction to our country. They know that the only way to stop them is to stay on the offense, to fight the extremists and radicals where they live, so we don't have to face them where we live.

The families gathered here understand that our troops want to finish the job. Today, because of email and instant messaging and other modern technologies, our military families are able to stay in contact with their loved ones overseas. I see some baby boomers out there, when they wore our uniform you never would have imagined emailing a loved one in the midst of your time overseas. But that's what's happening today. Families here know what our troops are seeing and hearing on the ground, they get instant feedback as a result of modern technologies. And they know better than anyone our troops' desire to succeed and their determination to prevail.

Families gathered here understand that America is not going to be safe until the terrorist threat has been defeated. If we do not defeat the terrorists and extremists in Iraq, they won't leave us alone, they will follow us to the United States of America. That's what makes this battle in the war on terror so incredibly important. One of the lessons of September the eleventh is what happens overseas matters to the security of the United States of America, and we must not forget that lesson.

The consequences of failure in Iraq would be death and destruction in the Middle East and here in America. To protect our citizens at home, we must defeat the terrorists. We defeat them by staying on the offense and we defeat them by helping young democracies defeat their ideology of hate. And it's hard work. But it is necessary work, and thousands of men and women who wear our uniform understand the stakes.

It's a remarkable country, isn't it, where people stand up and volunteer to serve the United States in uniform during a time of war. And, yet, that's who we honor here today.

We must give our men and women in uniform the tools and resources they need to prevail. Providing these resources is the responsibility of the United States Congress. And that is why, seventy days ago, I sent Congress an emergency war spending bill that would provide the vital funds our troops urgently need. But instead of approving this funding, Democrats in Congress have spent the past seventy days pushing legislation that would undercut our troops. They passed bills in the House and the Senate that would impose restrictions on our military commanders. They set an arbitrary date for withdrawal from Iraq. And they spend billions of dollars on domestic projects that have nothing to do with the war. After passing these unacceptable bills, House and Senate leaders then chose to leave town for spring recess, without resolving their differences or sending any legislation to my desk.

As Congress delays, the clock is ticking for our troops. Last week, Secretary of Defense Gates wrote to Congress, laying out the consequences of their failure to pass emergency spending for our troops on the front lines. He warned that because Congress has not acted, The Army will soon begin reducing quality of life initiatives, reducing the repair and maintenance of equipment necessary for deployment training, and curtailing the training of Army Guard and Reserve units within the United States, reducing their readiness levels. He continued that if emergency funding is not received by mid-May, the Army will have to consider further actions, to include reducing the pace of equipment overhaul work at Army depots, curtailing training rotations for brigade combat teams currently scheduled for overseas deployment, a step that that the Secretary said, would likely require the further extension of currently deployed forces. In other words, there are consequences for Congress' delay in getting our troops that the Defense Department has requested.

Congress' failure to fund our troops will mean that the readiness of our forces will suffer. This is unacceptable to me, it's unacceptable to you, and it's unacceptable to the vast majority of the American people.

Listen, I understand Republicans and Democrats in Washington have differences over the best course in Iraq. That's healthy. That's normal. And we should debate those differences. But our troops should not be caught in the middle. Last week, the Senate returned to Washington, and this week the House has returned, as well. I've invited congressional leaders of both parties to meet me at the White House two days from today. That's what we're supposed to do. We're supposed to talk out our differences. I'm looking forward to the meeting. I hope the Democratic leadership will drop their unreasonable demands for a precipitous withdrawal. We've only committed about a little over half of our troops into a decision I made to help secure the Iraqi capital, and, yet, there are some saying we ought to leave before we get there.

I think it is wrong for Congress to restrict our military commanders. I can understand having a difference of opinion about Iraq, but our commanders need the flexibility necessary to meet the mission. We should not be substituting political judgment for the judgment of those in our military. And the idea of putting, you know, peanut storage, which may be necessary at some point in time, I don't know, I haven't analyzed the peanut storage issue, but I do know it doesn't have much to do with about making sure your loved ones get what's needed to do their job.

I am willing to discuss any way forward that does not hamstring our troops, set an artificial timetable for withdrawal, and spend billions on projects not related to the war. The American people expect their leaders in Washington to find common ground, but they also expect the Congress and the White House to work together to make sure our troops get funded quickly. We should not legislate defeat in this vital war.

We owe it to our men and women in uniform to give them the full support. It's important as people debate this issue to think about somebody like Merrilee Carlson, with us today. She's a Gold Star Mom. Two years ago, Merrilee's son, Michael, gave his life in Iraq when his platoon was on a night mission to take out two terrorist bomb-making factories. As they approached their target, they passed over a culvert that gave way, and their Bradley fighting vehicle plunged into the water and Michael and four others in the vehicle died that day.

Michael penned a high school essay before he joined the Army. This is what he wrote, I want my life to account for something. Everyone eventually loses their life. I have only so much time. I want to fight for something, be a part of something greater than myself. I want to be a soldier or something of that caliber. He became a soldier, he gave his life for something greater than himself. And now his mom and dad have one just demand, and that is to make sure that Michael's sacrifice is not in vain.

We owe it to the Carlson family, we owe it to other Gold Star families here today, to complete the mission for which their loved ones gave their lives. We owe it to a future generation of Americans to help secure peace. We owe it to the American people to make this nation safer. The most solemn obligation of the government and Washington is to provide security for the American people and to protect them from harm.

We owe it to the brave Iraqis. I just spoke to the Prime Minister, I told him I was coming to see you. He said, please thank the people in the White House for their sacrifices and we will continue to work hard to be an ally in this war on terror. We'll continue to do the hard work necessary to help change the conditions that caused nineteen young men to get on airplanes to come and kill thousands of our citizens on September the eleventh.

We owe it to every sailor, soldier, airman, Marine in harm's way to give them the tools they need to prevail. That's what we owe them.

As we saw with last week's brutal attack on the Iraqi parliament, our troops face depraved and determined enemies, enemies that could just as easily come here to kill us. And, therefore, we must give our men and women in uniform the best equipment, the best training, and the unqualified support of our nation.

Congress needs to put the partisanship on hold, it needs to get rid of all the politics right now and send me an emergency war spending bill that I can sign that gets our troops the support they need and gives our commanders the flexibility they need to complete this mission.

I appreciate you coming. **God bless.**

- 1 section extracted
- 1918 words post-extraction

8. President Bush Visits the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum April 18 2007

Thank you all. Please be seated. Thank you all very much. I appreciate your hospitality, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much for the fine job you're doing. I am honored to have just taken a tour of this important museum with Sara Bloomfield, who arguably is one of the best museum directors in the country, particularly if you can put up with the board of directors that I've named.

I thank you all for serving. I appreciate you taking on this important assignment. My friends on the board will tell you that I hold the Holocaust Museum dear to my heart. You will hear me express my appreciation for the work that is being done here, and I mean it sincerely.

I thank very much Elie Wiesel for joining us. He is a, he's a big figure in the life of the world, as he should be. He speaks with moral clarity. And I can't thank you enough for being a leader of talking about what is right. And I'm honored to be in your presence.

I am traveling with some members of my administration, starting with the Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice. Thank you for being here. Presidential Special Envoy to Sudan, Andrew Natsios. And the newly-minted, or newly sworn in U.N. Ambassador Zal Khalilzad. Mr. Ambassador, thanks for coming.

I want to thank the members of Congress who have joined us, appreciate you taking time. I thank the members of the diplomatic community who have joined us. I'm honored that you are here. I thank the survivors of the Holocaust who have graced us with your presence.

We meet at a time of sorrow for our nation. **Our flags fly at half-mast in memory of thirty two souls whose lives were taken at Virginia Tech on Monday morning.** That day we saw horror, but we also saw acts of quiet courage. We saw this courage in a teacher named Liviu Librescu. With the gunman set to enter his class, this brave professor blocked the door with his body while his students fled to safety. **On the Day of Remembrance, this Holocaust survivor gave his own life so that others might live.** And this morning we honor his memory, and we take strength from his example.

This is a place devoted to memory. **Inside this building are etched the words of the Prophet Isaiah, You are my witness. As part of this witness, these walls show how one of the world's most advanced nations embraced a policy aimed at the annihilation of the Jewish people.** These walls help restore the humanity of the millions who were loaded into trains and murdered by men who considered themselves cultured. **And these walls remind us that the Holocaust was not inevitable, it was allowed to gather strength and force only because of the world's weakness and appeasement in the face of evil.**

Today we call what happened genocide. But when the Holocaust started, this word did not yet exist. In a 1941 radio address, Churchill spoke of the horrors the Nazis were visiting on innocent civilians in Russia. He said, We are in the presence of a crime without a name. **It is an apt description of the evil that followed the swastika.** Mankind had long experience with savagery and slaughter before. Yet in places such as Auschwitz and Dachau and Buchenwald, the world saw something new and terrible, the state-sanctioned extermination of a people, carried out with a chilling industrial efficiency of a so-called modern nation.

Some may be tempted to ask, Why have a museum dedicated to such a dark subject? **The men and women who built this museum will tell you: Because evil is not just a chapter in history. it is a reality in the human heart.** So this museum serves as a living reminder of what happens when good and decent people avert their eyes from hatred and murder. It honors those who died by serving as the conscience for those who live. And it reminds us that the words never again do not refer to the past, they refer to the future.

You who are survivors know why the Holocaust must be taught to every generation. You who lost your families to the gas chambers of Europe watch as Jewish cemeteries and synagogues across that continent are defaced and defiled. You who bear the tattoos of death camps hear the leader of Iran declare that the Holocaust is a "myth." You who have found refuge in a Jewish homeland know that tyrants and terrorists have vowed to wipe it from the map. **And you who have survived evil know that the only way to defeat it is to look it in the face, and not back down.**

It is evil we are now seeing in Sudan, and we're not going to back down. For twenty two years, Sudan was plagued by a civil war between the north and south that claimed more than two million lives. That war came to an end in January 2005, when Sudan's government and rebels in the south signed a comprehensive peace agreement that the United States helped to broker. Under this historic accord, Sudan established a Government of National Unity that includes a First Vice President and other cabinet members from the country's south. It also established a government for Southern Sudan that the United States is providing with aid and other assistance.

Unfortunately, just as peace was coming to the south, another conflict broke out in the west, where rebel groups in Darfur attacked government outposts. To fight this rebellion, the government in Khartoum unleashed a horse-mounted militia called the Janjaweed, which carried out systematic assaults against innocent civilians.

The human toll has been staggering. More than two hundred thousand people have died from the conflict, or from the malnutrition and disease that have spread in its wake. And more than two million people have been forced from their homes and villages into camps both inside and outside their country.

Ending the violence in Darfur requires better security for the people of Darfur, it requires progress toward political reconciliation. Today, more than seven thousand African Union troops have been deployed to Darfur and they serve courageously. But the problem is the area they patrol is the size of Texas, seven thousand people is not enough to provide the security the people of Darfur need. Ultimately the violence will continue until Sudan's government and the rebel groups reach a political settlement that includes traditional community leaders, representatives of civil society, and African and Arab tribes in the region.

This museum cannot stop the violence. But through your good work, you're making it impossible for the world to turn a blind eye. Earlier I saw an exhibit that puts faces on the millions of men, women, and children who have been killed or driven into the desert. I also saw an interesting new venture that you've arranged with Google Earth. **As a result of this partnership, millions of Internet users around the world will be able to zoom in and see satellite images of the burnt-out villages and mosques and schools.** No one who sees these pictures can doubt that genocide is the only word for what is happening in Darfur, and that we have a moral obligation to stop it.

The United States is helping to lead this effort. Last May, I announced an agreement for Darfur that we helped broker between the Sudanese government and the largest rebel group. It's a positive agreement. It gave us some sense of optimism that we could help stop the genocide. Under this agreement, Sudan's government promised to disarm the Janjaweed and punish all those who violate the cease-fire. The main rebel group agreed to withdraw into specified areas.

In August, the United Nations followed up this agreement with a new Security Council resolution. This resolution authorized the United Nations Mission in Sudan to extend its forces to Darfur, and to transform the existing African Union forces into a larger, better equipped United Nations peacekeeping mission. The United Nations recognized there were not enough forces in Darfur to bring security and peace.

In November, the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, the Arab League, the government of Sudan, the United States, and twelve other nations reached another important agreement at a meeting in Addis Ababa. This agreement strengthened the terms of the cease-fire, it re-energized the political process and called for a joint United Nations-African Union peacekeeping force to go into action, a force that would be nearly three times the size of the existing AU force.

These are all good agreements. They represent a clear plan to end the conflict. And if implemented, they would allow the people of Darfur to return home to their villages safely, and begin to rebuild their lives in peace.

Unfortunately, these agreements have been routinely violated. Sudan's government has moved arms to Darfur, conducted bombing raids on villages, they've used military vehicles and aircraft that are painted white, which makes them look like those deployed by humanitarian agencies and peacekeeping forces.

Many rebel groups have also pursued violence instead of peace. The groups who have not signed onto last May's peace accord have splintered, and they're roaming the Darfur countryside pillaging and stealing at will. They have killed civilians, they've plundered vehicles and plundered supplies from international aid workers, they've added to the lawlessness. The government in Khartoum has been unable to control the problem, and they made it even worse last fall with a failed military campaign designed to crush the groups.

While there is now a temporary lull in the fighting between the government and militias and rebel groups, millions of displaced people remain highly vulnerable to attack. The increased lawlessness and instability has made it difficult for aid workers to deliver relief to those who need it, some organizations have been forced to evacuate their staff for safety reasons. Once again, the consequences are being borne by defenseless men, women and children. That is the story being told here at the Holocaust Museum, and I appreciate what you're doing.

The brutal treatment of innocent civilians in Darfur is unacceptable, it is unacceptable to me, it is unacceptable to Americans, it's unacceptable to the United Nations, at least, that's what they've said. This status quo must not continue.

Just this week, Sudan's government reached an agreement with the United Nations to allow three thousand United Nations troops and their equipment into the country to support the African Union force. The world has heard these promises from Sudan before. President Bashir's record has been to promise cooperation while finding new ways to

subvert and obstruct the United Nation's efforts to bring peace to his country. The time for promises is over, President Bashir must act.

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, is now in discussions with President Bashir to get the government of Sudan to meet all its commitments. President Bashir should take the last chance by responding to the Secretary General's efforts, and to meet the just demands of the international community. He must follow through on the deployment of the United Nations support forces. He must allow the deployment of the full, joint United Nations-African Union peacekeeping force, and take every necessary step to facilitate its deployment. He must end support for the Janjaweed, he must reach out to the rebel leaders, and allow humanitarian aid to reach the people of Darfur. And he must stop his pattern of obstruction once and for all.

I have made a decision to allow the Secretary General more time to pursue his diplomacy. However, if President Bashir does not fulfill the steps I outlined above in a short period of time, my administration will take the following steps.

First, the Department of the Treasury will tighten United States economic sanctions on Sudan. This new effort will allow the United States to enforce more aggressively existing sanctions against Sudan's government, by blocking any of its dollar transactions within the United States financial system. As part of this effort, the Treasury Department will add twenty-nine companies owned or controlled by the government of Sudan to its list of Specially Designated Nationals. This designation will bar these companies from the United States financial system, and make it a crime for United States, American companies and individuals to willfully do business with them.

Second, we will also target sanctions against individuals responsible for the violence. These sanctions will isolate designated individuals by cutting them off from the United States financial system, preventing them from doing business with any American citizen or company, and calling the world's attention to their crimes.

Third, I will direct the Secretary of State to prepare a new United Nations Security Council resolution. This resolution will apply new sanctions against the government of Sudan, and against individuals found to be violating human rights or obstructing the peace process. It will impose an expanded embargo on arms sales to the government of Sudan. It will prohibit Sudan's government from conducting any offensive military flights over Darfur. It will strengthen our ability to monitor and report any violations. And in the next days, we will begin consulting with other Security Council members on the terms of such a resolution.

If Sudan's obstruction continues despite these measures, we will also consider other options. Last week, I sent Deputy Secretary of State Negroponte to the region. He informed Sudan's government and rebel groups that our patience is limited, that we care deeply about the human condition in Darfur, that it matters to the United States that people are suffering. I have spoken in the past about the need to end Sudan's use of military aircraft to attack innocent civilians. We're also are looking at what steps the

international community could take to deny Sudan's government the ability to fly its military aircraft over Darfur. And if we do not begin to see signs of good faith and commitments, we will hear calls for even sterner measures.

The situation doesn't have to come to that. I urge the United Nations Security Council and the African Union and all members of the international community to stand behind the Addis Ababa framework and reject efforts to obstruct its implementation. The world needs to act. If President Bashir does not meet his obligations to the United States of America, we'll act.

As we continue to pressure the government of Sudan to meet its commitments, we will continue our engagement in support of the people of Darfur. My administration is increasing support for the Transitional Darfur Regional Authority, it's an interim authority designed to help the people of Darfur improve local government and build foundations for a healthy economy. We are increasing support for Sudan's First Vice President and the United Nations and African Union special envoys, who are working to bring the rebel groups together and get them to sign on to the peace process.

We're continuing our humanitarian assistance to the people of Darfur. Since 2005, the United States has devoted more than two billion dollars to humanitarian relief and development, and I thank the American people for their generosity. We'll continue to bring relief to the people of Darfur. We'll continue to insist that rebel groups and the Sudanese government allow international workers to deliver this relief to the people who depend on it.

All of the people in this room and people in this country have a vital role to play. Everyone ought to raise their voice. We ought to continue to demand that the genocide in Sudan be stopped.

During my tour of the Darfur exhibits this morning, I was shown a photo of a one-year-old girl who had been shot as her mother fled the Janjaweed. Although the mother had tried to protect her baby, it was to no avail. When the photo was taken, an observer nearby began to shout, This is what they do! This is what happens here! Now you know! Now you see!

Thanks to the efforts of people in this room, the world knows and the world sees. And now the world must act.

Thank you.

- 11 sections extracted
- 2473 words post-extraction

“On the Day of Remembrance, this Holocaust survivor *gave his own life so that others might live* (italics mine).” Reference from 1 John 3:16

“Inside this building are etched the words of the Prophet Isaiah, You are my witness.” A reference to Isaiah 43:16

9. President Bush Discusses the Global War on Terror in Tipp City, Ohio April 19 2007

Thanks for coming. I'm honored you're here. Steve, thank you for the invitation. It's a real pleasure to be with you. What I thought I would do is share some thoughts with you about a couple of subjects, primarily Iraq, and then I'd like to answer some of your questions, on any topic you'd like to ask me about.

Before I do, I do want to thank Steve and the Chamber of Commerce for giving me a chance to dialogue with you, and hopefully giving the students here at this high school a chance to hear from the President firsthand. I know there are students who will be listening. My mission is to not only share with you what's on my mind, and why I have made some of the decisions I have made, but another mission is to convince you that serving the public, that public service is worthwhile, that you can go into politics or you can feed the hungry or you can serve in the military, and it's a fulfilling part of a person's life, and a necessary part, in my judgment, of a country that is a complete country.

So I want to thank the high school folks. I want to thank Chuck Wray, the Principal, for greeting me. I appreciate you letting me come to this center of learning. I particularly want to thank the teachers for teaching. There is no more noble profession than to be a teacher, and I'm honored to be in your midst.

I want to thank the Mayor, George Lovett, George L. Thank you, George, George W. I'm traveling today with the leader in the House for the Republican Party, John Boehner. John is a, I've found him to be a good, solid, honest person. I know he is providing strong leadership in the House of Representatives. And I know he cares a lot about this district. I've seen John work issues. I've heard him speak in depth about what he believes. And I appreciate his leadership, and I appreciate him joining me today.

I wish I was traveling here with Laura. The best thing about my family is my wife. She is a great First Lady. I know that sounds not very objective, but that's how I feel. And she's also patient. Putting up with me requires a lot of patience. But she sends her best, she's in New Orleans today.

And I will tell you, one reason, this may sound counterintuitive, but a good marriage is really good after serving together in Washington, D.C. It's been an amazing experience to be a husband and then a dad as President of the United States. I emphasize, that is the priority for me as the President. It's my faith, my family, and my country. And I am pleased to report that our family is doing great, particularly since my wife is such a fantastic person. And she sends her very best.

Let me say something about Virginia Tech, and I want to first thank Steve for the moment of silence. You know, it's a, there is, the President spends time at disasters. Part

of the job of the presidency is to help people heal from hurt. And the amazing thing is, though, when you go down to a scene like Virginia Tech, you can't help but be buoyed by the spirit that out of the tragedy comes a certain sense of resolve.

One of the things I try to assure the families and the students and the faculty of that fine university was that there are a lot of people around our country who are praying for them. It's interesting here in Tipp City, the first thing that happened was a moment of silence, a moment of prayer, to provide, at least my prayer was, please comfort and strengthen those whose lives were affected by this horrible incident. It really speaks to the strength of this country, doesn't it, that total strangers here in Ohio are willing to hold up people in Virginia in prayer. And I thank you for that. And my message to the folks who still hurt in -- at Virginia Tech is that a lot of people care about you, and a lot of people think about you, a lot of people grieve with you, and a lot of people hope you find sustenance in a power higher than yourself. And a lot of us believe you will.

My job is a job to make decisions. I'm a decision, if the job description were, what do you do, it's decision-maker. And I make a lot of big ones, and I make a lot of little ones. Interestingly enough, the first decision I made happened right before I got sworn in as President. I was at the Blair House, which is across the street from the White House, getting ready to give my inaugural address. And the phone rang, and the head usher at the White House said, President-elect Bush. I said, Yes. He said, What color rug do you want in the Oval Office? I said, this is going to be a decision-making experience.

The first lesson about decision-making is, if you're short on a subject, ask for help. So if you're a student listening and you're not very good at math, ask for help. Don't be afraid to admit that you need help when it comes to life. I wasn't afraid to admit I wasn't sure how to design a rug, so I called Laura. I said, they've asked me to design a rug in the Oval Office, I don't know anything about rug designing, will you help me? She said, of course. But I said, I want it to say something, the President has got to be a strategic thinker and I said to her, make sure the rug says optimistic person comes to work. Because you can't make decisions unless you're optimistic that the decisions you make will lead to a better tomorrow.

And so, if you were to come in the Oval Office, what you would see is this fantastic rug that looks like the sun. And it just sets the tone for the Oval Office.

I share that with you because I make a lot of decisions, and I'm optimistic that the decisions I have made will yield a better tomorrow. The hardest decision you make is whether or not to commit troops into combat, people like this young man, people who served our country with great distinction, people who volunteer to say, I want to serve the United States. The hardest decision a President makes is to ask those men and women to go into harm's way.

My decision making was deeply affected by the attack of September the eleventh, 2001. It was a, it was a moment that defined a dangerous world to me with absolute clarity. I

realized then that this country was no longer invulnerable to attack from what may be happening overseas.

I realized that there is an enemy of the United States that is active and is lethal. At further study of that enemy, I realized that they share an ideology, that these weren't, that the, and when you really think about it, the September the eleventh attack was not the first attack. There was a 1993 World Trade Center attack, there was attacks on our embassies in East Africa, there was an attack on the USS Cole, there have been other attacks on U.S. citizens, and that these attacks were instigated and carried out by cold-blooded killers who have a belief system. They are threatened by free societies. They can't stand the thought of freedom being the prevailing attitude in the world because their view is, if you don't believe in what I believe in, you probably shouldn't be around.

This enemy is smart, capable, and unpredictable. They have defined a war on the United States, and I believe we're at war. I believe the attack on America made it clear that we're at war. I wish that wasn't the case. Nobody ought to ever hope to be a war President, or a presidency, a President during war.

But that's how I see the world. And I made a vow that I would do everything I could, and work with members of Congress to do everything they could, to protect the United States. It is the most solemn duty of our country, is to protect our country from harm.

A lesson learned was that, at least in my opinion, that in order to protect us, we must aggressively pursue the enemy and defeat them elsewhere so we don't have to face them here. In other words, if what happens overseas matters to the United States, therefore, the best way to protect us is to deal with threats overseas. In other words, we just can't let a threat idle, we can't hope that a threat doesn't come home to hurt us. A lesson of that terrible day was, threats overseas can come home to hurt us. And so the fundamental question, and this has led to constructive debate, it's, what do you do about it?

I've chosen a path that says we will go overseas and defeat them there. I also know full well that it's important for us if we're facing an ideology, if we're facing ideologues, if we're confronting people who believe something, that we have got to defeat their belief system with a better belief system. Forms of government matter, in my opinion. It matters how, the nature of the government in which people live. And therefore, I have put as part of our foreign policy not only an aggressive plan to find extremists and radicals and bring them to justice before they hurt us, but also to help people live in liberty, free societies, as the great alternative to people living under a tyrant, for example.

And so my decision making was based upon those principles. And now we're involved in, I call it a global war against terror. You can't call it a global war against extremists, a global war against radicals, a global war against people who want to hurt America, you can call it whatever you want, but it is a global effort. And by the way, the United States is not alone in this effort. We're helping lead an effort. And the major battlefield in this global war is Iraq. And I want to spend some time talking about Iraq.

Living under a tyrant must be just brutal, and living under the reign of Saddam Hussein was incredibly brutal. A lot of innocent people were killed, a lot of people were cowed by the state. There really wasn't much in terms of a civil structure that would enable people to have a form of a representative government. People were kept apart through violence, in many ways. People were pitted against each other. A lot of people were given favored treatment.

The decision to remove Saddam Hussein was a difficult decision, I think a necessary decision. If you want to talk about that later on, we can. And what has happened since then is that we are trying to help a young democracy survive in the heart of the Middle East, and at the same time prevent our stated enemies from establishing safe haven from which to attack us again.

Now I say that, preventing our enemies from establishing a safe haven from which to attack us again, because that is their stated objective in Iraq. That's what al Qaeda says. Al Qaeda is the same group of folks that attacked us on September the eleventh. They have said their objective is to drive the United States out of Iraq in order to establish safe haven. And why would they need safe haven? They would need safe haven from which to plot and plan and train to attack again. They have an objective, and that is to spread their ideology throughout the Middle East. That is what they have stated. That's their objectives.

Our objective is to deny them safe haven, is to prevent al Qaeda from being able to do in Iraq that which they did in Afghanistan, which is where they trained thousands of young men to come and kill, to eventually kill innocent people.

Our objective also is to help a young democracy flourish in a part of the world that desperately needs liberty, in a part of the world where government, forms of government will provide hope so as eventually to discourage the type of mentality that says nineteen kids should get on airplanes and kill three thousand people.

And it's incredibly hard work, but I have come to the conclusion, obviously, that it's necessary work. It's necessary work for peace.

In 2005, the Iraqi people went to the polls, twelve million voted. I view that as a statement that says, by the way, I wasn't surprised that twelve million people, if given a chance to vote, voted. I was pleased, but I wasn't surprised. And the reason I wasn't surprised is because I believe in this principle: I believe liberty is universal. I don't believe freedom is just confined to America. I think there is a universal principle that all people desire and want and should be free, that it's not just an American ideal, it is universal.

I think back, for example, right after World War two, people might have argued after fighting the Japanese that they don't want to be free, they're the enemy, they killed a lot of people, they attacked the United States, why should we work to help them be free?

Except those people were, didn't quite understand not only do people want to be free, that when free societies emerge they're more likely to yield the peace.

And so it's a, this country began to evolve, and it started with elections. It's easy to forget the elections because of all the violence. In 2006, I was convinced that we would be able to reposition our troops and have fewer troops in Iraq because the Iraqis want to take on the security themselves. This is a sovereign government. People got elected. They want to be, showing the people of Iraq that they can run their own government. I don't know if you get that sense on your TV screens or not, but I certainly get that sense when I talk to the Prime Minister, with whom I speak quite frequently.

And yet they, and yet, the enemy, and the enemy, when I say, enemy, these are enemies of free societies, primarily al Qaeda inspired, blew up the great religious shrine in 2006, a year ago, all aiming to create a sense of sectarian violence, all aiming to exacerbate the religious tensions that sometimes were exacerbated under Saddam Hussein, all aiming at preventing this young democracy from succeeding. And they succeeded. The enemy succeeded in causing there to be sectarian strife. In other words, the government wasn't ready to provide security. People started taking matters into their own hands. I'm going to protect myself, or I'm going to rely upon somebody else to protect me, they would say.

So I have a decision point to make, last fall. And the decision point was whether or not to either scale back or increase our presence in Iraq. And that was a difficult decision. It's difficult any time, as I told you, you put a soldier in harm's way. I understand the consequence of committing people into war. The interesting thing is I'm the Commander-in-Chief of an incredibly amazing group of men and women who also understand that consequence, and yet are willing to volunteer.

The question was, do we increase our, I call it, reinforce, you can call it, surge, there's all kind of words for it, or do we pull back? As you know, I made a decision to reinforce. And I did because I believe the Iraqis want to have a peaceful society. I believe Iraqi mothers want their children to grow up in peace, just like American mothers do. I think, if given a chance, that society can emerge into a free society. I felt strongly that if violence erupted, sectarian violence erupted in the capital, it would make it impossible to achieve the objective, and that is to help this free society. Listen, there are, or let it emerge into a free society.

And the goal is a country that is stable enough for the government to work, that can defend itself and serve as an ally in this war on terror, that won't be a safe haven, that will deny the extremists and the radicals. I happen to think there will be an additional dividend when we succeed, remember the rug? I'm optimistic we can succeed. I wouldn't ask families to have their troops there if I didn't think, one, it was necessary, and two, we can succeed. I believe we're going to succeed. And I believe success will embolden other moderate people that said, we're going to reject extremists and radicals in their midst.

There's a good group of people in Washington, fair, decent, honorable people, and by the way, in this political discourse, we should never question anybody's patriotism if they don't happen to agree with the President. That's not the American way. The American way is we ought to have a honest and open dialogue. There are good people, patriotic people who didn't believe that additional troops would make that big a difference, and therefore, we should not increase, but in some cases, pull out, in some cases, pull back. Either case, having weighed the options, I didn't think it was viable, and I didn't think it would work.

A couple of points I want to make, and then I promise to stop talking and answer your questions. People often ask me, what are we seeing on TV? What's happening with the violence? Here's my best analysis: One, the spectaculars you see are al Qaeda inspired. They claim credit for a lot of the big bombings. **The bombing of the parliament was al Qaeda, the bombing of the Golden Samarra was al Qaeda. These are the Sunni extremists inspired by Osama bin Laden who attacked the United States.** I keep repeating that because I want you to understand what matters overseas, in my judgment, affects the security of the United States of America in this new era.

Their objective is twofold: One, shake the confidence of the average Iraqi that their government is incapable of providing security, and therefore, people will turn to militias in order to protect themselves. Their second objective is to shake our confidence. It's an interesting war, isn't it, where asymmetrical warfare is, and that means people being able to use suicide bombers, not only, obviously, kills a lot of innocent people, like which happened yesterday in Iraq, but also helps define whether or not we're successful.

If the definition of success in Iraq or anywhere is no suicide bombers, we'll never be successful. We will have handed al Qaeda that's what it takes in order to determine whether or not these young democracies, for example, can survive. Think about that, if our definition is no more suiciders, you've just basically said to the suiciders, go ahead.

Iran is influential inside of Iraq. They are influential by providing advanced weaponry. They are influential by dealing with some militias, tend to be Shia militias, all aiming to create discomfort, all aiming to kind of, according to some, to create enough discomfort for the United States, but in doing so, they're making it harder for this young democracy to emerge. Isn't it interesting, when you really take a step back and think about what I just said, that al Qaeda is making serious moves in Iraq, as is surrogates for Iran.

Two of the biggest issues we face for the security of this country today and tomorrow is al Qaeda and Iran. And yet their influence is being played out in Iraq. I believe that if we were to leave before this country had an opportunity to stabilize, to grow, and by the way, I fully understand and completely agree with those who say, this is not just a military mission alone. That is too much to ask our military to be able to achieve objectives without there being a corresponding political avenue, political strategy being fulfilled by the Iraqis. I fully expect them to reconcile. I fully expect them, and I made it clear to the Prime Minister, that they should pass different de-Baathification law, that they ought to

have local elections, that they ought to share their oil wells so that people feel a common, you know, a common bound to something bigger than provincialism.

They have to do work. They know they have to do work. I told that to Prime Minister Maliki this week on a secure video: You have an obligation to your people, and to our people, for that matter, to do the hard work necessary, to show people that you're capable of getting your government to move forward with political reconciliation. There has to be reconstruction money spent, their reconstruction money. They've dedicated ten billion dollars out of their budget, and now they've got to spend that money wisely to show people that the government can be for all the people.

But if we were to leave before that were to happen, I will share a scenario that I'm fearful of. One, that the very radicals and extremists who attack us would be emboldened. It would confirm their sense that the United States is incapable of long-term commitments, incapable of, it would confirm their commitment that they think we're soft, let me put it to you that way. That's what they think.

I didn't necessarily mean that the United States has to kind of muscle up for the sake of muscling up. That's not what I'm trying to say. But I do believe it is risky to have an enemy that has attacked us before to not take the United States seriously for the long run.

Secondly, there would be a violence, level of violence that would spill out beyond just the capital, could spill out beyond Iraq. And then you would have ancient feuds fueled by extremists and radicals competing for power, radical Shia, radical extreme Sunnis, all competing for power. They would happen to share two enemies, one, the United States and Israel, for starters, and every other moderate person in the Middle East.

Imagine a scenario where the oil wealth of certain countries became controlled, came under the control of a radical, extremist group. And then all of a sudden you'd be dealing not only with safe haven for potential violent attack, you'd be dealing with the economic consequences of people who didn't share the values of the West, for example.

Iran wants to, they've stated they'd like to have, let me just say, we believe they would like to have a nuclear weapon. Part of our diplomacy is to prevent them from doing so. If the United States were to leave a chaotic Iraq, not only would the vacuum of our failure there to help this young government enable extremists to move more freely and embolden them, but I also believe it would, it could cause the Middle East to enter into a nuclear arms race.

The scenario I'm beginning to describe to you I believe is a real scenario, a real possibility for a scenario, and I believe if this were to happen, people would look back thirty years from now, or twenty years from now, and say, what happened to them in 2007, how come they couldn't see the threat?

And so I want to share that with you, these thoughts with you, because as a person whose job it is to make decisions, you've got to understand that I'm making them on what I believe is solid ground. These are necessary decisions for the country.

We're having an interesting debate in Washington. John and I spent some time talking about it, and that is, this supplemental funding. I sent up a request to make sure our troops had the money necessary to do the missions that they have been asked to do. I want to share a couple thoughts with you on that, and then I'll answer some questions.

First, I think it's a mistake, and I've made it clear, that the Congress should not have artificial timetables for withdrawal in a funding statement. I'll tell you why. Thank you. The reason why is, if you're a young commander on the ground, or an Iraqi soldier, and you've been tasked with a mission to help provide security for a city, and an enemy hears that you're leaving soon, it affects your capacity to do your job. It sends a signal to a dangerous part of the world that it's just a matter of time things will happen.

I think it's a mistake for Congress to tell the military how to do its job. We've got fantastic generals and colonels and captains who are trained to carry on military missions, that's their responsibility. And it's very important that they be given the resources and the flexibility necessary to carry out that which the Commander-in-Chief has asked them to do.

I fully understand the debate, and again I repeat to you, it's an important debate. I would hope it would be conducted with civil tone to bring honor to the process. Sometimes it gets a little out of hand there in Washington, I admit. But my message to the Congress has been, don't put our troops in between the debate, let's get them the money, let's get the commanders the flexibility, and we can debate Iraq policy without shorting the capacity for these troops to do their jobs.

These are, I would call these times consequential times. I believe we're in a long, ideological struggle. And I believe the struggle will determine whether or not this country is secure. People ask me, you know, I've been reading a lot of history. People ask me, can you think of any historical parallels? Well, clearly the Cold War is an interesting parallel. There's a, by the way, every new phase of history has its own unique features to it. For example, you've got a kid in the battlefield and he's emailing home every day. Or, four-hour news cycles. There's a lot of, asymmetrical warfare, or fifty dollar weapons are sometimes used to defeat expensive vehicles. In other words, these are different times.

But there are some parallels. One is, of course, the ideological standoff during the Cold War, eventually won by freedom, the forces of freedom. For some, that sounds maybe corny. But it's true. It's an historical truth. And in my judgment, it requires people to have faith in that universal principle of liberty.

I like to remind people that my dad was a eighteen-year-old kid when he signed up to, for the United States Navy in World War two, and went off to combat in a really bloody war. And yet, his son becomes the President, and one of his best friends in the international

scene was the Prime Minister of Japan. Prime Minister Koizumi was a partner in peace. Isn't it interesting? I think there's a historical lesson there, that liberty has got the capacity to transform enemies to allies.

I think there's a lesson in Korea. I think if you were to ask somebody to predict in 1953 what the world would look like in the Far East, I don't think they would have said, China would have a marketplace that was growing, Korea would be our sixth largest trading partner, I think it's the sixth largest trading partner, but certainly a partner in peace. And Japan would have been an ally, a strong ally that would have committed troops to the young democracy of Iraq, to help this democracy. I don't think people would have predicted that, but, in fact, it happened. It happened because the United States provided enough stability so that societies were able to evolve toward free societies, or freer societies.

We've got, we face this, we face a unique set of challenges, but I think we can learn something from history when we think about those challenges. I guess my conclusion is, I believe the decisions I have made were not only necessary to protect the country, but are laying a foundation of peace, the beginnings of laying that foundation of peace, so that generations will look back and say, thank goodness, thank goodness, America didn't lose sight of basic principles, and thank goodness, America stayed true to her beliefs, and thank goodness, America led.

So thanks for letting me share some thoughts with you. And now I'll be glad to answer some questions.

- 8 sections extracted
- 4572 words post-extraction

10. President Bush Visits East Grand Rapids, Discusses Global War on Terror April 20 2007

Thank you all very much. I'm glad to be back in Grand Rapids. I appreciate the opportunity to address the World Affairs Council of Western Michigan. I was leaving the White House today, Laura said, where are you headed? I said, to the West Coast. She said, make sure you take your suntan lotion. I said, the West Coast of Michigan and I'm glad to be with you.

You can't help but think about Gerald Ford when you come to Grand Rapids, Michigan. You know, our country was blessed to have such a decent, honorable, kind, courageous leader in Gerald R. Ford, and we miss him a lot.

I appreciate Dixie Anderson, who is the Executive Director of the World Affairs Council of Western Michigan. I thank Barbara Propes who is the President of the World Affairs

Council of America. I want to thank Ping Liang, President, Board of Directors of the World Affairs Council of Western Michigan, and a fellow Yale Bulldog.

I appreciate my friend, Ambassador Pete Secchia for joining us today. He was the Ambassador to Italy under forty-one. I appreciate Sara Shubel, who is the Superintendent of the East Grand Rapids Public Schools. Thank you very much for allowing me to come to this beautiful auditorium here in East Grand Rapids High School. I appreciate Jenny Fee, the Associate Principal, as well as Larry Fisher. My purpose of coming is to instruct, is to talk about the issues that our world is facing, particularly the issue of Iraq. And I appreciate the chance to come to this high school to do so.

I thank Congressman Vern Ehlers, congressman from this district. I appreciate you being here, Vern, and thank you for joining me and Congressman Pete Hoekstra on Air Force One. It's probably quite convenient for you to fly from Washington on Air Force One. Glad to provide the transportation. Both these men are really honorable folks who serve Western Michigan well in Congress, and I want to thank you for your service.

I thank the Michigan Attorney General, Michael Cox, for joining us. Mike, thanks for coming today. Michigan Secretary of State Terri Lynn Land. She heard this was a foreign policy speech. I appreciate Cindy Bartman, City of East Grand Rapids, Mayor George Heartwell, City of Grand Rapids. Thank you all for serving. I appreciate your willingness to become public servants. One of the messages I hope that I can convey to the high school students who are here, no matter what your political beliefs may be, that it's important to serve. It's important to serve the community in which you live. And you can do so all kinds of ways. You can run for mayor at some point in time, or you can feed the hungry. But service is noble, and service is necessary. I see we've got some who wear the uniform of the United States military. In this day and age, that's the ultimate service, as far as I'm concerned, and I appreciate you volunteering.

For more than a half century, the World Affairs Council of Western Michigan has been a forum for lively and important debate. I understand this council was set up in 1949. It's been an important forum for people to talk about the big questions facing our country. There is no bigger question than what course our nation should pursue in Iraq, and that's what I'm here to talk about.

Three months ago, my administration completed an extensive review of that very question. I ordered major changes to our strategy in Iraq. And to lead this new strategy, I named General David Petraeus, an expert who wrote the Army's new manual on counterinsurgency warfare.

This new strategy is fundamentally different from the previous strategy. It recognizes that our top priority must be to help Iraq's elected leaders secure their population, especially in Baghdad, because Iraqis will not be able to make the political and economic progress they need until they have a basic measure of security. Iraq's leaders are committed to providing that security, but at this point, they cannot do it on their own.

And so I ordered American reinforcements to help Iraqis secure their population, to go after the terrorists and insurgents that are inciting sectarian violence, and to get their capital under control. As our troops take on this mission, they will continue to train and mentor the Iraqi security forces for the day they can take full responsibility for the security of their own country.

General Petraeus has been carrying out this new strategy for just over two months. He reports that it will be later this year before we can judge the potential of success. Yet the first indicators are beginning to emerge, and they show that so far, the operation is meeting expectations. There are still horrific attacks in Iraq, such as the bombings in Baghdad on Wednesday, but the direction of the fight is beginning to shift.

In the coming months, I'll deliver regular updates on our operations. Today, I want to share some details about how this effort is unfolding in three areas, Baghdad, Anbar province, and the outskirts of Baghdad where terrorists and extremists are making a stand.

The most significant element of our new strategy is being carried out in Baghdad. Baghdad has been the site of most of the sectarian violence, it is the destination for most of our reinforcements. So far, three additional American brigades totaling about twelve thousand troops have reached the Baghdad area, another brigade is in Kuwait preparing to deploy, and one more will arrive in Kuwait next month. The Iraqi government is also meeting its pledge to boost its force levels in the city. For every American combat soldier deployed to Baghdad, there are now about three Iraqi security forces, giving us a combined total of nearly eighty thousand combat forces in the Baghdad area.

My point is, is that the American combat forces are not alone in the effort to secure the nation's capital. And just as important as the growing number of troops is their changing position in the city. I direct your attention to a map showing our troop presence around Baghdad late last year. This is how we were positioned. Most troops were at bases on the outskirts of the city. They would move into Baghdad to clear out neighborhoods during the day, and then they would return to their bases at night. The problem was that when our troops moved back to the bases, the extremists, the radicals, the killers moved back to the neighborhoods.

And we're changing. Part of our strategy change, part of the new mission in Baghdad is for American troops to live and work side by side with Iraqi forces at small neighborhood posts called joint security stations. You can see from this map, there are now more than two dozen joint security stations located throughout Baghdad, more are planned. From these stations, Iraqi and American forces work together to clear out and then secure neighborhoods, all aimed at providing security for the people of Baghdad. If a heavy fight breaks out, our forces will step in, and Iraqi forces learn valuable skills from American troops, they'll fight shoulder to shoulder with the finest military every assembled.

By living in Baghdad neighborhoods, American forces get to know the culture and concerns of local residents. Equally important, the local residents get to know them.

When Iraqi civilians see a large presence of professional soldiers and police patrolling their streets, they grow in confidence and trust. They become less likely to turn to militias for protection. People want security in their lives, and they tend to turn to the most apparently effective security force. And as people gain confidence in the ability of the Iraqi troops, along with the United States to provide security, they begin to cooperate. In fact, Iraqi and American forces have received more tips in the past three months than during any three-month period on record. These are tips provided by local citizens about where to find terrorists and insurgents.

Most people, the vast majority of people want to live in peace. Iraqi mothers want their children to grow up in peace. And if given the opportunity and given the confidence, civilians turn in the terrorists and extremists and murderers to help achieve that peace.

This new approach to securing Baghdad brings risks. When I announced the new operation, I cautioned that more troops conducting more operations in more neighborhoods would likely to bring more casualties. Since the security operation began, we have seen some of the highest casualty levels of the war. And as the number of troops in Baghdad grows and operations move into even more dangerous neighborhoods, we can expect the pattern to continue.

We must also expect the terrorists and insurgents to continue mounting terrible attacks. Here is a photo of the destruction caused by a car bomb at a bus stop in Baghdad on Wednesday. The victims of this attack were innocent men and women, who were simply coming home from work. Yet this was hardly a random act of murder. It has all the hallmarks of an al Qaeda attack. The terrorists bombed the buses at rush hour, with the specific intent to kill as many people as possible. This has been long a pattern of al Qaeda in Iraq, this is what they do. They carried out the spectacular attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad. They bombed the Jordanian embassy in Iraq. **They claimed credit for the bombing of the Golden Mosque of Samarra.** Just last week, they sent a suicide bomber to attack the Iraqi parliament building.

Al Qaeda believes that its best chance to achieve its objectives, which is to drive the United States out of Iraq and prevent the emergence of a free society in the Middle East, is to defeat the security operation by conducting spectacular attacks that provoke Iraqis into taking violence into their own hands, and lead Americans to conclude that the sectarian killing will never be contained. This strategy is merciless, but it is not without logic. **It's important for all Iraqis, Sunnis and Shia alike, to understand that al Qaeda is the greatest threat to peace in their country.** And the question is whether we and the Iraqis will give in, and to respond the way al Qaeda wants. Because of the lessons of September the eleventh, the answer is the United States government will not give in to what al Qaeda wants, and the Iraqis must not give in to al Qaeda if they want to have a peaceful society.

The nature of a strategy aimed at securing the population is that the most important gains are often the least dramatic. Day by day, block by block, Iraqi and American forces are making incremental gains in Baghdad. Thanks to more troops on the streets and more

cooperation from residents, the average number of weapons stockpiles seized each week has jumped fifty percent since the beginning of the new strategy. American and Iraqi forces tracked down and captured the leaders of a major car bomb ring. We found and cleared a warehouse where terrorists were storing chemicals to make weapons. We captured members of a death squad that had terrorized hundreds of residents in a Baghdad neighborhood. As a result, displaced families are beginning to return home. And the number of sectarian murders in Baghdad has dropped by half since the operation began.

The results of the security operation are uneven across the city. In some areas, there have been sharp declines in sectarian killing, while in other areas, the level of violence is still far too high. Yet even in volatile districts like Sadr City, our new approach is beginning to make a difference. A report last month in the Grand Rapids Press quoted an Iraqi resident of Sadr City. Perhaps you read it. If you didn't, here's what it said, They thanked us, they're talking about our forces and Iraqi forces, They thanked us with respect and a smile. This resident said, I'm happy that such a campaign is done in my neighborhood. People want security and they want to live in peace.

Developments like these are not as spectacular as a terrorist bomb. When a family decides to stop depending on militias to protect them, or a young man rejects insurgency and joins the Iraqi army, it doesn't usually make the evening news. Yet small, individual choices like these are vital to the success of our campaign. They show that despite all the violence, the vast majority of Iraqis want security, they want to live in peace. I know I've said that more than once, it's important for our citizens to understand that people around the world are anxious for peace, and, yet, there are extremists and radicals and murderers who will do anything they can to prevent it from happening.

The Iraqi security forces are growing in maturity and gaining trust, and that's important. Our men and women in uniform are showing great courage and skill, and that's important to the Iraqi people, as well.

Another significant element of our new strategy is being carried out in Anbar province, a largely Sunni area west of Baghdad. For much of the past four years, Anbar has been a hotbed for insurgents and al Qaeda terrorists. **Remember, al Qaeda is Sunni in nature.** According to a captured al Qaeda document, according to what al Qaeda has made clear, their goal is to take over the Anbar province and make it their home base for Iraq. **That would bring them closer to their stated objective of taking down Iraq's democracy, building a radical Islamic empire, and having safe haven from which to launch attacks on the United States citizens here at home or abroad.** That is what al Qaeda has stated, that is their objective. And Anbar province is where they're trying to achieve their objective. Al Qaeda has pursued this goal through a ruthless campaign of violence, and they grew in power. They were succeeding.

And then something began to change. **The people of Anbar began to realize their life was not the paradise al Qaeda promised, as a matter of fact, it was a nightmare. So courageous tribal sheiks launched a movement called The Awakening and began**

cooperating with American and Iraqi forces. The sheiks and their followers knew exactly who the terrorists were, and they began providing highly specific intelligence. To help capitalize on this opportunity, I sent more troops into Anbar province. Alongside the Iraqi army and police, United States Marines and Special Operations Forces have been striking terrible blows against al Qaeda.

The maps show the dramatic changes taking place in Ramadi, which happens to be the capital of Anbar province. The red-shaded areas in the first map show the concentration of al Qaeda terrorists in the city two months ago. The second map shows the concentration of the terrorists now. Their presence has declined substantially. Here is how one reporter described the change, A year ago, Ramadi's police force had virtually been wiped out, leaving only a couple dozen officers and a lawless city with nowhere to turn for help. Now, guerrilla fighters have begun to disappear, schools and shops have reopened, and civilians have begun walking in previously deserted streets.

Anbar province is still not safe. Al Qaeda has responded to these changes with sickening brutality. **They have bombed fellow Sunnis in prayer at a mosque, they send death squads into neighborhoods, they have recruited children as young as twelve years old to help carry out suicide attacks. But this time, local Sunnis are refusing to be intimidated.** With the encouragement of their tribal leaders, they're stepping forward to protect their families and drive out the terrorists. They're stepping forward to prevent al Qaeda, the people who attacked us on September the eleventh, 2001, from establishing safe haven in Anbar province. And I believe strongly it's in the interest of the United States of America to help them.

General Petraeus said earlier this month, in the latest recruiting effort, which used to draw minimal numbers of Iraqis willing to serve in the Iraqi army or the Iraqi police in Anbar province, there were over two thousand volunteers for the latest training. **General Petraeus went on, Frankly, it's a stunning development and reflects the frustration the Sunni Arab tribes have with what al Qaeda has done to them.** It has really had a devastating effect. If given a chance, most people will reject extremists and radicals and murderers.

The United States will help Sunni sheiks and will help their people. We will stay on the offense in Anbar province. We and the Iraqi government are carrying out our new strategy in Baghdad and Anbar, as well as the Baghdad belts, these are areas on the outskirts of the capital that have been staging grounds for deadly attacks. I have discussed the capital city with you, I discussed a western province with you, and I'm now going to talk about the belts around the capital city of Iraq.

We have moved an additional Stryker battalion to Diyala province, which is northeast of Baghdad, where our soldiers and Iraqi forces are conducting raids against al Qaeda and insurgents. **We have sent reinforcements to Diwaniyah province, Diwaniyah, a city of Diwaniyah, which is eighty miles south of Baghdad, where we're working with Iraqi forces to route out militia and Shia extremists.**

In these and other parts of the Baghdad belts, Iraqi and American forces are fighting to clear and hold territory that the enemies of a free society considered their own. They're fighting back. As a result, violence is increasing. And as our forces move deeper into the territory, the violence could increase even more. Yet these operations are having an important impact on this young democracy. They're keeping the pressure on the terrorists and insurgents who have fled Anbar and Baghdad. They're helping cut off the supply of weapons and fighters to violent groups inside the capital. They're showing Iraqi citizens across the country there will be no sanctuary for killers anywhere in a free Iraq.

All of these military operations are designed to improve security for everyday folks. They're designed to reduce sectarian violence. And they're designed to open up breathing space for political progress by Iraq's government.

It may seem like decades ago, but it wasn't all that long ago that twelve million Iraqi citizens voted for a free and democratic future for their country. And the government they elected is in place, it hasn't been in place a year yet, and they're working hard to make progress on some key benchmarks, progress to help this country reconcile and unite after years of tyrannical and brutal rule.

The Iraqi legislature passed a budget that commits ten billion dollars of their money for reconstruction projects, and now the government must spend that money to improve the lives of Iraqi citizens. The Council of Ministers recently approved legislation that would provide a framework for an equitable sharing of oil resources, and now that legislation needs to go before their parliament for approval. The government has formed a committee to organize provincial elections, and the next step is to set a date for those elections to be held.

Iraqi leaders are taking steps toward agreement on a de-Baathification law that will allow more Iraqis to re-enter their nation's civic life, and they need to agree on that measure and send it to parliament. Prime Minister Maliki is working to build greater support from Iraq's neighbors and the international community. I just talked to him the other day on secure video, I was in the White House and he was in Baghdad, and we talked about this neighborhood conference, an opportunity to rally the international community to help support this young democracy's efforts to thrive and prosper. And at the conference in Egypt next month, he, along with Secretary Rice and other concerned leaders, will seek increased diplomatic and financial commitments for this country.

Iraq's leaders have begun meeting their benchmarks, and they've got a lot left to do. As more breathing space is created by reducing the sectarian violence, Iraq's leaders have got to take advantage of that breathing space. I have made it abundantly clear to the Prime Minister that our patience is not unlimited, that we fully recognize that there has to be political progress and economic progress, along with military progress, in order for that government to succeed. And it's up to the Iraqi people and the Iraq-elected folks to show America and the world they're ready to do the hard work necessary to reconcile and move forward.

It's important to understand that Iraq's government is working hard in a difficult environment. The day after its building was bombed, the Iraqi parliament held a special session. Its speaker said the meeting sent, a clear message to all the terrorists and all those who dare to try to stop this political process that we will sacrifice in order for it to continue. I found that to be a heartening statement, that here al Qaeda bombs their parliament and this man stands up and says, you're not going to scare us, we want to represent the will of the twelve million people who voted.

You've just got to know my view of, the vast majority of Iraqis are courageous people, they've endured brutality as a result of murderers trying to stop their new country from, their new system of government from succeeding. And I'm impressed by their courage. And I believe this current government under Prime Minister Maliki is committed to building a strong democracy. That's my judgment, having talked to him. I've watched a man begun to grow in office. I first talked to him in June, when he was named the Prime Minister. I've talked to him consistently ever since. I look to see whether or not he has courage to make the difficult decisions necessary to achieve peace. I'm looking to see whether or not he has got the capacity to reach out and help unify this country.

He says, you know, sometimes it's hard to get the parliament to do exactly what he thinks they ought to do. I know what he means.

As we increase troop levels, we're also increasing our civilian presence. We're doubling the number of what's called provincial reconstruction teams, which partner civilian experts with combat units to ensure that military operations are followed up with rapid economic assistance. These teams help local Iraqi leaders restore basic services and stimulate job creation and promote reconciliation. Their work highlights a sharp difference, The Iraqi and American governments want to rebuild communities and improve lives, the extremists and terrorists want to destroy communities and take lives. And when ordinary Iraqis see this difference for themselves, they become more likely to stand with their elected leaders and help marginalize the extremists in this struggle.

Here at home, a different kind of struggle is taking place, and its outcome will have a direct impact on the front lines. Despite the initial signs of progress on the ground, despite the fact that many reinforcements have not even arrived, Democrat leadership of the Congress is pushing legislation that would undercut the strategy General David Petraeus has just started to pursue. They have passed bills in the House and Senate that would impose restrictions on our military commanders and mandate a precipitous withdrawal by an arbitrary date, they say withdrawal regardless of the conditions on the ground. That approach makes for a vivid contrast with the attitude in Iraq. A prominent Middle East scholar recently visited Iraq, described the difference, A traveler who moves between Baghdad and Washington is struck by the gloomy despair in Washington and the cautious sense of optimism in Baghdad.

We have honest differences of opinion in Washington and around this country, and I appreciate those differences. The ability to debate differences openly and frequently is what makes America a great country. Our men and women in uniform should never be

caught in the middle of these debates. It has now been seventy four days since I sent to Congress a request for emergency funding that our troops urgently need. The leadership in Congress have spent those seventy four days trying to substitute their judgment for the judgment of our generals, without sending me legislation. And now, to cover ongoing Army operations, the Pentagon is being forced to transfer money from military personnel accounts.

The delay in spending is beginning to affect the ability of the Pentagon to fund our troops and all our missions. On Wednesday, I met at the White House with Congressional leaders from both parties, it was a very cordial meeting. I think you would have been pleased at the tone of the meeting in the Cabinet Room at the White House, at least, I was. I urged the people around the table to put politics aside, and to send a bill that funds our troops without arbitrary deadlines, without wasteful spending, and without handcuffing our commanders.

There is ample time to debate this war. We need to get the troops the money. When we debate the war on terror, it can be convenient to divide up the fight by location, and so we hear about, the war in Afghanistan, and the war in Iraq as if they were something separate. This is a natural way to talk about a complicated subject, I don't think it's accurate. Our enemies make no distinctions based on borders. They view the world as a giant battlefield, and will strike wherever they can. The killers who behead captives and order suicide bombings in Iraq are followers of the same radical ideology as those who destroy markets in Afghanistan, or they set off car bombs in Algeria, and blow up subway trains in London. The men who attacked Iraq's parliament last week swear allegiance to the same terrorist network as those who attacked America on September the eleventh, 2001.

The fight in Iraq has been long and is trying. It's a difficult period in our nation's history. I also say it's a consequential moment in our nation's history, as well. It's natural to wish there was an easy way out, that we could just pack up and bring our troops home and be safe. Yet in Iraq, the easy road would be a road to disaster. If we were to leave Iraq before that government can defend itself, and be an ally in this war against extremists and radicals, and be able to deny safe haven from people who want to hurt the United States, the consequences for this country would be grave.

There would be a security vacuum in Iraq. Extremists and radicals love vacuums in which to spread chaos. The world would see different factions of radicals, different groups of extremists competing for influence and power. The extremists who emerge from this battle would turn the country into a new radical regime in the Middle East. I told you they want to launch new attacks on America and they need safe haven from which to do so.

Not every enemy we face in Iraq wants to attack us here at home, but many of them do. And I believe it's in the interest of this country to take those threats seriously. We don't have to imagine what might happen if a group of terrorists gained safe haven. We've learned that lesson, I hope. Precisely what happened in Afghanistan, it's really important

for our memories not to dim. At least it's important for my memory not to dim, because my most important job is to protect the American people. The lesson of September the eleventh is that when you allow extremists and radicals and killers to find a sanctuary anywhere in the world, that can have deadly consequences on the streets of our own cities.

What happens overseas matters here in the United States of America. It's one of the fundamental lessons of September the eleventh, 2001.

Those who advocate pulling out of Iraq claim they are proposing an alternative strategy to deal with the situation there. Withdrawal is not a strategy. Withdrawal would do nothing to prevent violence from spilling out across that country and plunging Iraq into chaos and anarchy. Withdrawal would do nothing to prevent al Qaeda from taking advantage of the chaos to seize control of a nation with some of the world's largest oil resources. Withdrawal would embolden these radicals and extremists. Withdrawal would do nothing to prevent al Qaeda from using Iraq as a base to overthrow other moderate countries. Withdrawal would do nothing to prevent Iran from exploiting the chaos in Iraq to destabilize the region, expand its radical influence, threaten Israel, and further its ambitions to obtain nuclear weapons.

If anything, withdrawal would make each of these dangerous developments more likely. Withdrawal would embolden enemies and confirm their belief that America is weak and does not have the stomach to do what is necessary to lay the foundations for peace. Ultimately, withdrawal would increase the probability that American troops would have to return to Iraq, and confront an enemy that is even more dangerous.

So no matter how frustrating the fight in Iraq can be, no matter how much we wish the war was over, the security of our country depends directly on the outcome of Iraq. The price of giving up there would be paid in American lives for years to come. I firmly believe that historians would look back on that decision to withdraw and say, what happened to them in the year 2007, how come they could not see the dangers to the United States of America.

No one understands the stakes in Iraq more clearly than our troops. Every man and woman in our military volunteered for the job. They make us proud every day. Michael Evans is a Specialist from Sumner, Illinois. His unit is part of the new operation to secure Baghdad. He said, It is a great feeling to know we're contributing to getting insurgents off the streets, so the people do not have to live in fear. He went on to say, I'll be coming away from this knowing that I was doing something to help the American people, so that what happened on September the eleventh never happens again.

I agree with him. Specialist Evans represents the greatness of our country, decent citizens volunteering to protect you. You know, for all we hear about the consequences of failure in Iraq, we should not forget the consequences of success in Iraq. Success in Iraq would bring something powerful and new, a democracy at the heart of the Middle East, a nation

that fights terrorists instead of harboring them, and a powerful example for others of the power of liberty to overcome an ideology of hate.

We have done this kind of work in the United States of America before. I am, you know, I marvel at the fact that on the one hand my dad joined the Navy at eighteen to fight a sworn enemy, the Japanese, and on the other hand, his son, some fifty-five years later, best friend and keeping the peace with the Prime Minister of Japan. I find that an amazing fact of history, forty-one fights them, forty three works with them to lay the foundation for peace, including working with Japan to deploy Japanese troops in Iraq. It's amazing to me. But it shows the power of liberty to transform enemies into allies.

We have done the hard work before of helping young democracies. As a matter of fact, we did so after a brutal World War two in helping Germany and Japan get back on their feet and establish forms of government that yield peace. We did so after the Korean War. I suspect it would be hard to find anybody in 1953 to predict that an American President would one day be reporting to the World Affairs Council of Western Michigan that relations in the Far East are solid for the United States of America, and that that part of the world is relatively peaceful compared to other troubled parts of the world. In 1953 they would have been thinking about all the lives lost in Japan or in Korea. In 1953 they would have seen a communist China gaining strength.

And yet, in 2007, we've got a Korea that went through difficult times to get to the democracy she's now in and is now a major trading partner of the United States. We've got a China with an open marketplace, based upon the principles where consumers get to decide things, not the state. The political system has got a long way to go, but the marketplace is beginning to redefine that society. Or how about Japan, a place where we lost thousands of lives and, yet, now they're a partner in peace.

America has done the hard work necessary to give liberty a chance to prevail. And it's in my opinion and in the opinion of people like Specialist Evans that we do so in the Middle East for the sake of peace for a young generation of Americans.

Thank you.

- 13 sections extracted
- 5288 words post-extraction

11. President Bush Discusses War on Terror, Economy with Associated General Contractors of America May 2 2007

Thank you all, please be seated. Steve, unlike you, I have trouble finding the front end of a front-end loader. Thanks for having me. I'm proud to be here with the Associated General Contractors of America. It's the oldest and largest construction trade association in our country. I understand I'm not the first Bush to have ever addressed the Associated General Contractors of America convention, a person I now refer to as forty one

addressed you. And I appreciated your hospitality to him then, and I appreciate your hospitality to me today.

I want to talk about, a little bit about our economy and I want to talk a lot about our security. And I thank you for giving me a chance to come by. What I thought I would do is try to keep my remarks relatively brief and then maybe give you all some time to ask some questions.

First, I want to thank Steve. Steve is a Virginia Tech grad, and our hearts are still heavy as a result of that terrible incident there on the campus. And, yet, the amazing thing about that campus, and a lot of other places around the country, is we've got a great resiliency, people bounce back from tragedy. So, Steve, you can tell the Virginia Tech community we're still thinking about them and appreciate very much the great kind of strength of spirit there, at least I saw that there in Blacksburg, Virginia.

I want to thank two members of the Senate who have joined us. First, John Warner, from Virginia. Senator, thank you for coming, ranking member of the House Military Committee, Armed Services Committee, he's a strong supporter of the troops. And I appreciate Senator Joe Lieberman. John is a Republican, Senator Lieberman is an independent. Joe Lieberman is one of these, I would call him a unique soul who followed his conscience, stood for what he believed in, in the face of a political firestorm. And he proved that if you stand on conviction, the people will follow. And I look forward to working with these two really fine public servants to make the decisions necessary to protect the United States. And I'm honored you all are here and thank you for coming.

I like to be in the room of builders and doers and problem solvers and entrepreneurs. And I thank you for what you do every day. Your job is to improve infrastructure and provide work for people. Our job is to provide an environment so that you can build infrastructure and provide work for people. Our job is not to try to create wealth in government. Our job is to create an environment that encourages small businesses and entrepreneurial, and entrepreneurs.

I believe this administration has done that, particularly since we cut taxes. You know, most small businesses and self-employed people, people in your line of work, or many of them, are not corporations. They've sole proprietorships, or subchapter S corporations, or limited partnerships that pay tax at the individual income tax level.

And, therefore, when you cut taxes, we not only, individual rates, we're not only cutting them on the people who work for you or work with you, we're cutting them on you. And my attitude is the more money you have in your treasuries, the more likely it is you'll be able to expand. The more incentive you have to buy a piece of equipment, the more likely it is you'll buy one, which means that somebody is going to have to build it for you.

The best way to enhance pro-growth economic policies is to cut the taxes on the American people. And that's exactly what we did. These taxes are set to expire. In my

judgment, if Congress really wants to create a pro-growth attitude for a long time coming, they ought to make the tax relief we passed permanent. They ought not to let them expire.

My attitude is this about the budget: The best way to balance the budget is to keep taxes low, encourage growth, which enhances tax revenues, and be wise about how we spend money. I worry about the attitude, don't worry, we're just going to raise the taxes on some to balance the budget. No, they'll raise the tax on some and figure out new ways to spend the money.

And we're proving that pro-growth economic policies with fiscal discipline can work. And our budgets are shrinking. The best way to keep them shrinking is keep the economy growing and be wise about, and setting priorities with your money.

There's other things we can do in Washington. We've got to make sure health care is affordable and available, without inviting the federal government to run the health care system. Got to do something about these junk lawsuits that I'm sure you're concerned about. We've got to continue to invest in the nation's infrastructure. We also need an immigration system that upholds the rule of law and treats people with respect. We need an immigration system that secures our borders and meets the needs of our economy. As I said in the speech down in Florida the other day, we need an immigration system without amnesty and without animosity. In other words, we need a comprehensive immigration reform.

I want to thank you for the stand you have taken in working with Congress on comprehensive immigration reform. I join you. I will work with both Republicans and Democrats to get a bill to my desk before the summer is out, hopefully. And I thank the leadership in the Senate that's working through this issue. I want to thank Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona for working hard on this, Mel Martinez, Arlen Specter, Lindsey Graham. There's a series of senators who are working with Ted Kennedy, who is a strong advocate for comprehensive immigration reform. And I appreciate the leadership he's taken, along with Ken Salazar of Colorado.

We're making progress. There's a lot more work to be done, and your help is important. And so I want to thank you for coming up with a rational, reasonable, logical plan.

I want to talk to you about the other main issue we have here in America, and that is your security. The most important job we have is to secure the United States of America. That's the most important job of the federal government. You expect us to spend enormous amounts of energy protecting you, and that's what we're doing. I vowed to the American people we would not tire when it came to protecting you, and we're not going to. Matter of fact, I spend a lot of time thinking about this issue. I wish I didn't have to spend time thinking about the issue, but I do, because there's still an enemy out there that would like to do America harm. And, therefore, at this hour, we've got men and women in uniform engaging our enemies around the world. Our strategy is, we've got to keep the pressure on them. We would rather fight them there, so we don't have to face them here.

And the most visible and violent front of this global war is Iraq. And it's a tough fight. It has been a difficult year for the American people, I understand that. It reached, last year was, this battle reached its most difficult point to date. The terrorists and extremists and radicals set off a wave of sectarian violence that engulfed that young democracy's capital. It threatened to destabilize the entire country.

So earlier this year I laid out a new strategy in Iraq. I named a new commander to carry it out, General David Petraeus. I want to give you some facts about the new strategy, and talk about why Iraq relates directly to the safety of the American people.

The most important fact about our new strategy, it is fundamentally different from the previous strategy. The previous strategy wasn't working the way we wanted it to work. It's interesting, they run polls, and I accept that, and it said, you know, we don't approve of what's happening in Iraq. That was what the poll said last fall and winter, you know. And had they polled me, I'd have said the same thing. I didn't approve of what was happening in Iraq. And so we put a new strategy in that was fundamentally different.

First of all, Petraeus, General Petraeus is an expert on counterinsurgency, and his top priority is to help the Iraqi leaders, who, by the way, were elected by nearly twelve million of their citizens, secure their population. And the reason why is, is that this young democracy needed some time to make important political decisions to help reconcile the country. After a thorough review, we concluded the best way to help Iraq's leaders to provide security was to send more troops into the nation's capital, into the country, was to send reinforcements to those troops which were already there. And their job was to go after the extremists and radicals who were inciting sectarian violence. Their job was to help get Baghdad under control. And their job was to continue to train Iraqi forces for the day they can secure the country on their own.

Last week, General Petraeus came to Washington, and he updated me and he updated the Congress on the early stages of this new strategy, and I repeat, early stages. He reminded us that not all the reinforcements he'd requested have arrived, that it's going to be at least until the end of this summer that he will know whether or not the new strategy has achieved successes.

And that means the strategy is in early stages. My view is the Congress and the country ought to give General Petraeus time to see whether or not this works. And it's interesting, he goes up in front of the Senate and gets confirmed unanimously. And he said, I need more troops, during his testimony, send me more troops and I will go implement a new plan. They said, okay, fine, we confirm you. And yet there are some doubts in Washington whether or not they ought to send the troops.

The troops are going, the strategy is new, and the General said, let's give it some time to work to see whether or not it's successful, and I'll be able to report back to the country by the end of this summer.

The most significant element of the new strategy is being carried out in the capital. The whole purpose is to secure the capital. My theory is, and it's a good one, is that if the capital is in chaos, the country can't, it's going to be difficult for the country to survive.

The strategy is also being carried out in what's called surrounding belts. This is the areas that kind of arc around the capital, and it's a place where there's been a lot of planning and plotting and attacking. Three American brigades, totaling about twelve thousand reinforcements, have taken up their positions in the Baghdad area. The fourth brigade, fourth of five, is heading into Baghdad this week. And the fifth is on its way. In other words, you just don't take five brigades and move them in overnight. There's a sequencing that has to take place, and that sequencing is now being completed.

The Iraqis, by the way, have increased their own forces. In other words, this is a joint operation. This is the Americans and coalition forces helping the Iraqis provide security so that the average person can live a peaceful life. That's what they want. And so we've got about a total of eighty thousand combat forces now in the Baghdad area, United States. combined with the Iraqi forces. The position of the forces is shifting. We used to have our forces live in bases outside the city. They would go in at night or during the day and then leave and go back home at night. They did a fine job, as we expect our United States forces to do, the Iraqi forces would do so. And then when they would leave, killers would move back in.

And so now we've got American troops are now living and working in small neighborhood posts called joint security stations. This is what's fundamentally different from the strategy. Our troops, with the Iraqis, go into a neighborhood, and they stay. They operate side by side with the Iraqi forces.

What's interesting is, is that the plan, General Petraeus's plan, is to help build trust. And when you build trust, you end up getting people buying into a centralized government, a unity government, a country that is united. And not only that, you end up getting cooperation from people. Remember, most people want to live peaceful lives. I hope this make sense to you, because I firmly believe that Iraqi moms want their child to grow up in a peaceful world, just like American moms do.

And so we're seeing some gains. The interesting thing about this is that the nature of this strategy is that the most important gains are often the least dramatic. It doesn't generate much attention when violence does not happen. Instead, some important indicators of progress in the security plan are less visible. I would like to share some with you.

The level of cooperation from local residents is important. It's an indication as to whether or not we're making progress: our ability to take weapons off the street and break up extremist groups, the willingness of Iraqis to join their security forces is an interesting measurement. And, finally, it's important to measure the level of sectarian violence. If the objective is to bring security to the capital, one measurement is whether or not sectarian violence is declining. These measures are really not flashy. In other words, they're not headline-grabbing measures. They certainly can't compete with a car bomb or a suicide

attack. But they are interesting indications. And as General Petraeus reported, these are heading in the right direction.

For example, General Petraeus reports that American and Iraqi forces received more tips from local residents in the past four months than during any other four-month period on record. People are beginning to have some confidence and they're beginning to step forth with information, information that will help them live normal lives.

Thanks to these tips the number of weapons caches that are being seized are growing each month. **Better intelligence has led American and Iraqi forces in Baghdad and the surrounding belts to conduct operations against Sunni and Shia extremists.** My attitude is, if murderers run free, it's going to be hard to convince the people of any society that the government is worth supporting. **And, therefore, the Iraqis and United States forces and coalition forces are after murderers regardless of their religious affiliation.**

American and Iraqi forces captured the head of a major car bombing ring recently, the leader of a bombing network with ties to Iran, members of a death squad that terrorized a Baghdad neighborhood, the leader of a secret militia cell that kidnapped and executed American soldiers. These are just some examples of what happens when you start to earn the confidence of the people.

Baghdad residents see actions, they grow more confident. Interestingly enough, General Petraeus reported that in his short time he's been there, and in the short time that this plan is being implemented, remember, it's not fully implemented: three of the brigades are present, are in place, the fourth brigade has just moved into Baghdad and it will be in place relatively soon, and the fifth is on its way, that in spite of the fact that we haven't fully implemented the plan, the number of sectarian murders in Baghdad has dropped substantially.

Even as the sectarian attacks have declined, the overall level of violence in Baghdad remains high. Illegal armed groups continue their attacks, insurgents remain deadly. In other words, as we report progress, it's very important for us to make sure that the American people understand there's still issues, there's still challenges. Illegal armed groups need to be dealt with, and we are.

The primary reason for the high level of violence is this, al Qaeda has ratcheted up its campaign of high-profile attacks, including deadly suicide bombers carried out by foreign terrorists. In the past three weeks, al Qaeda has sent suicide bombers into the Iraqi parliament. Or they send a suicide attack into an American military base. These attacks may seem like random killing, they're not. They're part of al Qaeda's calculated campaign to reignite sectarian violence in Baghdad, to discourage the Iraqi citizen, and to break support for the war here at home. This is what these murderers are trying to achieve.

I don't need to remind you who al Qaeda is. Al Qaeda is the group that plot and planned and trained killers to come and kill people on our soil. The same bunch that is causing

havoc in Iraq were the ones who came and murdered our citizens. I've got to tell you, that day deeply affected my decision-making. And I vowed that I would do anything that I possibly could within the law to protect the American citizens against further attack by these ideologues, by these murderers.

And so while I'm talking about al Qaeda in Iraq, I fully recognize what happens in Iraq matters here at home. Despite their tremendous brutality, they failed to provoke the large-scale sectarian reprisals that al Qaeda wants. The recent attacks are not the revenge killings that some have called a civil war. They are a systematic assault on the entire nation. Al Qaeda is public enemy number one in Iraq. And all people of that society ought to come together and recognize the threat, unite against the threat and reconcile their differences.

For America, the decision we face in Iraq is not whether we ought to take sides in a civil war, it's whether we stay in the fight against the same international terrorist network that attacked us on September the eleventh. I strongly believe it's in our national interest to stay in the fight.

As you watch the developments in Baghdad, it's important to understand that we will not be able to prevent every al Qaeda attack. When a terrorist is willing to kill himself to kill others, it's really hard to stop him. Yet, over time, the security operation in Baghdad is designed to shrink the areas where al Qaeda can operate, it's designed to bring out more intelligence about their presence, and designed to allow American and Iraqi forces to dismantle their network.

We have a strategy to deal with al Qaeda in Iraq. But any time you say to a bunch of cold-blooded killers, success depends on no violence, all that does is hand them the opportunity to be successful. And it's hard. I know it's hard for the American people to turn on their TV screens and see the horrific violence. It speaks volumes about the American desire to protect lives of innocent people, America's deep concern about human rights and human dignity. It also speaks volumes about al Qaeda, that they're willing to take innocent life to achieve political objectives.

The terrorists will continue to fight back. In other words, they understand what they're doing. And casualties are likely to stay high. Yet, day by day, block by block, we are steadfast in helping Iraqi leaders counter the terrorists, protect their people, and reclaim the capital. And if I didn't think it was necessary for the security of the country, I wouldn't put our kids in harm's way.

We're seeing significant progress from our new strategy in Anbar province, as well. **That's a largely Sunni area west of Baghdad.** It's been a hotbed for al Qaeda and insurgents. According to a captured al Qaeda document, in other words, according to what al Qaeda has said, and by the way, in a war to protect America, it's really important to take the words of the enemy very seriously, according to this document, the terrorists' goal is to take over Anbar and make it their home base in Iraq. According to the document we captured, that is a document from al Qaeda, the same people that attacked

us in America, their objective is to find safe haven in this part of Iraq. **They would bring them closer, that would bring them closer to their objective, their stated objective, which is to destroy the young Iraqi democracy, to help them build a radical Islamic empire based upon their dark ideology, and launch new attacks on the United States, at home and abroad.** That's what they've said they want to do.

Al Qaeda has pursued their objective with a ruthless campaign of violence. They can't persuade people through logic. They have to terrorize people and force people to try to allow them to impose their point of view. And not long ago, it looked like they might prevail in Anbar -- looked pretty grim, it really did. Then something began to change, because we were steadfast, because our troops and our diplomats are courageous people . **Tribal sheikhs finally said, enough is enough.** The local leaders said, we're tired of it. And they joined the fight against al Qaeda.

The sheikhs and their followers knew exactly who the terrorists were, and they began to provide highly specific intelligence to American and Iraqi forces. In asymmetrical warfare, you've got to have good intelligence in order to be able to deal with the enemy. In the old days, you could see platoons moving, you could see ships floating along, aircraft in formation flying to a location. In this war it's different. In this war you have to know specifically where an improvised explosive device factory may be. You have to know in advance that somebody's getting ready to slide into society and kill innocent in order to achieve an objective. Intelligence is important. And so they began to provide intelligence, all aiming to secure their part of Iraq so they could live in peace.

They began to encourage their young men to volunteer for the security forces. The number of Iraqi army and police recruits in Anbar has skyrocketed. It's an interesting measurement, isn't it? There's a threat to the security of their people, the local leader said, why don't you join up to help defend us, and the number of recruits is significant.

Our commanders saw this as an opportunity to step up the pressure on al Qaeda. Our commanders made the recommendation from the field that they could use more troops to help secure Anbar. And so I ordered additional United States Marines and special operation forces to Anbar as part of our reinforcement package, four thousand of the troops are going into Anbar.

Together, American and Iraqi forces are striking powerful blows. We've cleared out terrorist strongholds like Ramadi and Fallujah. We're there with the Iraqis so that they can't take those cities back, they, the enemy. American and Iraqi forces are operating in places that have been too dangerous to go before, and people are beginning to see something change.

In Ramadi, for example, our forces have seized nearly as many weapons caches in the past four months as they did in all of last year. We've captured key al Qaeda leaders. We're on the hunt. We're keeping the pressure on them, in Iraq and everywhere else in the world in which they try to hide. These al Qaeda leaders are revealing important details about how their network operates inside of Iraq.

Al Qaeda has responded with sickening brutality. **They've bombed fellow Sunnis in prayer at a mosque.** They murdered local residents with chlorine truck bombs. They recruited children as young as twelve-years-old to carry out suicide attacks. **But this time, the Sunni tribes in Anbar are refusing to be intimidated.**

They are showing that al Qaeda's ideology lacks popular appeal and staying power. Ultimately, what matters is what you believe. The United States and our coalition and most Iraqis believe in liberty. Al Qaeda believes in imposing their dark vision on others, and are willing to use death and murder to do so.

I appreciate the determination of the Iraqi people. I appreciate their courage. **I appreciate the fact that these tribal sheiks have stood up in Anbar, and we will stand with them.** Our men and women in uniform took al Qaeda's safe haven away in Afghanistan, and we're not going to let them reestablish a safe haven in Iraq.

The military gains achieved by new operations are designed to give Iraq's government time to make political progress. We fully recognize that the military cannot solve this problem alone, that there has to be political reconciliation, and economic process, progress.

You know, the Iraq government has been in office about a year. And they're beginning to make some progress toward political benchmarks it has set, political benchmarks I support. The legislature has passed a budget that commits ten billion dollars for reconstruction projects. That's ten billion dollars of the Iraqi people's money, positive sign, the assembly met, they appropriated money for the good of the Iraqi people. They spent seven billion dollars to train and equip their own security forces. The council of ministers has approved legislation that would provide a framework for equitable sharing of oil resources. We strongly believe, by the way, both Republicans, Democrats, and independents, believe strongly that a good oil bill will help unite the country. That's why it's a benchmark. And they're making, this government is making progress toward an important piece of legislation that would help the security track progress, as well as the political and economic track.

The government has formed a committee to organize provincial elections. That's important. If you want people buying into government, there needs to be provincial elections, so that when the money is distributed from the central government, there's a representative government there to spend the money. Leaders have taken initial steps toward an agreement on de-Baathification policy. That's an important piece of reconciliation that we think ought to go forward. A committee is meeting with all major Iraqi groups to review the constitution. And there's a key conference tomorrow and Friday in Egypt, where Prime Minister Maliki will work to build greater support from Iraq's neighbors and the international community. It's in the world's interest that this young democracy survive. It's certainly in the interest of the neighborhood that Iraq be a country that can govern itself and sustain itself and defend itself, a government which rejects radicalism. And it's in the world's interest.

And so Condoleezza Rice, I talked to her last night on her way out of town, is heading over to Egypt. And she's going to represent our country, and she represents it well, by the way, and will do so in Egypt. It's going to be an important international conference. And I'm looking forward to seeing the outcome of that conference.

Iraq's leaders still have got a lot to do, don't get me wrong. Yes, there's progress, but they've got a lot more to do. And the United States expects them to do it, just like I expect them to remain courageous, and just like they expect us to keep our word. What's interesting is, is that the Iraqis are making a calculation, Will the United States of America keep its word? Because if not, they want to do something different. And I think it's going to be important for us to keep signaling them as they make progress, we appreciate the progress, more to do, no question about it, and we expect them to do it, but they can also count on us to keep our word.

The stakes are high, really high in Iraq. General Petraeus is beginning to carry out the strategy, yet the Democrat leaders in Congress have chosen this time to try to force a precipitous withdrawal. In other words, I was presented a bill last night that said, there's a timetable, you had to leave, start leaving by July first and definitely be leaving by October first. That didn't make any sense to me, to impose the will of politicians over the recommendations of our military commanders in the field. So I vetoed the bill.

That phase of the process is now over, and a new phase has begun. Later on this afternoon, leaders from both parties and both chambers are coming down to the White House. And I look forward to meeting with them. I am confident that with goodwill on both sides, that we can move beyond political statements and agree on a bill that gives our troops the funds and the flexibility they need to do the job that we have asked them to do.

As we move forward the debate, there are some other things that all of us in Washington should keep in mind. First of all, debate is good. I have no problem with debates. This issue of Iraq and this war on terror deserves a serious discussion across the United States. We don't agree on every issue, but one of the things I have heard here in Washington is that people understand the consequences of failure in Iraq. If we were to leave Iraq before the government can defend itself, there would be a security vacuum.

Extremists and radicals love vacuums and chaos. It gives them a chance to use their tactics, tactics of death, to spread their ideology. The more chaotic a region, for example, or the less control there is in a region, the more the state looks like a failed state, these people that attacked us on September the 11th can be emboldened, it will encourage them. It will enable them to achieve objectives. I'm deeply concerned about a vacuum in Iraq encouraging rival extremist factions to compete for power.

I worry about a situation where if radicals took control of a country like Iraq, they would have oil resources to use at their disposal to try to achieve their objectives. You can attack a nation several ways. One, you can get nineteen kids to fly airplanes into

buildings, or you can gain control of something a country needs and deny that country access to that, in this case, oil, and run the price of oil up, all attempting to inflict serious economic damage.

And by the way, an opportunity for radicals and extremists to gain resources would not only enable them to inflict economic damage, it would enable them to achieve other objectives. They'd have more resources at their disposal. All the radicals and extremists in Iraq don't want to attack America, I'm not saying that, but many do. And therein lies the danger to our country.

Al Qaeda terrorists who behead captives and order suicide bombings in Iraq would not simply be satisfied to see us gone. A retreat in Iraq would mean that they would likely follow us here. A retreat in Iraq would say to a lot of people around the world, particularly in the Middle East, America can't keep its word. It would certainly confirm al Qaeda's belief that we're weak and soft as a society. It would embolden them to be able to recruit. It would more likely enable them to find safe haven and sanctuary.

No responsible leader in Washington has an interest in letting this happen. Whether you are a Republican or Democrat, there is no benefit in allowing a widespread humanitarian nightmare to consume Iraq. There would be no benefit in allowing chaos to spill out of Iraq and into the broader Middle East. There would be no benefit in emboldening Iran and endangering our allies in the region. And there would be no benefit in allowing the same terrorist network that attacked America on September the eleventh to gain a safe haven from which to attack us again. Even if you think it was a mistake to go into Iraq, it would be a far greater mistake to pull out now.

This is a frustrating war. Nobody likes war. You know, I know full well how many Americans react to what they see on their television screens. I wish there was an easy way out, that's what people wish. But there is no easy way out. The easy road would be the wrong road, in my opinion. Leaving now would be short-term, but bring short-term satisfaction at the cost of long-term disaster. The outcome in Iraq will have a direct impact on the security of our people here at home. And no matter how tempting it might be, it would be unforgivable for leaders in Washington to allow politics and impatience to stand in the way of protecting the American people.

Success in this fight is going to be difficult. It will require sacrifice. It's going to require time. But for all the, all we hear about the consequences of failure in Iraq, we also shouldn't forget the consequences of success. I share with people, and I do this quite often, but I find it incredibly ironic that during my time as President, certainly one of my best friends, and soon to be another best friend, are the prime ministers of Japan. I had a very close personal relationship with Prime Minister Koizumi.

And last weekend at Camp David, Laura and I had a chance to, at the White House, and then eventually at Camp David, we hosted Prime Minister Abe. You know, my dad fought the Japanese. He was an eighteen-year-old kid, right out of high school, went into the Navy, was a torpedo bomber. Many of your relatives did the same thing. They fought

the Japanese with all their soul and all their might in a bloody, bloody conflict. Japan was a sworn enemy of the United States of America. I doubt in 1948 or 1949 anybody could have hardly predicted that a President would stand up and say, I have found that these two prime ministers of Japan are good to work with to achieve peace.

It's an interesting statement, isn't it, about the possibilities of liberty to change history. And so with Prime Minister Koizumi and Prime Minister Abe, we talked about security. We talked about working closely together to convince the leader of North Korea to give up his nuclear weapons ambitions and programs. We talked about helping the young democracy of Iraq survive in the midst of the Middle East. We fully understand that the long-term way to protect America is to defeat an ideology of hate with an ideology of hope. I learned firsthand the power of liberty to transform an enemy into an ally.

I firmly believe that a democracy can survive in the Middle East, and I believe it is a necessary part of laying a foundation of peace for generations to come.

Good to be with you.

Thank you all. Sit down. I'll take some questions. Yes, sir. You get to start since you're the boss.

- 9 sections extracted
- 5696 words post-extraction

12. President Bush Delivers Commencement Address at US Coast Guard Academy May 23 2007

Thank you, all. Admiral Allen, thank you for that kind introduction. Admiral Burhoe, congratulations on your promotion. Academy staff and faculty, Congressman Chris Shays, state and local officials, distinguished guests, proud families and, most importantly, members of the Class of 2007, thanks for having me.

It's a privilege to stand with the future leaders of the United States Coast Guard. Before you receive your degrees today, I want to make sure that you have learned your indoc. What is the Coast Guard?

I probably shouldn't relay that to the Secretary of the Navy.

I see a few RCF Warriors out there. Some of you earned demerits for failing to correct your storage, others got caught crawling under the fence on your way to Connecticut College. However you got bagged, help has arrived. In keeping with longstanding tradition, I hereby absolve all cadets who are on restriction for minor conduct offenses. I'll leave it to Admiral Burhoe to define exactly what minor means.

More than six thousand young Americans applied to join the Coast Guard Academy Class of 2007, and today just two hundred and twenty eight will walk across this stage to receive your diploma and commission. You're a select few, and each of you worked really hard to get to this moment, survived R Day, Swab Summer, and Friday morning drill practice with a kind and gentle soul, Chief Dillmann. You learned to brace up, do orderlies, square meals, and eat hamsters with your eyes in the boat. You arrived on this campus as swabs, and today you will leave as proud officers of the United States Coast Guard. Your teachers are proud, your parents are thrilled, and your Commander-in-Chief is grateful for your devotion to duty. Congratulations to you all.

You didn't make it to this day on your own. Many of you had the help of a special faculty member who mentored, mentored you along the way. **Others made it only through as a result of the intervention of one man, Hopley Yeaton, he's the patron saint of the Square Root Club.** For the moms and dads, the Square Root Club is an association of students whose GPA is so low that when you take its square root, it grows larger. Unfortunately, they didn't have that club where I went to college, perhaps you'll make me an honorary member.

Whether you're graduating today at the top of your class, or by the skin of your teeth, your presence on this field is a tremendous accomplishment. And it would not have been possible without the support of the families who believed in you and encouraged you. So I ask all the parents and loved ones here today to stand and be recognized by the class of 2007.

The degree you've earned will command respect wherever you go, and you will carry the lessons you learned here for the rest of your lives. This Academy has tested your minds, your bodies, and your character, and having passed these trials, you now embark on a voyage as officers in the oldest continuous Maritime service.

The history of the Coast Guard dates back more than two centuries, to the Revenue Cutter Service, established under the presidency of George Washington, or as I call him, the first George W. Since its inception, the Coast Guard has conducted search and rescue missions, enforced our maritime laws, protected our marine environment, come to the aid of stranded boaters, and helped staunch the flow of illegal drugs and illegal migrants to our shores. And in this new century, the Coast Guard continues to carry out these vital missions.

Americans rely on the Coast Guard in times of disaster. When Hurricane Katrina hit our nation's Gulf Coast, the men and women of the Coast Guard swung into action, hanging from helicopters, pulling people off rooftops and out of trees, and rescuing more than thirty three thousand people. When storms and floods and tragedy strike, Americans know that they can count on the United States Coast Guard.

Americans relied on the Coast Guard on September the eleventh, 2001. After terrorists struck the Twin Towers, the Coast Guard station on Staten Island put out a call for all available boats, and organized a massive flotilla of military and civilian craft that

evacuated hundreds of thousands of people from lower Manhattan. It was the largest waterborne evacuation in our nation's history. **And in the days that followed, the men and women of the Coast Guard stayed on the job, assisting operations at Ground Zero, sending chaplains to comfort the bereaved, and coordinating a round-the-clock defense of New York Harbor and other vital ports.** In a time of crisis, the Coast Guard did its job, and did it well.

On September the eleventh, the home front you protect became a battlefield in a new and unprecedented war. That day, our nation changed forever, and so did the mission of the United States Coast Guard. This service assumed new and essential responsibilities: to defend our nation against terrorist infiltration, and to help stop new attacks before they kill our people.

As part of Operation Noble Eagle, the men and women of the Coast Guard are protecting more than three hundred and sixty ports and more than ninety five thousand miles of coastline. Overseas, the Coast Guard is conducting maritime intercept operations in the Persian Gulf, patrolling the waters off Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The men and women of the Coast Guard are serving with courage, and the American people are grateful to live behind your Shield of Freedom.

Soon you'll join your fellow Coasties in carrying out these and other missions. And this Academy has prepared you well for the new challenges you will face in this war on terror. During your time here, you've taken courses in terrorist tactics and counterterrorism strategies, you've studied radiation detection, remote sensing, and the handling of hazardous materials, you participated in military exercises that have prepared you for the threats of this new century.

You'll need all this training to help keep your fellow citizens safe. In this war, we face a brutal enemy that has already killed thousands in our midst, and is determined to bring even greater destruction to our shores. **We're blessed that there has not been another terrorist attack on our homeland in the past five-and-a-half years.** This is not for lack of effort on the part of the enemy. Since September the eleventh, al Qaeda and its allies have succeeded in carrying out horrific attacks across the world, al Qaeda leaders have repeatedly made clear they intend to strike our country again.

In January of last year, Osama bin Laden warned the American people, Operations are under preparation and you will see them on your own ground once they are finished. Seven months later, British authorities broke up the most ambitious known al Qaeda threat to the homeland since the September eleventh attacks, a plot to blow up passenger airplanes flying to America. Our intelligence community believes that this plot was just two or three weeks away from execution. If it had been carried out, it could have rivaled September the eleventh in death and destruction.

This was not the first al Qaeda plot that has been foiled since September the eleventh. In December 2001 we captured an al Qaeda operative named Ali Salih al-Mari. Our intelligence community believes that Ali Salih was training in poisons at an al Qaeda

camp in Afghanistan, and had been sent to the United States before September the eleventh to serve as a sleeper agent ready for follow-on attacks. He was ordered to our country by September eleventh mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, who is now in United States custody. **Our intelligence community believes that Khalid Sheikh Mohammad brought Ali Salih to meet Osama bin Laden, where he pledged his loyalty to the al Qaeda leader and offered himself up as a martyr.** Among the potential targets our intelligence community believes this al Qaeda operative discussed with Khalid Sheikh Mohammad were water reservoirs, the New York Stock Exchange, and United States military academies such as this one.

We also broke up two other post September the eleventh aviation plots. The first, in 2002, was a plot by Khalid Sheikh Mohammad to repeat the destruction of September the eleventh by sending operatives to hijack an airplane and fly into the tallest building on the West Coast. During a hearing at Guantanamo Bay just two months ago, Khalid Sheikh Mohammad stated that the intended target was the Library Tower in Los Angeles. And in 2003, we uncovered and stopped a plot led by another suspected senior al Qaeda operative named Abu Bakr al-Azdi. Our intelligence community believes this plot was to be another East Coast aviation attack, including multiple airplanes that had been hijacked and then crashing into targets in the United States.

There is a reason that these and other plots have thus far not succeeded: Since September the eleventh, we have taken bold action at home and abroad to keep our people safe.

To help stop new attacks on our country, we have undertaken the most sweeping reorganization of the federal government since the start of the Cold War. We created the new Department of Homeland Security, merging twenty two different government organizations, including the Coast Guard, into a single Department with a clear mission, to protect America from future attacks.

To stop new attacks on our country, we've strengthened our nation's intelligence community. We created the position of the Director of National Intelligence to ensure our intelligence agencies operate as a single, unified enterprise. We created the National Counter Terrorism Center, where the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other agencies work side by side to track terrorist threats across the world. We directed the National Security Agency to monitor international terrorist communications. We established a program run by the Central Intelligence Agency to detain and question key terrorist leaders and operatives. These measures are vital. These measures are working. And these measures have helped prevent an attack on our homeland.

To help stop new attacks on our country, we passed the Patriot Act, breaking down the walls that had prevented federal law enforcement and intelligence communities from sharing information about potential terrorist activities. We've transformed the FBI into an agency whose primary focus is stopping terrorist attacks. We've expanded the number of FBI Joint Terrorism Task Forces from thirty five before September the eleventh to more than a hundred today. And we saw their effectiveness recently when one of these teams

helped disrupt a plot by a group of al Qaeda-inspired extremists to kill American soldiers at Fort Dix, New Jersey.

To help stop new attacks on our country, we launched the Bio Watch program, placing state-of-the-art equipment in major U.S. cities to detect biological agents. To help prevent terrorists from bringing nuclear or radiological weapons into our country, we're placing radiation detectors in all major United States ports. We placed advanced screening equipment and United States Homeland Security personnel at foreign ports, so we can pre-screen cargo headed for America. We're determined to stop the world's most dangerous men from striking America with the world's most dangerous weapons. And the Coast Guard is on the front line of this battle.

To help stop new attacks on our country, we've strengthened international cooperation in the fight against terror. A coalition of more than ninety nations, nearly one-half of the world, is working together to dry up terrorist financing and bring terrorist leaders to justice. We launched the Proliferation Security Initiative, a vast coalition of nations that are working to stop shipments of weapons of mass destruction on land, at sea, and in the air. With our allies, we have uncovered and shut down the A.Q. Khan network, which had supplied nuclear-related equipment and plans to terrorist states, including Iran and North Korea. With Great Britain, we convinced the leader of Libya to abandon his country's pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. The key components of Libya's nuclear program are now locked up in a storage facility right here in the United States. And today the world is safer because Libya is out of the nuclear weapons business.

All these steps are making our country safer, but we're not yet safe. To strike our country, the terrorists only have to be right once, to protect our country, we have to be right one percent of the time. That means the best way to protect our people is to take the fight to the enemy. So after September the eleventh, I vowed to America that we would go on the offense against the terrorists, fighting them across the world so we do not have to face them here at home. And since September the eleventh, that is precisely what that United States of America has done.

In Afghanistan, we removed a regime that gave sanctuary and support to al Qaeda as they planned the September the eleventh attacks. Today, because we acted, the terrorist camps in Afghanistan have been shut down, twenty five million people have been liberated, and the Afghan people have an elected government that is fighting terrorists, instead of harboring them.

The Taliban and al Qaeda are seeking to roll back Afghanistan's democratic progress, but forces from forty nations, including every member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization, are helping the Afghan people defend their democratic gains. Earlier this month, Afghan, American, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces tracked down and killed a top Taliban commander in Afghanistan. His death has sent a clear message to all who would challenge Afghanistan's young democracy, We drove al Qaeda and the Taliban out of power, and they're not going to be allowed to return to power.

In Iraq, we removed a cruel dictator who harbored terrorists, paid the families of Palestinian suicide bombers, invaded his neighbors, defied the United Nations Security Council, pursued and used weapons of mass destruction. Iraq, the United States and the world are better off without Saddam Hussein in power. And today the Iraqi people are building a young democracy on the rubble of Saddam Hussein's tyranny. In December 2005, nearly twelve million Iraqis demonstrated their desire to be free, going to the polls and choosing a new government under the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world.

In 2006, a thinking enemy responded to this progress and struck back with brutality. They staged sensational attacks that led to a tragic escalation of sectarian rage and reprisal. If the sectarian violence continued to spiral out of control, the Iraqi government would have been in danger of collapse. The ensuing chaos would embolden Iran, which is fueling the violence, and al Qaeda, a key driver of Iraq's sectarian conflict. The chaos could eventually spread across the Middle East, and generations of Americans would be in even greater danger.

So I had a choice to make, withdraw our troops, or send reinforcements to help the Iraqis quell the sectarian violence. I decided to send more troops with a new mission, to help the Iraqi government secure their population and get control of Baghdad. As we carry out the new strategy, the Iraqi government has a lot of work to do. They must meet its responsibility to the Iraqi people and achieve benchmarks it has set, including adoption of a national oil law, preparations for provincial elections, progress on a new de-Baathification policy, and a review of the Iraqi constitution. The Iraqi people must see that their government is taking action to bring their country together and give all of Iraq's a stake in a peaceful future.

Now, in 2007, we are at a pivotal moment in this battle. There are many destructive forces in Iraq trying to stop this strategy from succeeding, the most destructive is al Qaeda. Al Qaeda knows that a democratic Iraq is a threat to their ambitions to impose their hateful ideology across the Middle East. And al Qaeda knows that our presence in Iraq is a direct threat to their existence in Iraq. Our security depends on helping the Iraqis succeed and defeating Iraq, al Qaeda in Iraq.

Some in our country question whether the battle in Iraq is part of the war on terror. Among the terrorists, there's no doubt. Hear the words of Osama bin Laden, He calls the struggle in Iraq a war of destiny. He proclaimed the war is for you or for us to win. If we win it, it means your defeat and disgrace forever.

Bin Laden is matching his words with action. He attempted to send a new commander to Iraq, an Iraqi-born terrorist named Abd al-Hadi al-Iraqi. According to our intelligence community, this terrorist had been a senior advisor to bin Laden, he served as his top commander in Afghanistan, he was responsible for all al Qaeda's military operations against our coalition in that country. Abd al-Hadi never made it to Iraq. He was captured last year, and he was recently he was transferred to the United States Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay.

There is a reason that bin Laden sent one of his most experienced paramilitary leaders to Iraq: He believes that if al Qaeda can drive us out, they can establish Iraq as a new terrorist sanctuary. **Our intelligence community believes that, al Qaeda leaders see victory in Iraq, the heart of the caliphate and currently the most active front in their war, as a religious and strategic imperative.** If al Qaeda succeeds in Iraq, they would pursue their stated goals of turning that nation into a base from which to overthrow moderate governments in the region, impose their hateful ideology on millions, and launch new attacks on America and other nations. Victory in Iraq is important for Osama bin Laden, and victory in Iraq is vital for the United States of America.

I've often warned that if we fail in Iraq, the enemy will follow us home. Many ask, How do you know? Today, I'd like to share some information with you that attests to al Qaeda's intentions. According to our intelligence community, in January 2005, Osama bin Laden tasked the terrorist Zarqawi, who was then al Qaeda's top leader in Iraq, with forming a cell to conduct terrorist attacks outside of Iraq. Bin Laden emphasized that America should be Zarqawi's number one priority in terms of foreign attacks. Zarqawi welcomed this direction, he claimed that he had already come up with some good proposals.

To help Zarqawi in these efforts, our intelligence community reports that bin Laden then tasked one of his top terrorist operatives, Hamza Rabia, to send Zarqawi a briefing on al Qaeda's external operations, including information about operations against the American homeland. Our intelligence community reports that a senior al Qaeda leader, Abu Faraj al-Libi, went further and suggested that bin Laden actually send Rabia, himself, to Iraq to help plan external operations. Abu Faraj later speculated that if this effort proved successful, al Qaeda might one day prepare the majority of its external operations from Iraq.

In May of 2005, Abu Faraj was captured and taken into Central Intelligence Agency custody. Several months later, in December 2005, Rabia was killed in Pakistan. Several months after that, in June of 2006, the terrorist Zarqawi was killed by American forces in Iraq. Successes like these are blows to al Qaeda. They're a testament to steps we have taken to strengthen our intelligence, work closely with partners overseas, and keep the pressure on the enemy by staying on the offense.

Despite our pressure, despite the setbacks that al Qaeda has suffered, it remains extremely dangerous. As we've surged our forces in Iraq, al Qaeda has responded with a surge of its own. The terrorists' goal in Iraq is to reignite sectarian violence and break support for the war here at home. And they believe they're succeeding. A few weeks ago, al Qaeda's number two, second in command, Zawahiri, issued a video in which he gloated that al Qaeda's movement of violence has "forced the Americans to accept a pullout, about which they only differ in regard to its timing." We can expect al Qaeda to continue its campaign of high profile attacks, including deadly suicide bombings and assassinations. And as they do, our troops will face more fighting and increased risks in the weeks and months ahead.

The fight in Iraq is tough, but my point today to you is the fight is essential to our security, al Qaeda's leaders inside and outside of Iraq have not given up on their objective of attacking America again. Now, many critics compare the battle in Iraq to the situation we faced in Vietnam. There are many differences between the two conflicts, but one stands out above all, The enemy in Vietnam had neither the intent nor the capability to strike our homeland. The enemy in Iraq does. Nine-eleven taught us that to protect the American people, we must fight the terrorists where they live so that we don't have to fight them where we live.

The question for our elected leaders is, Do we comprehend the danger of an al Qaeda victory in Iraq, and will we do what it takes to stop them? However difficult the fight in Iraq has become, we must win it. Al Qaeda is public enemy number one for Iraq's young democracy, and al Qaeda is public enemy number one for America, as well. And that is why we must support our troops, we must support the Iraqi government, and we must defeat al Qaeda in Iraq.

We're thankful to the military, the intelligence, and law enforcement personnel who work tirelessly to stop new attacks on our country. With every plot they foil, every terrorist they capture, we learn more about the enemy's plans and persistence. In the minds of al Qaeda leaders, September the eleventh was just a down-payment on violence yet to come. It's tempting to believe that the calm here at home after September the eleventh means that the danger to our country has passed. I see the intelligence every day. The danger has not passed. Here in America, we're living in the eye of a storm. All around us, dangerous winds are swirling, and these winds could reach our shores at any moment.

The men and women of the Coast Guard know how to navigate the storm. We're counting on you to help America weather the challenges that lie ahead. As you begin your Coast Guard careers, you can approach the future with confidence, because our nation has faced dangerous enemies before, and emerged victorious every time. Terrorists can try to kill the innocent, but they cannot kill the desire for liberty that burns in the hearts of millions across the earth. The power of freedom defeated the ideologies of fascism and communism in the last century, and freedom will defeat the hateful ideologies of the terrorists in this century.

Victory in this struggle will require valor and determination and persistence, and these qualities can be found in abundance in the Class of 2007.

Your class has chosen a motto, Let Courage Part the Seas. America will be counting on your courage in the years to come. You will take your oath as Coast Guard officers in a time of war, knowing all the risks your service entails. I thank each of you for your bold decision to wear the uniform. My call to you is this, Trust in the power of freedom to overcome tyranny and terror, show leadership in freedom's defense, and character in all you do, be ready for anything. The Coasties who came before you never thought they would be organizing a flotilla in New York Harbor, or patrolling distant coasts in the Persian Gulf. Like them, you will serve in ways you cannot imagine today. But if you

bring the skills and creativity you learned at this Academy to every task, our nation's security will be in good hands.

You leave this Academy strong in resolve to be worthy of the traditions of commissioned officers in the United States Coast Guard.

I respect your passion for service, and the courage of your choice. Your country is grateful, and proud of each of you. Congratulations. **God bless.** Semper Paratus.

- 6 sections extracted
- 3897 words post-extraction

13. President Bush Visits Prague, Czech Republic, Discusses Freedom June 5 2007

President Ilves, Foreign Minister Schwarzenberg, distinguished guests: Laura and I are pleased to be back in Prague, and we appreciate the gracious welcome in this historic hall. Tomorrow I attend the G 8 Summit, where I will meet with the leaders of the world's most powerful economies. This afternoon, I stand with men and women who represent an even greater power, the power of human conscience.

In this room are dissidents and democratic activists from seventeen countries on five continents. **You follow different traditions, you practice different faiths, and you face different challenges.** But you are united by an unwavering conviction, that freedom is the non-negotiable right of every man, woman, and child, and that the path to lasting peace in our world is liberty.

This conference was conceived by three of the great advocates for freedom in our time, Jose Maria Aznar, Vaclav Havel, and Natan Sharansky. I thank them for the invitation to address this inspiring assembly, and for showing the world that an individual with moral clarity and courage can change the course of history.

It is fitting that we meet in the Czech Republic, a nation at the heart of Europe, and of the struggle for freedom on this continent. Nine decades ago, Tomas Masaryk proclaimed Czechoslovakia's independence based on the ideals of modern democracy. That democracy was interrupted, first by the Nazis and then by the communists, who seized power in a shameful coup that left the Foreign Minister dead in the courtyard of this palace.

Through the long darkness of Soviet occupation, the true face of this nation was never in doubt. The world saw it in the reforms of the Prague Spring and the principled demands of Charter seventy seven. Those efforts were met with tanks and truncheons and arrests by secret police. But the violent would not have the final word. In 1989, thousands gathered in Wenceslas Square to call for their freedom. Theaters like the Magic Lantern became headquarters for dissidents. Workers left their factories to support a strike. And

within weeks, the regime crumbled. Vaclav Havel went from prisoner of state to head of state. And the people of Czechoslovakia brought down the Iron Curtain with a Velvet Revolution.

Across Europe, similar scenes were unfolding. In Poland, a movement that began in a single shipyard freed people across a nation. In Hungary, mourners gathered at Heroes Square to bury a slain reformer, and bury their communist regime, too. **In East Germany, families came together for prayer meetings, and found the strength to tear down a wall. Soon, activists emerged from the attics and church basements to reclaim the streets of Bulgaria, and Romania, and Albania, and Latvia, and Lithuania, and Estonia.** The Warsaw Pact was dissolved peacefully in this very room. And after seven decades of oppression, the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

Behind these astonishing achievements was the triumph of freedom in the battle of ideas. The communists had an imperial ideology that claimed to know the directions of history. **But in the end, it was overpowered by ordinary people who wanted to live their lives, and worship their God, and speak the truth to their children.** The communists had the harsh rule of Brezhnev, and Honecker, and Ceausescu. **But in the end, it was no match for the vision of Walesa and Havel, the defiance of Sakharov and Sharansky, the resolve of Reagan and Thatcher, and fearless witness of John Paul.** From this experience, a clear lesson has emerged, Freedom can be resisted, and freedom can be delayed, but freedom cannot be denied.

In the years since liberation, Central and Eastern European nations have navigated the difficult transition to democracy. Leaders made the tough reforms needed to enter North Atlantic Treaty Council and the European Union. Citizens claimed their freedom in the Balkans and beyond. And now, after centuries of war and suffering, the continent of Europe is at last in peace.

With this new era have come new threats to freedom. In dark and repressive corners of the world, whole generations grew up with no voice in their government and no hope in their future. This life of oppression bred deep resentment. And for many, resentment boiled over into radicalism and extremism and violence. The world saw the result on September the eleventh, 2001, when terrorists based in Afghanistan sent nineteen suicidal men to murder nearly three thousand innocent people in the United States.

For some, this attack called for a narrow response. **In truth, September the eleventh was evidence of a much broader danger, an international movement of violent Islamic extremists that threatens free people everywhere. The extremists' ambition is to build a totalitarian empire that spans all current and former Muslim lands, including parts of Europe.** Their strategy to achieve that goal is to frighten the world into surrender through a ruthless campaign of terrorist murder.

To confront this enemy, America and our allies have taken the offensive with the full range of our military, intelligence, and law enforcement capabilities. Yet this battle is more than a military conflict. Like the Cold War, it's an ideological struggle between two

fundamentally different visions of humanity. **On one side are the extremists, who promise paradise, but deliver a life of public beatings and repression of women and suicide bombings. On the other side are huge numbers of moderate men and women, including millions in the Muslim world, who believe that every human life has dignity and value that no power on Earth can take away.**

The most powerful weapon in the struggle against extremism is not bullets or bombs, it is the universal appeal of freedom. **Freedom is the design of our Maker, and the longing of every soul.** Freedom is the best way to unleash the creativity and economic potential of a nation. Freedom is the only ordering of a society that leads to justice. And human freedom is the only way to achieve human rights.

Expanding freedom is more than a moral imperative, it is the only realistic way to protect our people in the long run. Years ago, Andrei Sakharov warned that a country that does not respect the rights of its own people will not respond to the rights of its neighbors. History proves him right. Governments accountable to their people do not attack each other. Democracies address problems through the political process, instead of blaming outside scapegoats. Young people who can disagree openly with their leaders are less likely to adopt violent ideologies. And nations that commit to freedom for their people will not support extremists, they will join in defeating them.

For all these reasons, the United States is committed to the advance of freedom and democracy as the great alternatives to repression and radicalism. And we have a historic objective in view. In my second inaugural address, I pledged America to the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world. Some have said that qualifies me as a dissident president. If standing for liberty in the world makes me a dissident, I wear that title with pride.

America pursues our freedom agenda in many ways, some vocal and visible, others quiet and hidden from view. Ending tyranny requires support for the forces of conscience that undermine repressive societies from within. The Soviet dissident Andrei Amalrik compared a tyrannical state to a soldier who constantly points a gun at his enemy, until his arms finally tire and the prisoner escapes. The role of the free world is to put pressure on the arms of the world's tyrants, and strengthen the prisoners who are trying to speed their collapse.

So I meet personally with dissidents and democratic activists from some of the world's worst dictatorships, including Belarus, and Burma, and Cuba, and North Korea, Sudan, and Zimbabwe. At this conference, I look forward to meeting other dissidents, including some from Iran and Syria. One of those dissidents is Mamoun Homsy. In 2001, this man was an independent member of the Syrian parliament who simply issued a declaration asking the government to begin respecting human rights. For this entirely peaceful act, he was arrested and sent to jail, where he spent several years beside other innocent advocates for a free Syria.

Another dissident I will meet here is Rebiyah Kadeer of China, whose sons have been jailed in what we believe is an act of retaliation for her human rights activities. The talent

of men and women like Rebiyah is the greatest resource of their nations, far more valuable than the weapons of their army or their oil under the ground. America calls on every nation that stifles dissent to end its repression, to trust its people, and to grant its citizens the freedom they deserve.

There are many dissidents who couldn't join us because they are being unjustly imprisoned or held under house arrest. **I look forward to the day when a conference like this one include Alexander Kozulin of Belarus, Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma, Oscar Elias Biscet of Cuba, Father Nguyen Van Ly of Vietnam, Ayman Nour of Egypt.** The daughter of one of these political prisoners is in this room. I would like to say to her, and all the families, I thank you for your courage. **I pray for your comfort and strength.** And I call for the immediate and unconditional release of your loved ones.

In the eyes of America, the democratic dissidents today are the democratic leaders of tomorrow. So we're taking new steps to strengthen our support. We recently created a Human Rights Defenders Fund, which provides grants for the legal defense and medical expenses of activists arrested or beaten by repressive governments. I strongly support the Prague Document that your conference plans to issue, which states that the protection of human rights is critical to international peace and security. And in keeping with the goals of that declaration, I have asked Secretary Rice to send a directive to every United States ambassador in an un-free nation, Seek out and meet with activists for democracy. Seek out those who demand human rights.

People living in tyranny need to know they are not forgotten. North Koreans live in a closed society where dissent is brutally suppressed, and they are cut off from their brothers and sisters to the south. The Iranians are a great people who deserve to chart their own future, but they are denied their liberty by a handful of extremists whose pursuit of nuclear weapons prevents their country from taking its rightful place amongst the thriving. The Cubans are desperate for freedom, and as that nation enters a period of transition, we must insist on free elections and free speech and free assembly. And in Sudan, freedom is denied and basic human rights are violated by a government that pursues genocide against its own citizens. My message to all those who suffer under tyranny is this: We will never excuse your oppressors. We will always stand for your freedom.

Freedom is also under assault in countries that have shown some progress. In Venezuela, elected leaders have resorted to shallow populism to dismantle democratic institutions and tighten their grip on power. The government of Uzbekistan continues to silence independent voices by jailing human rights activists. **And Vietnam recently arrested and imprisoned a number of peaceful religious and political activists.**

These developments are discouraging, but there are more reasons for optimism. At the start of the 1980's, there were only forty five democracies on Earth. There are now more than one hundred and twenty democracies, more people now live in freedom than ever before. **And it is the responsibility of those who enjoy the blessings of liberty to help those who are struggling to establish their free societies.** So the United States has

nearly doubled funding for democracy projects. We're working with our partners in the G 8 to promote the rise of a vibrant civil society in the Middle East through initiatives like the Forum for the Future. We're cooperating side-by-side with the new democracies in Ukraine and Georgia and Kyrgyzstan. We congratulate the people of Yemen on their landmark presidential election, and the people of Kuwait on elections in which women were able to vote and run for office for the first time. We stand firmly behind the people of Lebanon and Afghanistan and Iraq as they defend their democratic gains against extremist enemies. These people are making tremendous sacrifices for liberty. They deserve the admiration of the free world, and they deserve our unwavering support.

The United States is also using our influence to urge valued partners like Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to move toward freedom. These nations have taken brave stands and strong action to confront extremists, along with some steps to expand liberty and transparency. Yet they have a great distance still to travel. The United States will continue to press nations like these to open up their political systems, and give greater voice to their people. Inevitably, this creates tension. But our relationships with these countries are broad enough and deep enough to bear it. As our relationships with South Korea and Taiwan during the Cold War prove, America can maintain a friendship and push a nation toward democracy at the same time.

We're also applying that lesson to our relationships with Russia and China. The United States has strong working relationships with these countries. Our friendship with them is complex. In the areas where we share mutual interests, we work together. In other areas, we have strong disagreements. China's leaders believe that they can continue to open the nation's economy without opening its political system. We disagree. In Russia, reforms that were once promised to empower citizens have been derailed, with troubling implications for democratic development. Part of a good relationship is the ability to talk openly about our disagreements. So the United States will continue to build our relationships with these countries, and we will do it without abandoning our principles or our values.

We appreciate that free societies take shape at different speeds in different places. One virtue of democracy is that it reflects local history and traditions. **Yet there are fundamental elements that all democracies share, freedom of speech, religion, press, and assembly, rule of law enforced by independent courts, private property rights, and political parties that compete in free and fair elections.** These rights and institutions are the foundation of human dignity, and as countries find their own path to freedom, they must find a loyal partner in the United States of America.

Extending the reach of freedom is a mission that unites democracies around the world. Some of the greatest contributions are coming from nations with the freshest memories of tyranny. I appreciate the Czech Republic's support for human rights projects in Belarus and Burma and Cuba. I thank Germany, and Poland, and the Czech Republic, and Hungary, and Slovenia, and Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, Croatia for contributing to the new United Nations Democracy Fund. I'm grateful for the commitment many new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe are making to Afghanistan and Iraq. I

appreciate that these countries are willing to do the hard work necessary to enable people who want to be free to live in a free society.

In all these ways, the freedom agenda is making a difference. The work has been difficult, and that is not going to change. There will be triumphs and failures, progress and setbacks. Ending tyranny cannot be achieved overnight. And of course, this objective has its critics.

Some say that ending tyranny means imposing our values on people who do not share them, or that people live in parts of the world where freedom cannot take hold. That is refuted by the fact that every time people are given a choice, they choose freedom. We saw that when the people of Latin America turned dictatorships into democracies, and the people of South Africa replaced apartheid with a free society, and the people of Indonesia ended their long authoritarian rule. We saw it when Ukrainians in orange scarves demanded that their ballots be counted. We saw it when millions of Afghans and Iraqis defied the terrorists to elect free governments. At a polling station in Baghdad, I was struck by the words of an Iraqi, he had one leg, and he told a reporter, I would have crawled here if I had to. Was democracy, I ask the critics, was democracy imposed on that man? Was freedom a value he did not share? The truth is that the only ones who have to impose their values are the extremists and the radicals and the tyrants.

And that is why the communists crushed the Prague Spring, and threw an innocent playwright in jail, and trembled at the sight of a Polish Pope. History shows that ultimately, freedom conquers fear. And given a chance, freedom will conquer fear in every nation on Earth.

Another objective, objection is that ending tyranny will unleash chaos. Critics point to the violence in Afghanistan, or Iraq, or Lebanon as evidence that freedom leaves people less safe. But look who's causing the violence. It's the terrorists, it's the extremists. It is no coincidence that they are targeting young democracies in the Middle East. They know that the success of free societies there is a mortal threat to their ambitions, and to their very survival. The fact that our enemies are fighting back is not a reason to doubt democracy. It is evidence that they recognize democracy's power. It is evidence that we are at war. And it is evidence that free nations must do what it takes to prevail.

Still, some argue that a safer goal would be stability, especially in the Middle East. The problem is that pursuing stability at the expense of liberty does not lead to peace, it leads to September the eleventh, 2001. The policy of tolerating tyranny is a moral and strategic failure. It is a mistake the world must not repeat in the twenty first century.

Others fear that democracy will bring dangerous forces to power, such as Hamas in the Palestinian Territories. Elections will not always turn out the way we hope. Yet democracy consists of more than a single trip to the ballot box. Democracy requires meaningful opposition parties, a vibrant civil society, a government that enforces the law and responds to the needs of its people. Elections can accelerate the creation of such institutions. In a democracy, people will not vote for a life of perpetual violence. To stay

in power, elected officials must listen to their people and pursue their desires for peace, or, in democracies, the voters will replace them through free elections.

Finally, there's the contention that ending tyranny is unrealistic. Well, some argue that extending democracy around the world is simply too difficult to achieve. That's nothing new. We've heard that criticism before throughout history. At every stage of the Cold War, there were those who argued that the Berlin Wall was permanent, and that people behind the Iron Curtain would never overcome their oppressors. History has sent a different message.

The lesson is that freedom will always have its skeptics. But that's not the whole story. There are also people like you, and the loved ones you represent, men and women with courage to risk everything for your ideals. **In his first address as President, Vaclav Havel proclaimed, People, your government has returned to you! He was echoing the first speech of Tomas Masaryk, who was, in turn, quoting the seventeenth century Czech teacher Comenius.** His message was that freedom is timeless. It does not belong to one government or one generation. Freedom is the dream and the right of every person in every nation in every age.

The United States of America believes deeply in that message. It was the inspiration for our founding, when we declared that all men are created equal. It was the conviction that led us to help liberate this continent, and stand with the captive nations through their long struggle. It is the truth that guides our nation to oppose radicals and extremists and terror and tyranny in the world today. And it is the reason I have such great confidence in the men and women in this room.

I leave Prague with a certainty that the cause of freedom is not tired, and that its future is in the best of hands. With unbreakable faith in the power of liberty, you will inspire your people, you will lead your nations, and you will change the world.

Thanks for having me. **And may God bless you.**

- 18 sections extracted
- 3018 words post-extraction

“In his first address as President, Vaclav Havel proclaimed, People, your government has returned to you! He was echoing the first speech of Tomas Masaryk, who was, in turn, quoting the seventeenth century Czech teacher Comenius.” Quotation from Bishop John Amos Comenius.

Appendix 2

Analysis of *Decision Points*

Two perspectives of religious association provide plausible answers by way of a thought experiment: consider, a) negative (and positive) experiences by Bush with religion that have caused threatening impulses where he associates religion in a confrontational way; and b) positive exposure to Bush about America's civil religion that provoke confrontational feelings when the religious nationalism of America is threatened.

Introduction

[“Instead I have told the story of my time in the White House by focusing on the most important part of the job: making decisions.” xi]

[“Second, I write to give readers a perspective on decision making in a complex environment. Many of the decisions that reach the president's desk are tough calls, with strong arguments on both sides. Throughout the book, I describe the options I weighed and the principles I followed.” xii]

N – The president's decisions (including foreign policy along with during the 9/11 crisis were weighed on principles that he followed). What are those principles he followed? Make a note of the principles and see how they correlate with religious influences on his decision-making

[“In the pages that follow, I have done my best to write about the decisions I got right, those I got wrong, and what I would do differently if given the chance. Of course, in the presidency, there are no do-overs. You have to do what you believe is right and accept the consequences.” xii]

N – President Bush notes that he got decisions right and wrong. Consider the reasons why some decisions were wrong, and based on his decision-making principles, what he would do differently?

Chapter 1: Quitting

(1) “Could I continue to grow closer to the Almighty, or was alcohol becoming my god? I knew the answers, but it was hard to summon the will to make a change.” 2

“The crosscurrents in my life came into focus.

(2) For months I had been praying that God would show me how to better reflect His will.

(3) My Scripture readings had clarified the nature of temptation and the reality that the love of earthly pleasures could replace the love of God. My problem was not only drinking; it was selfishness. The booze was leading me to put myself ahead of others, especially my family. I loved Laura and the girls too much to let that happen.

(4) Faith showed me a way out. I knew I could count on the grace of God to help me change. I would not be easy, but by the end of the run, I had made up my mind: I was done drinking.” 2

“My body craved alcohol.

(5) I prayed for the strength to fight off my desires.” 2-3

(6) “My journey included challenges, struggles, and failures. It is testimony to the strength of love, **the power of faith**, and the truth that people can change.” 3

“On Friday nights, we cheered on the Bulldogs of Midland High.

POS M (7) On Sunday mornings, we went to church. Nobody locked their doors. Years later, when I would speak about the American Dream, it was Midland I had in mind.” 6

“Amid this happy life came a sharp pang of sorrow. In the spring of 1953 my three-year-old sister Robin was diagnosed with leukemia, a form of cancer that was then virtually untreatable. My parents checked her into Memorial Sloan-Kettering in New York City.

POS M (8) They hoped for a miracle. They also knew that researchers would learn from studying her disease.” 6

“When Dad was home, he started getting up early to go to work.

POS M (9) I later learned he was going to church at 6:30 every morning to pray for Robin.” 6

[“Eventually their patient love affected me.

I When you know you have unconditional love, there is no point in rebellion and not need to fear failure. I was free to follow my instincts, enjoy my life, and love my parents as much as they loved me.” 8]

“We called her Ganny, and she was possibly the sweetest person I have ever met.

POS M (10) I remember tucking me into bed when I was little, tickling my back as we said nightly prayers.” 10

“Dad was with her in the final moments.

POS M (11) She asked him to read to her from the Bible next to her bed.

(12) As he opened it, a bundle of old papers slipped out. They were letters Dad had written her years ago.” 10

“At Yale, I had no interest in being a campus politician. But occasionally I was exposed to the politics of the campus. The fall of my freshman year, Dad ran for the Senate against a Democrat named Ralph Yarborough. Dad got more votes than any Republican

candidate in Texas history, but the national landslide led by President Johnson was too much to overcome. Shortly after the election,

(13) I introduced myself to the Yale chaplain, William Sloan Coffin.

(14) He knew Dad from their time together at Yale, and I thought he might offer a word of comfort.

NEG M (15) Instead, he told me that my father had been “beaten by a better man.”

14

“His words were a harsh blow for an eighteen-year-old kid. When the story was reported in the newspapers more than thirty years later, Coffin sent me a letter saying he was sorry for the remark, if he had made it. I accepted his apology. But his self-righteous attitude was a foretaste of the vitriol that would emanate from many college professors during my presidency.” 14

“After listening to him [Wolfgang Leonhard], I never thought about the Soviet Union or the communist movement the same way.

^ARN M The class was an introduction to the struggle between tyranny and freedom, a battle that has held my attention for the rest of my life.” 15

(16) “My senior year, I took a course called The History and Practice of American Oratory, taught by Professor Rollin G. Osterweis. We read famous American speeches, **from the fiery sermons of colonial preacher Jonathan Edwards to President Roosevelt’s ‘Day of Infamy’ address after Pearl Harbor.**

^ARN M I was struck by the power of words to shape history. I wrote a paper analyzing Georgia journalist Henry W. Grady’s speech on the New South and drafted four minutes of remarks nominating Red Sox star Carl Yastrzenski for mayor of Boston. Professor Osterweis taught us how to structure a speech: introduction, three main points, peroration [*recapitulatio* and *affectus*], and conclusion. **I’ve remembered his model all my life, which, as it turned out, has included quite a few speeches.” 17**

On getting into Harvard Business School

“After some thought, Dad said, ‘Son, you ought to seriously consider going. I would be a good way to broaden your horizons.’ That was all he said. But he got me thinking.

Broadening horizons was exactly what I was trying to do during those years.

POS M (17) It was another way of saying, ‘Push yourself to realize your God-given talents.’” 22

[“I had gone to Andover by expectation and Yale by tradition; I was at Harvard by choice. There I learned the mechanics of finance, accounting, and economics. I came away with a better understanding of management, particularly the importance of setting clear goals for an organization, delegating tasks, and holding people to account. I also gained confidence to pursue my entrepreneurial urge.” 22]

N – Setting goals is a hallmark for Bush as a prelude and postlude to his decision-making. He makes his decisions with goals in mind. “Sweeping changes” inclusive of

deliverables. The results are how he evaluates his effectiveness (success). His vision and goals go hand in hand.

Goals help him achieve his vision. In politics, circumstances beyond his control also happen, like 9/11, where his mandate changed, his vision augmented and subsequently, his goals.

“I pulled into town in the fall of 1975 with all my possessions loaded into my 1970 Oldsmobile Cutlass. I had a lot to learn, so **I sought out mentors.**” 23

T – Bush sought out mentors. It was his *modus operandi*. His father was his most influential political mentor who also was a spiritual example. He followed the example of former presidents, like Lincoln, by reading biographies as part of his study of history. His religious mentors in varying degrees included Graham, Keller, Craig, Caldwell, John Paul II, Williams, Evans, and Fornea. [T.D. Jakes is listed as a friend and Bush’s reflection does not indicate in influence, but that he, Jakes, put his faith in action.]

“While I couldn’t pinpoint it at the time, I believe there is a reason Laura and I never met all those years before.

(18) God brought her into my life at just the right time, when I was ready to settle down and was open to having a partner by my side. Thankfully, I had the good sense to recognize it. It was the best decision of my life.” 27

“Shortly after we got married, Laura and I decided to have children. After a couple of years of trying, it was not happening as easily as we had hoped.

(19) We discussed, reflected, prayed, and made the decision to adopt.” 27

(20) “Founded by a Methodist missionary in 1887, [Edna] Gladney [Home in Fort Worth] had become one of the premier adoption homes in the world.” 28

“Suddenly she shouted, ‘I see two babies, two beautiful babies! This one is a girl as well. You are going to be the parents of twins.’ My eyes filled with tears.

(21) It was a double blessing. I started calling the sonogram image our first family photo.” 28

“I marveled at my wife’s strength.

(22) This quiet, unassuming woman was one tough soul.” 29

“I had thought about those girls for so long that I could barely believe they were in my arms. It was the day before Thanksgiving 1981. And thankful is exactly how I felt.

(23) I was thankful to God for their lives, thankful to the skilled medical team for their excellent care, and thankful to Laura for her determination to carry our girls long enough that they could be born healthy.” 29

“The mid-1980’s were gloomy years in Midland. There was a sense of anxiety, and many were searching for purpose.

(24) Religion had always been part of my life, but I really wasn't a believer.

(25) I was baptized in Yale's nondenominational Dwight Hall Chapel.

POS M (26) When I was young my parents took me to First Presbyterian in Midland, St. Martin's Episcopal in Houston, and St. Ann's Episcopal in Kennebunkport." 30

NEG (27) "I went to church at Andover because it was mandatory.

NEG (28) I never went at Yale. (Inference to Chaplain Coffin's offensive remark to Bush)

NEG (29) I did go when I visited my parents, but my primary mission was to avoid irritating Mother.

POS (30) Laura and I were married at First United Methodist in Midland.

POS (31) We started going regularly after the girls were born, because we felt a responsibility to expose them to faith.

POS (32) I liked spending time with friends in the congregation.

(33) I enjoyed the opportunity for reflection.

POS (34) Once in while, I heard a sermon that inspired me.

(35) I read the Bible occasionally and saw it as a kind of self-improvement course. I knew I could use some self-improvement.

(36) But for the most part, religion was more of a tradition than a spiritual experience. I was listening but not hearing." 31

N – When a POS or NEG attribution is not given to a reference on religion, it is because the context does not indicate whether it was a positive or negative experience, while a form of religious mentoring is implied by attendance.

"In the summer of 1985, we took our annual trip to Maine.

POS M (37) Mother and Dad had invited the great evangelical preacher Billy Graham.

POS M (38) Dad had asked him to answer some questions from the family after dinner." 31

"The first question was from Dad.

POS M (39) He said, 'Billy, some people say you have to have a born-again experience to go to heaven.

POS M (40) Mother [my grandmother] here is the most religious, kind person I know.

POS M (41) Yet she has not born-again experience.

POS M (42) Will she go to heaven?' Wow, pretty profound question from the old man.

POS M (43) We all looked a Billy.

POS M (44) In his quiet, strong voice, he replied, 'George, some of us require a born-again experience to understand God, and some of us are born Christians.

POS M (45) It sounds as if your mom was just born a Christian." 31

POS M (46) "I was captivated by Billy.

POS M (47) He had a powerful presence, full of kindness and grace, and a keen mind.

POS M (48) The next day, he asked me to go for a walk around the property.

POS M (49) He asked about my life in Texas.

POS M (50) I talked to him about the girls and shared my thought that reading the Bible could make me a better person.

POS M (51) In his gentle, loving way, Billy began to deepen my shallow understanding of faith.

POS M (52) There's nothing wrong with using the Bible as a guide to self-improvement, he said.

POS M (53) Jesus' life provides a powerful example for our own.

POS M (54) But self-improvement is not really the point of the Bible.

POS M (55) The center of Christianity is not the self.

POS M (56) It is Christ." 31

POS M (57) "Billy explained that we are all sinners, and that we cannot earn God's love through good deeds.

POS M (58) He made clear that the path to salvation is through the grace of God.

POS M (59) And the way to find that grace is to embrace Christ as the risen Lord—the son of a God so powerful and loving that He gave His only son to conquer death and defeat sin." 31

POS M (60) "These were profound concepts, and I did not fully grasp them that day.

POS M (61) But Billy had planted a seed.

POS M (62) His thoughtful explanation had made the soil less firm and the brambles less thick." 32

POS M (63) "Shortly after we got back to Texas, a package from Billy arrived.

POS M (64) It was a copy of The Living Bible.

POS M (65) He had inscribed: "To my friend George W. Bush, May God bless you and Laura always."

POS M (66) He included a reference to Philippians 1:6: "And I am certain that God, who began the good work within you, will continue His work until it is finally finished on the day when Christ Jesus returns." 32

POS M (67) "In the early fall, I mentioned my conversation with Billy to Don Evans.

(68) He told me he and another Midland friend, Don Jones, had been attending a community Bible study.

(69) It met Wednesday nights at First Presbyterian Church.

(70) I decided to give it a shot." 32

(71) "Each week, we studied a chapter from the New Testament.

NEG (72) At first I was a little skeptical.

NEG (73) I had a hard time resisting the temptation to wisecrack.

NEG (74) One night the group leaders asked, "What is a prophet?" I answered, "That's when revenue exceeds expenses."

NEG (75) No one has seen one around here since Elijah.” 32

POS (76) “Soon I started to take the sessions more seriously.

POS (77) As I read the Bible, I was moved by the stories of Jesus’ kindness to suffering strangers, His healing of the blind and crippled, and His ultimate act of sacrificial love when He was nailed to the cross.

POS (78) For Christmas that year, Don Evans gave me a Daily Bible, a version split into 365 individual readings.

POS (79) I read it every morning and prayed to understand it more clearly. In time, my faith began to grow.” 32

T – Jesus’ “kindness to suffering strangers...His ultimate act of sacrificial love” are themes that run through Bush’s presidential speeches. Such themes relate with his perspective of human rights and more foundationally, the call to fight for freedom in his championing of democracy.

NEG (80) “At first I was troubled by my doubts.

NEG (81) The notion of a living God was a big leap, especially for someone with a logical mind like mine.

NEG (82) Surrendering yourself to an Almighty is a challenge to the ego.

POS (83) But I came to realize that struggles and doubts are natural parts of faith.

(84) If you haven’t doubted, you probably haven’t thought very hard about what you believe.” 32

POS (85) “Ultimately faith is a walk—a journey toward a greater understanding.

(86) It is not possible to prove God’s existence, but that cannot be the standard for belief.

(87) After all, it is equally impossible to prove He doesn’t exist.

(88) In the end, whether you believe or don’t believe, your position is based on faith.” 32

POS (89) “That realization freed me to recognize signs of God’s presence.

POS M (90) I saw the beauty of nature, the wonder of my little girls, the abiding love of Laura and my parents, and the freedom that comes with forgiveness—all what the preacher Timothy Keller calls ‘clues of God.’

POS (91) I moved ahead more confidently on my walk.

POS (92) Prayer was the nourishment that sustained me.

POS (93) As I deepened my understanding of Christ, I came closer to my original goal of being a better person—not because I was racking up points on the positive side of the heavenly ledger, but because I was moved by God’s love.” 32-33

“I realized something else.

POS M (94) When Billy started answering questions that night in Maine, I was on my third glass of wine, after a couple of beers before dinner.

POS M (95) Billy’s message had overpowered the booze. But that was not always the case. I had long been a social drinker. I liked to drink with friends, with meals, at sporting

events, and at parties. By my mid-thirties, I was drinking routinely, with an occasional bender thrown in.” 33

(96) “At age forty, I finally found the strength to do it—a strength that came from love I had felt from my earliest days, and **from faith that I didn’t fully discover for many years.**” 34

POS (97) “**I could not have quit drinking without faith.**

(98) **I also don’t think my faith would be as strong if I hadn’t quit drinking.**

POS (99) **I believe God helped open my eyes, which were closing because of booze.**

POS (100) **For that reason, I’ve always felt a special connection to the words of ‘Amazing Grace,’ my favorite hymn: ‘I once was lost, but now am found / was blind, but now I see.’” 34**

Chapter 2: Running

POS (101) “**I did know I felt a calling to run.** I was concerned about the future of the country, and I had a clear vision of where to lead it.

(102) I wanted to cut taxes, raise standards in public schools, reform Social Security and Medicare, **rally faith-based charities**, and lift the sights of the American people by encouraging a new era of personal responsibility.

ARN POS (103) As I said in my speeches, “**When I put my hand on the Bible, I will swear to not only uphold the laws of our land, I will swear to uphold the honor and dignity of the office to which have been elected, so help me God.**” 36

“The decision process was all-consuming.

(104) **I thought about it, talked about it, analyzed it, and prayed about it.** I had a philosophy I wanted to advance, and I was convinced I could build a team worthy of the presidency. I had the financial security to provide for my family, win or lose.”

[“The seeds of that decision [to run for president], like many others in my life, were planted in the dusty ground beneath the boundless sky of Midland, Texas.” 37]

“‘You can win this race. You can be president.’ I was flattered by the confidence. But my decision would not turn on whether others thought I could win. After all, everyone told me I could never beat Ann Richards.

(105) **The key question was whether I felt the call to run.**” 60

“I can’t pinpoint exactly when I made up my mind, but there were moments of clarity along the way. One came during my second inauguration as governor.

POS M (106) **The morning of the ceremony, we attended a service at First United Methodist Church in downtown Austin. Laura and I had invited Reverend Mark Craig, our friend and pastor from Dallas, to deliver the sermon.**” 60

["I tried hard to focus on the inauguration, but I couldn't. As we walked into the church, I told Mother I had been struggling with the decision of whether or not to run for president." 60]

POS M (107) "Then Mark Craig struck.

POS M (108) In his sermon, he spoke about the Book of Exodus, when God calls Moses to action.

POS M (109) Moses' first response was disbelief: 'Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh and bring the Israelites out of Egypt?'

POS M (110) He had every excuse in the book.

POS M (111) He hadn't led a perfect life; he wasn't sure if people would follow him; he couldn't even speak that clearly.

POS M (112) That sounded a little familiar." 61

POS M (113) "Mark described God's reassurance that Moses would have the power to perform the task he had been called to do.

POS M (114) Then Mark summoned the congregation to action.

POS M (115) He declared that the country was starving for moral and ethical leadership.

POS M (116) Like Moses, he concluded, 'We have the opportunity, each and every one of us, to do the right thing, and for the right reason.'" 61

"I wondered if this was the answer to my question.

POS M (117) There were no mysterious voices whispering in my ears, just Mark Craig's high-pitched Texas twang coming from the pulpit.

(118) Then Mother leaned forward from her seat at the other end of the pew.

POS M (119) She caught my eye and mouthed, 'He is talking to you.' After the service, I felt different. The pressure evaporated. I felt a sense of calm." 62

POS M (120) "We had an altar carved out of Texas limestone set on a peninsula in our lake, and our family friend Kirbyjon Caldwell—a wonderful pastor from Houston—officiated at a sunset ceremony." 63

Chapter 3: Personnel

POS (121) "I was intrigued by Jack Danforth. An ordained minister, Jack was honest, ethical, and forthright." 67

"I was third in the line to answer. I thought about citing someone like Mill or Locke, whose natural law theory had influenced the Founders. Then there was Lincoln; hard to go wrong with Abe in a Republican debate. I was still thinking when Bachman turned to me: 'Governor Bush?' No more time to weigh my options.

POS (122) The words tumbled out of my mouth: 'Christ.' I said, 'because He changed my heart.'" 71

“Fine job son,’ Dad said. ‘I don’t think your answer will hurt you too much.’ ‘Which answer?’ I asked.

(123) ‘You know, that one on Jesus,’ he said.” 71

“At first I hadn’t thought about the answer hurting me. I had just blurted out what was in my heart. Upon reflection, however, I understood the note of caution.

(124) I was skeptical of politicians who touted religion as a way to get votes.

(125) I didn’t believe in a Methodist or Jewish or Muslim approach to public policy.

(126) It was not the role of government to promote any religion. I hadn’t done that as governor of Texas, and I certainly didn’t intend to do it as president.” 71

“Sure enough, my words prompted an outcry.

(127) ‘There is something unholy about this,’ one columnist wrote.

(128) ‘W. is just checking Jesus’ numbers, and Jesus is polling well in Iowa,’ another concluded.” 71

POS (129) “My response had connected with many people who had had similar experiences in their own lives and appreciated my speaking openly about faith.” 71-72

“The first debate was in Boston.

POS M (130) In the holding room backstage, I called Kirbyjon Caldwell, and we prayed over the phone.

POS M (131) Kirbyjon asked the Almighty to give me strength and wisdom.

POS M (132) His voice gave me such comfort and calm that I made the telephone prayer with Kirbyjon a tradition before major events for the rest of the campaign and during my presidency.” 75

N – Was Kirbyjon Caldwell was with Bush on his visit to 9/11 after the attacks? Did his spiritual presence influence Bush’s foreign policy decision-making?

(133) “I first saw Prairie Chapel Ranch in February 1998.” 79

(134) “The daughter of an African American minister from segregated Birmingham, Alabama, Condi had a Ph.D. from the University of Denver and had become provost of Stanford at age thirty-eight.” 82

[“Over the next two and a half years, Condi and I met frequently to discuss foreign policy.” 83]

[“I had campaigned on an ambitious vision to transform the military. 83]

Chapter 4: Stem Cells

“I also brought a painting called Rio Grande from an El Paso artist and friend, Tom Lea, and a scene of a horseman charging up a hill by W.H.D. Koerner.

(135) The name of the piece, *A Charge to Keep*, echoed a Methodist hymn by Charles Wesley, which we sang at my first inauguration as governor.

POS (136) Both the painting and hymn reflect the importance of serving a cause larger than oneself.” 107

[“However, the only way to extract embryonic stem cells is to destroy the embryo. This raised a moral dilemma: Could the destruction of one human life be justified by the hopes of saving others?” 110]

[“The moral questions were profound: Is a frozen embryo a human life? If so, what responsibilities do we have to protect it?” 110]

“I told Margaret and Deputy Chief of Staff Josh Bolten that I considered this a far-reaching decision. I laid out a process for making it. I would clarify my guiding principles, listen to experts on all sides of the debate, reach a tentative conclusion, and run it past knowledgeable people. After finalizing a decision, I would explain it to the American people. Finally, I would set up a process to ensure that my policy was implemented.” 110-111

T – Guiding principles are the core to Bush’s decision-making process.

N - Discover his guiding principles and gain insight on his choices. Does religion play a role in the formation of his guiding principles? (See Bush’s guiding principles on his stem cell decision: 136, 137, 138). If so, the causal vector of religious influence via presidential rhetoric is supported. Apply this same rationale to foreign policy decision-making during the crisis of 9/11.

(137) “Jay was a thoughtful and lively lawyer from New York with a serious commitment to his Jewish faith and a dry sense of humor.” 111

“The abortion issue is difficult, sensitive, and personal.

(138) My faith and conscience led me to conclude that human life is sacred.

(139) God created man in His image and therefore every person has value in His eyes.

(140) It seemed to me that an unborn child, while dependent on its mother, is a separate and independent being worthy of protection in its own right. When I saw Barbara and Jenna on the sonogram for the first time, there was not doubt in my mind they were distinct and alive. The fact that they could not speak for themselves only enhanced society’s duty to defend them.” 112

“Many decent and thoughtful people disagreed, including members of my family. I understood their reasons and respected their views.

(141) As president, I had no desire to condemn millions as sinners or dump new fuel on raging cultural fires.

POS M (142) I did feel a responsibility to voice my pro-life convictions and lead the country toward what Pope John Paul II called a culture of life.” 112

(143) “Beginning in the spring of 2001, Margaret, Jay, and Karl Rove—who was in close touch with advocacy groups on both sides of the issue—invited a series of distinguished scientists, ethicists, religious thinkers, and advocates to discuss embryonic stem cell research. The conversations fascinated me. The more I learned, the more questions I had.

(144) When I delivered the commencement address at Notre Dame, I brought up embryonic stem cell research with Father Ed “Monk” Malloy, the president of the university...” 113

POS M (145) “In July 2001, I visited Pope John Paul II at his beautiful summer residence, Castel Gandolfo. Swiss Guards in full regalia escorted us through a series of rooms and into the reception area.

POS M (146) Pope John Paul II was one of the great figures in modern history. A survivor of Nazi and communist rule in his native Poland, he had become the first non-Italian pope in 455 years. With his call ‘Be Not Afraid,’ he rallied the conscience of Central and Eastern Europe to bring down the Iron Curtain.

POS M (147) As the distinguished Cold War historian John Lewis Gaddis later wrote, ‘When John Paul II kissed the ground at the Warsaw airport on June 2, 1979, he began the process by which communism in Poland—and ultimately everywhere else in Europe—would come to an end.’ 116

POS M (148) “When the Holy Father passed away in 2005, Laura, Dad, Bill Clinton, and I flew together to his funeral in Rome.

(149) It was the first time an American president had attended the funeral of a pope, let alone brought two of his predecessors.

(150) Shortly after we arrived, we went to pay our respects to the Holy Father while he was lying in state.

POS M (151) As we knelt at the communion rail to pray over his body, Laura turned to me and said, ‘Now is the time to pray for miracles.’

(152) An unexpected impulse came over me. I prayed for Peter Jennings, the ABC News anchor who was dying of cancer.” 116

(153) “The funeral mass was incredibly moving.

(154) The crowd in St. Peter’s Square cheered, sang, and carried banners celebrating the Holy Father’s life.

(155) After a homily by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger—who eleven days later emerged from the conclave as Pope Benedict XVI—a group of Church officials carried the Holy Father’s casket up the stairs toward St. Peter’s Basilica.

(156) Just before entering the doors, they turned to face the crowd and lifted the coffin for a last time. As they did, the clouds parted and the sun shined through onto the simple wooden box.” 116-117

“After several months of listening and reflecting, I was close to a decision on stem cell research. A defining moment came in a conversation with Leon Kass on July 10. Leon was highly respected physician and philosophy professor at the University of Chicago. **(157) He had written and taught in fields as diverse as evolutionary biology, literature, and the Bible.** He struck me as a thoughtful and wise man.” 117

“The night before the speech, Laura and I had dinner with Jay, Karen and her son, Robert, and a family friend, Fort Worth interior designer Ken Blasingame. **(158) I asked Jay to say a prayer before we began the meal.** He delivered some thoughtful words.

(159) As he finished, we all kept our heads bowed, waiting for the amen.

(160) After a few seconds of hanging, Jay told us that Jewish prayers don’t always end with amen. It was a fitting conclusion to a process filled with learning.” 118

(161) “I have made this decision with great care, and **I pray it is the right one.**” 119

“We hadn’t commissioned a focus group or taken a poll.

(162) Just as we had waited for the amen at the end of Jay’s prayer, we settled in to await the response.” 119

“To the degree that I faced criticism, it came from the right. One conservative activist compared my decision to Nazi conduct during the Holocaust. Another said, ‘I am ashamed of our president, who compromises and gives my generation the...mentality that human life can be picked apart, abused, and destroyed.’

NEG (163) The spokesman for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops said, ‘I seem to be the only man in America who is against the president’s policy.’” 119

“Partisan opponents and commentators questioned my legitimacy, my intelligence, and my sincerity.

NEG (164) They mocked my appearance, my accent, and my religious beliefs.” 121

[“Those who based decisions on principle, not some snapshot of public opinion, were often vindicated over time.” 121]

[“If I abandoned my principles on an issue like stem cell research, how could I maintain my credibility on anything else?” 123]

T – Guiding principles in decision-making. Vindicated over time, maintain credibility.

“I thought a lot about how to send the right signal about the veto.

(165) I wanted a vivid way to show that my position was grounded in my reverence for life, not any aversion to science.” 123

(166) “In Cypress, Texas, J.J. and Tracy Jones were praying for a child.

(167) Through Nightlight Christian Adoptions, they were paired with the Wright family embryos. The result was the smiling, blond-haired boy named Trey whom I held in my arms at the White House.

(168) Thanks to the miracle of science and the compassion of two families, Trey had a loving home and a hopeful life ahead of him.” 123

“A few weeks after the event, I received a touching letter from J.J. Jones.

(169) He described the ‘pain of infertility’ and how blessed he and Tracy felt to have their ‘precious Trey who some describe as a leftover destined to be either destroyed or used for research.” 123

“History will judge the character of our country in large part by the way we answer these challenges to human dignity. 125

T – Human dignity, human rights, freedom and democracy are themes of Bush.

(170) I have faith, as I did when I announced my stem cell decision in 2001, that science and ethics can coexist. With thoughtful policy, we can usher in the new cures that Nancy Reagan hoped for, without moving toward the world foreseen by Aldous Huxley.” 125

Chapter 5: Day of Fire

“On Tuesday, September 11, 2001, I awoke before dawn in my suite at the Colony Beach and Tennis Resort near Sarasota, Florida.

(171) I started the morning by reading the Bible and then went downstairs for a run.” 126

T – Bush is habitual.

N – His habitual characteristic speaks to the theory of cognitive consistency. His ability to remain disciplined and keep on point during his campaigns and presidential speeches may be attributable to his habitual nature—providing support to the consistency of his beliefs and rhetoric according to the operational code analysis intuition.

^ARN [“My first reaction was outrage. *Someone had dared attack America.* They were going to pay. Then I looked at the faces of the children in front of me. I thought about the contrast between the brutality of the attackers and the innocence of those children. Millions like them would soon be counting on me to protect them. I was determined not to let them down.” 127]

I – The audacity of attack—that someone would attack the world’s bastion of freedom, the “City on a Hill, the light to the nations.”

T – Protection of Americans.

[“I had settled on a plan of action: When the lesson ended, I would leave the classroom calmly, gather the facts, and speak to the nation.” 127]

[“‘Ladies and gentlemen, this is a difficult moment for America,’ I began. ‘...Two airplanes have crashed into the World Trade Center in an apparent terrorist attack on our country.’ There was an audible gasp from the audience of parents and community members, who were expecting a speech on education. ‘Terrorism against our nation will not stand,’ I said...” 128]

[“My thoughts clarified: The first plane could have been an accident. The second was definitely an attack. The third was a declaration of war.” 128]

[“My blood was boiling. We were going to find out who did this, and kick their ass.” 128]

“So many people had lost their loved ones with no warning.

(172) I prayed that God would comfort the suffering and guide the country through this trial.

(173) I thought of the lyrics from one of my favorite hymns, ‘God of Grace and God of Glory’: ‘Grant us wisdom, grant us courage, for the facing of this hour.’” 129

“While my emotions might have been similar to those of most Americans, my duties were not. There would be time later to mourn. There would be an opportunity to seek justice. But first I had to manage the crisis. We had suffered the most devastating surprise attack since Pearl Harbor. An enemy had struck our capital for the first time since the War of 1812. In a single morning, the purpose of my presidency had grown clear: to protect our people and defend our freedom that had come under attack.” 129

T – Protect Americans and defend freedom.

[“The first step of any successful crisis response is to project calm. 129]

[“Next, we needed to sort out the facts, take action to secure the nation, and help the affected areas recover. Over time, we had to devise a strategy to bring the terrorists to justice so they would not strike again.” 129]

T – Protect Americans by devising “a strategy to bring the terrorists to justice so they would not strike again.”

[“I told Dick that our pilots should contact suspicious planes and try to get them to land peacefully. If that failed, they had my authority to shoot them down. Hijacked planes were weapons of war. Despite the agonizing costs, taking one out could save countless lives on the ground. I had just made my first decision as a wartime commander in chief.” 129]

N – Protecting Americans and defending freedom was not just a theme, it became a foundational principle for his presidential decision-making during the 9/11 crisis—immediately and during the years that followed.

[“I told them I was not going to let terrorists scare me away. ‘I’m the president,’ I said firmly. ‘And we’re going to Washington.’” 130]

“The voice on the loudspeaker returned. ‘The flight from Madrid,’ he intoned, ‘has landed in Lisbon, Portugal.’

(174) Thank God, I thought. It was another example of the fog of war.” 134

NEG (175) “Arabic for ‘the base,’ **al Qaeda was a fundamentalist Islamic terror network hosted and supported by the Taliban government in Afghanistan.** Its leader was Osama bin Laden, a radical Saudi from a wealthy family who had been expelled from the kingdom when he opposed the government’s decision to allow American troops to be there during the Gulf War. The group held extremist views and considered it their duty to kill anyone who stood in their way.” 134

[“As I later put it, we would do more than put ‘a million-dollar missile on a five-dollar tent.’ When America responded to these attacks, it would be deliberate, forceful, and effective.” 135]

N – Protecting Americans included protecting the reputation of America. Thus, retaliation as an expression of justice required a strong statement of punishment for those who attacked America.

“I also wanted the speech to convey my sense of moral outrage.

(176) The deliberate murder of innocent people is an act of pure evil.” 137

[“I was looking at a modern-day Pearl Harbor. Just as Franklin Roosevelt had rallied the nation to defend freedom, it would be my responsibility to lead a new generation to protect America.” 137]

T – Protecting America, perceived by Bush as more than just his protection over the nation, included leading a new generation to protect the nation for years to come. This shows evidence of his instinctive foresight and depth of understanding the implication of the attack and hence, his actions as a means of follow-up.

Following his speech from the Oval Office, Bush says:

(177) “I closed with Psalm 23: ‘Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for You are with me.’” 138

(178) “I also drew strength from my faith, and from history.

(179) I found solace in reading the Bible, which Abraham Lincoln called ‘the best gift God has given to man.’ I admired Lincoln’s moral clarity and resolve. The clash between freedom and tyranny, he said, was ‘an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory.’ The war on terror would be the same.”

NEG (180) “My second concern was about backlash against Arab and Muslim Americans. I had heard reports of verbal harassment against people who appeared to be Middle Eastern...**I made plans to convey that message by visiting a mosque.”** 141

“One of the last people to speak was Robert Byrd, the eighty-three-year-old Democratic senator from West Virginia. He had served through the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, the end of the Cold War, and countless other challenges. His eloquent words inspired the room.

POS (181) ‘Despite Hollywood and TV,’ he said, **‘there is an army of people who believe in the divine guidance and the Creator...Mighty forces will come to your aid.’**” 142

(182) “The last question came from a reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor*: ‘Could you give us a sense as to what kind of prayers your are thinking and where your heart is...?’” 143

“I told the agents to double-check the intelligence and send home as many of the White House staff as possible. But I was staying put. I was not going to give the enemy the pleasure of seeing me hustled around to different locations again. The Secret Service extended the security perimeter of the White House.

(183) We made it through the day. When we went to bed, I thought, *Another day with no attack. Thank God.*” 144

“Nearly three thousand innocent men, women, and children were killed on September 11. **(184) I felt it was important for the country to mourn together, so I set aside Friday as a National Day of Prayer and Remembrance.** I knew September 14 would be a grueling and emotional day. I did not expect it to be the most inspiring one of my life.” 144

(185) “We started the Cabinet meeting with a prayer.

(186) I asked Don Rumsfeld to lead it.

(187) He offered moving words about the victims of the attacks and asked for the ‘patience to measure our lust for action.’

(188) The moment of silence after prayer gave me time to collect my emotions.

(189) I thought about the speech I would soon give at the National Cathedral.” 145

(190) “The National Cathedral is an awesome structure, with a 102-foot ceiling, elegant buttresses, and sparkling stained glass.” 145

POS M (191) “The speakers included religious leaders of many faiths: Immam Muzammil Siddiqui of the Islamic Society of North America, Rabbi Joshua

Haberman, Billy Graham, Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, and Kirbyjon Caldwell.
Near the end of the service, my turn came.

ARN (192) As I climbed the steps to the lectern, I whispered a prayer: ‘Lord, let your light shine through me.’” 146

(193) “The speech at the cathedral was the most important of my young presidency.
(194) I had told my speechwriters—Mike Gerson, John McConnell, and Matthew Scully—that I wanted to accomplish three objectives: mourn the loss of life, remind people there was a loving God, and make clear that those who attacked our nation would face justice.” 146

“‘We are hear in the middle hour of our grief,’ I began. ‘So many have suffered so great a loss, and today we express our nation’s sorrow.

(195) We come before God to pray for the missing and the dead, and for those who love them.” 146

“Just three days removed from these events, Americans do not yet have the distance of history.

ARN (196) But our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil. War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder. This nation is peaceful, but fierce when stirred to anger. This conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others. It will end in a way, and at an hour, of our choosing...

(197) God’s signs are not always the ones we look for.

(198) We learn in tragedy that His purposes are not always our own.

(199) Yet the prayers of private suffering, whether in our homes or in this great cathedral, are known and heard, and understood...

ARN (200) This world He created is of moral design. Grief and tragedy and hatred are only for a time. Goodness, remembrance, and love have no end.

(201) And the Lord of life holds all who die, and all who mourn.” 146

“The flight north was quiet.

POS M (202) I had asked Kirbyjon Caldwell to make the trip with me. I had seen the footage of New York on television, and I knew the devastation was overwhelming.

POS M (203) It was comforting to have a friend and a man of faith by my side.” 147

NEG (204) “If the rest of the site was a nightmare, this was pure hell. It seemed darker than the area up top.” 148

“There was sorrow and exhaustion, worry and hope, anger and pride.

POS (205) Several quietly said, ‘Thank you’ or ‘God bless you’ or ‘We’re proud of you.’ I told them they had it backward. I was proud of them.” 148

Top of page 8 in the first picture gallery:

POS M (206) “Talking with the Reverend Billy Graham, who deepened my understanding of faith.”

Middle of page 8 in the first picture gallery:

POS M (207) “Visiting Pope John Paul II at Castel Gandolfo in 2001.

POS M (208) The Holy Father urged me to defend the sanctity of life.”

“The crowd was able to see me atop the mound, which I later learned was a crumpled fire truck. My first instinct was to console.

ARN (209) **I told them that America was on bended knee in prayer for the victims, the rescuers, and the families.**” 149

“Yet the families refused to give up hope.

(210) **We prayed together and wept together.**” 150

“Yet after 9/11, I felt my responsibility was clear. For as long as I held office, I could never forget what happened to America that day.

(211) **I would put my heart and soul into protecting the country, whatever it took.**” 151

T – Protecting America, at all costs.

Chapter 6: War Footing

(212) “He [Dick Cheney] was wearing white tie and tails for his speech at the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner, an annual charity event organized by **the Catholic archdiocese.**” 152

“Years later, incidents like the botulinum toxin scare can seem fanciful and far-fetched.

(213) **It’s easy to chuckle at the image of America’s most senior officials praying for lab mice to stay upright.** But at the time, the threats were urgent and real.” 153

“After 9/11, it was clear that the attacks on our embassies in East Africa and on the USS Cole were more than isolated crimes.

NEG (214) They were a warm-up for September 11, **part of a master plan orchestrated by Osama bin Laden, who had issued a religious edict, known as a fatwa, calling the murder of Americans ‘an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it.’**” 154

[“On 9/11, it was obvious the law enforcement approach to terrorism had failed. Suicidal men willing to fly passenger planes into buildings were not common criminals. They could not be deterred by the threat of prosecution. They had declared war on America. To protect the country, we had to wage war against the terrorists.” 154]

T – Protecting America required the waging of war against terrorists.

[“The terrorists had made our homefront a battleground. Putting America on a war footing was one of the most important decisions of my presidency.” 154]

T – Protecting America required putting America on a war footing. Protecting America at all costs was the guiding principle for putting America on a war footing. The guiding principle of protecting America is foundational in the future decisions Bush made in foreign policy.

N – What was Bush protecting? Imagine a three-story building that also includes one additional level underground (four stories in all). The building is called America. He was protecting the citizens of America (top level – seen by all). He was protecting the image of America as a “City on a Hill” (second level – seen by some). He was also protecting the democratic ideology, rooted in freedom and human dignity (first level – seen by few). He was protecting the religious nationalism in which the narrative of America is embedded (underground level – seen by fewest).

[“My most solemn duty, the calling of my presidency, was to protect America—within the authority granted to me by the Constitution.” 155]

T – Protecting America on the grounds of Constitutional authority.

(215) “As J.D. Crouch, later my deputy national security advisor, put it: ‘When you are in the process of **beating your swords into plowshares**, you can’t fight and you can’t plow.’” 156

“The Secret Service recommended that I leave, too. I told them I was staying put. Maybe this was a little bravado on my part. Mostly it was fatalism.

(216) **I had made my peace. If it was God’s will that I die in the White House, I would accept it.** Laura felt the same way. We were confident the government would survive an attack, even if we didn’t.” 159

“The brave foreign agent recruited by the CIA led us to the door of an apartment complex in Pakistan.

NEG (217) **‘I want my children free of these madmen who distort our religion and kill innocent people,’** the agent later said.” 170

Chapter 7: Afghanistan

“The roots of the terrorist presence in Afghanistan traced back to 1979, when the Soviet Union invaded and installed a communist puppet regime.

NEG (218) **Afghan tribes, along with a band of hard-core Islamic fighters known as the Mujahideen, rose up against the foreign occupation.** With assistance from the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia, the rebels inflicted fifteen thousand casualties

and drove out the Soviets in 1989. Two years later, the superpower [Soviet Union] collapsed.” 186

“Free of the communist occupiers, the Afghan people had a chance to rebuild their country. But the U.S. government no longer saw a national interest in Afghanistan, so it cut off support. America’s noninvolvement helped create a vacuum. Tribal warriors who had defeated the Soviets turned their guns on each other.

NEG (219) Ultimately, the Taliban, a group of Islamic fundamentalists, seized power.

NEG (220) They imposed a fanatical, barbaric brand of Islam that prohibited girls from going to school, required men to grow beards of a certain length, and forbade women from leaving their homes without a male relative as an escort. The simplest pleasures—singing, clapping, and flying kites—were banned.” 186

NEG (221) “The Taliban’s rules were enforced by brutal religious police.” 186

NEG (222) “When her body-length burqa slipped from her face, she was beaten with a car antenna.” 186

NEG (223) “Later that year, they [the Taliban] dynamited two cherished 1,500-year-old Buddha sculptures.” 187

“There were some who received warm hospitality from the Taliban.

NEG (224) Shortly after taking power, the radical mullahs offered sanctuary to Osama bin Laden, the founder of al Qaeda.” 187

NEG (225) “On September 9, 2001, bin Laden operatives assassinated the Northern Alliance’s beloved leader, Ahmad Shah Massoud. His murder galvanized the Alliance to cooperate with America. We shared an enemy and a determination to end Taliban rule.” 187

“Colin cautioned against it. ‘Going after Iraq now would be viewed as a bait and switch,’ he said.

(226) ‘We would lose the UN, the Islamic countries, and NATO.’ 189

“Sunday, September 16, was a day of reflection.

(227) Laura and I went to services at Camp David’s beautiful Evergreen Chapel.

(228) Started during the Reagan administration and finished during Dad’s, the chapel was a special place for my family.

(229) The first wedding performed there was between my sister Doro and her fine husband, Bobby Koch.” 190

(230) “At 10:00 a.m. that first Sunday after 9/11, late summer light streamed through the serene woods and into the chapel.

POS (231) Navy and Marine Corps personnel and family members joined us in worship, as did members of the national security team who had stayed over from the meetings the day before.” 190

POS M (232) “Camp David was blessed to have a fine pastor, Navy Chaplain Bob Williams.

POS M (233) His sermon that Sunday was touching and comforting. He asked the questions so many of us had struggled with: “Why? ... How could this happen, God?” 190

POS M (234) “Bob said the answer was beyond our power to know.

POS M (235) ‘Life is sometimes a maze of contradictions and incongruities,’ he acknowledged.

POS M (236) Yet we could take comfort in knowing that God’s plan would prevail.

POS M (237) He quoted a passage from St. Ignatius of Loyola: ‘Pray as if it all depends on God, for it does.

POS M (238) But work as if it all depends upon us, for it does.’” 190

*** “After the service, Laura and I boarded Marine One for the flight back to Washington. By that afternoon I had reached one of the defining decision points in my presidency: We would fight the war on terror on the offense, and the first battle front would be Afghanistan.” 190**

N – RCV “God’s plan would prevail.” Implied interpretation by Bush: That is, God’s plan is to protect America, His chosen, and thus, the plan of America’s war footing derived from Bush, would prevail (232). America would take the offensive in fighting terror, to be known as The Bush Doctrine. Bush is clear that it all depends on God (233) and he will place America on war footing as though it all depended on the citizens. His decision was clear and as a foreign policy, it was influenced by and defined by religion.

(239) “Even grief recedes with time and grace.” 193

(240) “The southern half is dominated by Pashtuns. Tribal, ethnic, and religious rivalries date back centuries.” 194

(241) “...I was able to get a sense of his [Putin’s] soul.” 196

(242) “He [Putin] ended by saying, ‘Good will triumph over evil. I want you to know that in this struggle, we will stand together.’” 196

(243) “The military planners had laid out the risks: mass starvation, an outbreak of civil war, the collapse of the Pakistani government, an uprising by Muslims around the world, and the one I feared most—a retaliatory attack on the American homeland.” 197

(244) “I worried we were sending the wrong message to the enemy and to the American people. **Tommy Franks later called those days a period ‘from hell.’** I felt the same way.” 198

POS (245) “In the south, a small team of Special Forces raided **Taliban leader Mullah Omar’s headquarters in Kandahar.**” 198

POS (246) “Month’s later, I visited Fort Bragg in North Carolina where I met members of the Special Forces team that had led the raid. **They gave me a brick from the remnants of Mullah Omar’s compound.**” 198-199

[“I assured the team that we had the right strategy. Our plan was well conceived. Our military was capable. Our cause was just. We shouldn’t give in to second-guessing or let the press panic us. ‘We’re going to stay confident and patient, cool and steady,’ I said.” 199]

T – Protecting America was a just cause. America is fighting a just war.

[“I could sense the relief in the room. The experience reminded me that even the most accomplished and powerful people sometimes need to be reassured. As I later told journalist Bob Woodward, the president has to be the ‘calcium in the backbone.’” 199]

(247) “If we knew for sure where he [Osama bin Laden] was, **we would have moved heaven and earth to bring him to justice.**” 202

(248) “There had been no famine, no outbreak of civil war, no collapse of the government in Pakistan, **no global uprising by Muslims**, and no retaliatory attack on our homeland.” 202

“I imagined the pain their families felt when the military officer appeared at their door. (249) **I prayed that God would comfort them amid their grief.**” 202

Lincoln’s words to grief stricken Lydia Bixby, who lost 5 sons in the Civil War, in 1864:

“But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save.

ARN POS M (250) I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.” 203

Bush’s words to Shannon Spann, the wife of Mike Spann, the CIA officer killed in the prison uprising at Mazar-i-Sharif and the first battlefield death of the Afghanistan War:

Dear Shannon,

On behalf of a grateful nation, Laura and I send our heartfelt sympathy to you and your family on the loss of Mike. I know your heart aches.

(251) Our prayers are with you all.

ARN POS (252) Mike died in a fight against evil. He laid down his life for a noble cause—freedom. Your children must know that his service to our nation was heroic and brave.

(253) May God bless you, Shannon, your children, and all who mourn the loss of a good and brave man.

Sincerely,
George W. Bush

“In June 2002, Afghans gathered for a second *loya jirga* to select a transitional government. This time security was good enough to host the conference in Kabul.

(254) The delegates chose Karzai to head the new government, and he appointed cabinet ministers from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds.” 208

“I made it a priority to check in regularly with Karzai.

(255) I knew he had a daunting task, and I wanted to lift his spirits and assure him of our commitment.” 208

“Across the country, turnout exceeded eight million, nearly 80 percent of the voting-age population.

(256) Every major ethnic and religious group participated, as did millions of women.” 208

ARN “I believe the human desire for freedom is universal.

(257) History shows that, when given the chance, people of every race and religion take extraordinary risks for liberty.” 209

“Dick Cheney represented the United States at the assembly’s inaugural session in December 2005. The ceremony opened with an emotional speech from the nation’s former king, ninety-one-year-old Zahir Shah.

(258) ‘I thank God that today I am participating in a ceremony that is a step towards rebuilding Afghanistan after decades of fighting,’ he said. ‘The people of Afghanistan will succeed!’” 209

(259) “He [Pervez Musharraf] held parliamentary elections in 2002, **which his party won, and spoke about ‘enlightened moderation’ as an alternative to Islamic extremism.** He took serious risks to battle al Qaeda. Terrorists tried to assassinate him at least four times.” 213

“Al Qaeda’s number-four man, Khalid al-Habib, turned up dead.

(260) So did al Qaeda leaders responsible for propaganda, recruitment, religious affairs, and planning attacks overseas.” 217-218

Chapter 8: Iraq

“I turned to Don Rumsfeld. ‘Mr. Secretary,’ I said, ‘for the peace of the world and the benefit and freedom of the Iraqi people, I hereby give the order to execute Operation Iraqi Freedom.

(261) May God bless the troops.” 223

“Tommy snapped a salute.

(262) ‘Mr. President,’ he said, ‘may God bless America.’” 223

“I left the Situation Room, walked up the stairs and through the Oval Office, and took a slow, silent lap around the South Lawn.

(263) I prayed for our troops, for the safety of the country, and for strength in the days ahead.” 224

(264) “I know I have taken the right action and **do pray few will lose life. Iraq will be free, the world will be safer. The emotion of the moment has passed and now I wait on the covert action that is taking place.” 224**

T – Protecting America is tied to the spread of democracy.

On a visit in February 2001 with President Vicente Fox in San Cristóbal, Mexico:

“As we admired the serene vistas of Vicente’s ranch, American bombers struck Iraq’s air defense system.

(265) It was a relatively routine mission to enforce the no-fly zones that had been created after Saddam massacred thousands of innocent Shia and Kurds following the Gulf War.” 225

Note on 225:

(266) “The Shia, a Muslim sect, make up about 60 percent of Iraq’s population.

(267) Kurds, who are mostly Muslim but identify primarily by their ethnic group, comprise about 20 percent.

(268) Sunni Arabs, the Muslim sect that enjoyed privileged status under Saddam, account for 15 percent.

(269) Christians, Yezidis, Mandaean, Jews, and others make up the rest.”

On meeting with Tony Blair, who visited Camp David with his wife, Cherie, meeting George and Laura Bush in February 2001 (the first foreign leaders they invited to Camp David:

(270) “We discussed our common goals to expand free trade, relieve suffering in Africa, **and address the violence in the Holy Land.**” 230

Of Tony Blair:

ARN (271) “As I would come to learn, he and I were **kindred spirits in our faith in the transformative power of liberty.**” 231

On meeting with Gerhard Schroeder of Germany during his visit to the White House on January 31, 2002:

“In my State of the Union address two days earlier, I had outlined the threats posed by Iraq, Iran and North Korea.

ARN (272) ‘**States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world,**’ I said.

ARN (273) The media seized on the phrase ‘**axis of evil.**’” 233

“Iraq was one issue where I wanted to know what he thought.

POS M (274) **I told Dad I was praying we could deal with Saddam peacefully but was preparing for the alternative.**” 243

“Shortly after New Year’s, I sent Barbara and Jenna a letter at college. ‘I am working hard to keep the peace and avoid a war,’ I wrote.

(275) ‘**I pray that the man in Iraq will disarm in a peaceful way.** We are putting pressure on him to do just that and much more of the world is with us.’” 243

(276) “As 2003 began, **it became increasingly clear that my prayer would not be answered.**” 244

“Elie [Wiesel] is a sober and gentle man. But there was passion in his seventy-four-year-old eyes when he compared Saddam Hussein’s brutality to the Nazi genocide.

(277) ‘Mr. President,’ he said, ‘**you have a moral obligation to act against evil.**’” 244-245

“Many of those who demonstrated against military action in Iraq were devoted advocates of human rights.

(278) **Yet they condemned me for using force to remove the man who had gassed the Kurds, mowed down the Shia by helicopter gunship, massacred the Marsh Arabs, and sent tens of thousands to mass graves.** I understood why people might disagree on the threat Saddam Hussein posed to the United States. But I didn’t see how anyone could deny that liberating Iraq advanced the cause of human rights.” 245

(279) “‘**What the hell is happening?**’ I asked during an NSC meeting in late April. ‘Why isn’t anybody stopping these looters?’” 258

“Bremer arrived in Iraq on May 12, 2003. One of his first asks was to assemble an Iraqi Governing Council that would take responsibility for key ministries and prepare for a formal return to sovereignty.

(280) Navigating Iraq’s tribal, religious, and ethnic politics was highly complicated.” 259

(281) “Iraq’s Shia and Kurds—the majority of the population—welcomed the clean break from Saddam. But the orders had a psychological impact I did not foresee.

(282) Many Sunni’s took them as a signal they would have no place in Iraq’s future. This was especially dangerous in the case of the army. Thousands of armed men had just been told they were not wanted. Instead of signing up for the new military, many joined the insurgency.” 259

(283) “In retrospect, I should have insisted on more debate on Jerry’s orders, especially on what message disbanding the army would send and how many Sunni’s the de-Baathification would affect.” 259

(284) “Had the Shia concluded that we were not serious about ending the era of the Baath Party, they may have turned against the coalition, rejected the goal of a unified Iraqi democracy, and aligned themselves with Iran.” 259-260

“The security situation continued to deteriorate over the summer.

NEG (285) Iraq was becoming a magnet for extremists—Baathist insurgents, Fedayeen Saddam, foreign terrorists affiliated with al Qaeda, and, later, militant Shia and agents of Iran. 260

(286) “We tried to get the good news out—the relative calm in the Kurdish north and Shia south, the rebuilding of schools and hospitals, and the training of a new Iraqi army. But in the eyes of the media—and, therefore, of the public—none of this quiet progress could compete with the bombings and the beheadings.” 260

“While Joe Hagin assured us the military had cleared a wide perimeter around Baghdad International Airport, the mood aboard the plane was anxious.

(287) As we descended [on Baghdad during Thanksgiving to visit the troops] in a corkscrew pattern with the shades drawn, some staffers joined together in a prayer session.” 265

“I walked out from behind a curtain and onto the staged of the packed hall. Many of the stunned troops hesitated for a split second, then let out deafening whoops and hooahs. Some had tears running down their faces. I was swept up by the emotion.

(288) These were the souls who just eight months earlier had liberated Iraq on my orders.” 265

“I’m not sure what more I would have done to show Saddam I meant what I said.

ARN (289) I named him part of an axis of evil in my State of the Union address.” 269

(290) **“We need to bring the Shia into the battle,”** he wrote, ‘because it is the only way to prolong the duration of the fight between the infidels and us.’ He set a new goal for the jihadists in Iraq—igniting ‘a sectarian war.’” 271

Chapter 9: Leading

[One of the lessons I took from Roosevelt and Reagan was to lead the public, not chase the opinion polls. I decided to push for sweeping reforms, not tinker with the status quo. As I told my advisers, ‘I didn’t take this job to play small ball.’” 272]

POS (291) “I used to quip that I was a product of a faith-based program.

POS (292) By 1986, faith had changed my heart, and I had quit drinking.

POS (293) Ten years later, my eyes opened to the potential of faith-based programs to transform public policy.” 277

NEG (294) “In June 1996, two African American churches in the town of Greenville, Texas, were burned.” 277-278

POS M (295) “Then I gave the microphone to Tony Evans, a dynamic African American pastor from Oak Cliff Bible Fellowship in Dallas. He told a story about a house with a crack in the wall. The owner hired a plasterer to cover the crack. A week later, the crack reappeared. So he hired another plasterer. A week later, the crack reappeared. Finally the homeowner called an old painter, who took one look and said, ‘Son, first fix the foundation and then you can fix the crack in the wall.’” 278

“‘We need to fix the foundations,’ he said, ‘and your old government programs aren’t doing the job.’ He said he had a better alternative.

(296) It was the most effective welfare system in the world.

(297) It had buildings on many street corners, a list of willing workers, and regular meetings to study the perfect manual for saving lives.” 278

POS M (298) “He [Tony Evans] was talking about houses of worship. And he was right.

POS M (299) Faith-based programs had the potential to change lives in ways secular ones never could. ‘Government can hand out money,’ I said, ‘but it cannot put hope in a person’s heart or a sense of purpose in a person’s life.’” 278

(300) “I looked for ways for Texas to partner with faith-based organizations.

POS M (301) I met with Chuck Colson, Richard Nixon’s White House counsel, who had spent time in a federal penitentiary and found redemption.

POS M (302) Chuck had founded an organization devoted to spreading the Gospel behind bars.

POS M (303) We agreed to start a faith-based program in one wing of a Texas prison.

POS M (304) Chuck’s program, the InnerChange Freedom Initiative, would provide instructors for Bible study and a life lessons course. The program would be optional and open to prisoners near the end of their sentences.

POS M (305) Each inmate who participated would be connected with a mentor and welcomed into a church congregation upon release.” 278

“At the end of the tour, a group of men in white jumpsuits filed into the courtyard.

POS (306) They formed a semicircle and struck up ‘Amazing Grace.’

POS (307) After a few stanzas, I joined the chorus.” 279

“The story noted that the man next to me, George Mason, had pled guilty to killing a woman twelve years earlier. That day in the prison yard, he did not seem like a murderer. He had a gentle manner and a kind smile.

POS (308) No question he had become a spirit-filled man.” 279

(309) “When I ran for president, I decided to make a nationwide faith-based initiative a central part of my campaign.

(310) In my first major policy speech, delivered in Indianapolis, I said, ‘In every instance where my administration sees a responsibility to help people, we will look first to faith-based organizations, to charities, and to community groups.’” 279

(311) “Nine days after my inauguration, I issued executive orders creating an Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in the White House and in five Cabinet departments.

(312) The offices changed regulations and broke down barriers that had prevented faith-based charities from accessing the federal grant-making process.” 279

(313) “The other was Jim Towey, a thoroughly decent man who had led Florida’s social services department and served as Mother Teresa’s lawyer.

(314) I used to tell Towey that we sure have a litigious society if Mother Teresa needed a lawyer.” 279

(315) “Some said the faith-based initiative blurred the line between church and state. I took that concern seriously.

(316) Government should never impose religion.

POS (317) Every citizen has the right to worship as he or she wishes, or not to worship at all.

NEG (318) I was always wary of people who used faith as a political weapon, suggesting they were more righteous than their opponents.

(319) My favorite Bible verse for politicians is Matthew 7:3—‘Why do you see the speck that is in your brother’s eye, but do not notice the log that is in your own eye?’” 279-280

POS (320) “At the same time, government need not fear religion.

(321) If social service programs run by people of faith did not proselytize or discriminate against people receiving services, I thought they deserved a change to compete for taxpayer dollars.

(322) The government should ask which organization would deliver the best results, not whether they had a cross, a crescent, or a Star of David on their wall.” 280

(323) “The initiative opened up roughly \$20 billion a year in federal funding to competition from faith based groups...

(324) Ultimately, more than five thousand faith-based and community organizations, mostly small grassroots charities, received federal grants.” 280

(325) “In January 2008, I visited the Jericho Program of East Baltimore.

(326) Operated by Episcopal Community Services of Maryland and funded by a grant from the Department of Labor, the program provided mentoring...” 280

(327) “My most extraordinary meeting on faith-based initiatives took place across the hall from the Oval Office.

(328) In June 2003, I had convened a roundtable discussion with faith-based leaders.

POS M (329) Chuck Colson and several members of InnerChange attended.” 281

“It was George Mason, the man from the prison choir in Sugar Land.

POS (330) Upon release, he had earned a job as a janitor at his church.

POS (331) He also led a Bible study and served as a mentor for others leaving prison.

POS (332) What a testimony to the redemptive power of Christ: George Mason and George W. Bush together in the West Wing.” 281

“I argued the case as best I could, given my jet lag. David [Hobbs] called back a little while later.

(333) Miracle of miracles, the House had passed the bill, 220 to 215. The Senate followed a few days later. I signed the Medicare Modernization Act of 2003 on December 8, 2003, at Constitution Hall.” 286

A letter from Jenna Bush to her father:

Dear Dad,

I had a vivid dream last night, a dream so vivid I woke in tears.

(334) Although I am not yet as spiritual as you, I have taken this dream as a sign... 288

POS (335) “I was especially encouraged by signs that read ‘God Bless You.’

POS (336) As I shook hands and posed for photos on the rope line, I was amazed by the number who said the same four words: ‘I pray for you.’

POS (337) I told them their prayers were a wonderful gift. They gave me strength.”

290

(338) “I pledged to modernize Social Security, reform the immigration system, and overhaul the tax code, while continuing No Child Left Behind and **the faith-based initiative**, implementing Medicare reform, and above all, fighting the war on terror.” 292

(339) “We had just finished an emotional rally with eight thousand supporters at **Southern Methodist University**, Laura’s alma mater—my seventh stop on a daylong, 2,500-mile blitz across the country.” 294

POS (340) “**I am pleased that the faith-based initiative continues.**” 307

Chapter 10: Katrina

NEG (341) “‘Get off your asses and do something,’ he said, ‘and **let’s fix the biggest goddamn crisis in the history of this country.**’ Then he broke down in tears. When I met him on the plane, Ray [Nagin] whispered an apology for his outburst and explained that he was exhausted.” 309

“I was also aware of the city’s [New Orleans’] lurking fear.

(342) The locals called it The Big One, **the pray-it-never-happens storm that could drown their city.**” 313

(343) “**People had heard apocalyptic storm warnings for years.**

(344) **Some used them as an excuse to party on Bourbon Street in defiance of the hurricane gods.** Others didn’t have the means to evacuate. The evacuation needed to be mandatory.” 314

(345) “‘**This morning our hearts and prayers are with our fellow citizens along the Gulf Coast who have suffered so much from Hurricane Katrina,**’ I said in San Diego, where I had come to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of America’s victory in the Pacific theater of World War II.” 317

“I imagined the desperation they must be feeling as they scrambled to their rooftops to outrace the rising water.

(346) **I said a silent prayer for their safety.**” 318

[“A better option would have been to stop at the airport in Baton Rouge, the state capital. Eighty miles north of the flood zone, I could have strategized with the governor and assured Katrina victims that their country stood with them.” 318]

[“When Hurricane Betsy devastated New Orleans in 1965, Lyndon Johnson flew in from Washington to visit late at night. He made his way to a shelter in the Ninth Ward by flashlight. ‘This is your president!’ he called out when he arrived in the dark and crowded space. ‘I’m here to help you!’” 318-319]

“If I invoked the Insurrection Act against her [Governor Blanco’s] wishes, the world would see a male Republican president usurping the authority of a female Democratic governor by declaring an insurrection in a largely African American city. That would arouse controversy anywhere.

(347) To do so in the Deep South, where there had been centuries of state’s rights tension, could unleash holy hell. I had to persuade the governor to change her mind. I decided to make my case in person the next day.” 321

POS (348) “Governor Barbour put **the spirit of the state into words when he said people were ‘hitching up their britches and rebuilding Mississippi.’**” 321

POS (349) “Laura and I visited an evacuee **center run by a church called the Bethany World Prayer Center.** Hundreds of people, including many from the Superdome, were spread across a gymnasium floor on mats. Most looked dazed and exhausted. One girl cried as she said, ‘I can’t find my mother.’

POS (350) **My friend T.D. Jakes, a Dallas pastor who had joined us for the visit, prayed for their comfort and well-being.**

POS (351) **T.D. is the kind of man who puts his faith into action.**

POS (352) **He hold me members of his church had welcomed twenty victims of Katrina into their homes.**” 324

“For all the depressing aspects of the Katrina aftermath, these stories stand out as shining examples of the American character.

POS (353) **Southern Baptists set up a mobile kitchen to feed tens of thousands of hungry people...**

POS (354) **Volunteers from the American Red Cross and Salvation Army set up twenty-four-hour-a-day centers to help disaster victims get assistance.**” 324

NEG (355) “Unfortunately, the spirit of generosity did not carry over to everyone.” 325

NEG (356) “[Rev.] Jesse Jackson later compared the New Orleans Convention Center to the ‘hull of a slave ship.’” 325

NEG (357) “The more I thought about it, the angrier I felt. **I was raised to believe that racism was one of the greatest evils in society.**” 325

September 15, 2005 primetime address to the nation about Hurricane Katrina and New Orleans:

(358) “And all who question the future of the Crescent City need to know there is no way to imagine America without New Orleans, and **this great city will rise again.**” 327

(359) “We [President Bush and Laura] both came away impressed by the determination and **spirit of the people we met.**” 328

In Biloxi:

“Seven casinos, supporting hundreds of jobs, had reopened.

POS (360) Church congregations that had been separated were back together again.” 329

POS (361) “The Catholic archdiocese, led by Archbishop Alfred Hughes, continued its long tradition of educational excellence by reopening its schools quickly.” 332

“Despite the enormous disadvantages facing his students, the percentage of those reading and doing math at grade level had more than tripled.

(362) ‘This school, which did not serve the community well in the past, is now really going to be a beacon of light,’ Tony said. 332

POS (363) “The spirit of renewal at S.J. Green Charter School is present all across the Gulf Coast. With leadership from people like Tony, a new generation can build a better life than the one they inherited. And the true legacy of Katrina will be one of hope.” 332

Chapter 11: Lazarus Effect

POS (364) “A choir of children, many of them orphans who had lost parents to AIDS, sang hymns that proclaimed their faith and hope. They ended with a sweet rendition of ‘America the Beautiful.’ ‘I have a dream,’ Mohamad told me from his hospital bed. ‘One day, I will come to the United States.’” 333

“I left the clinic inspired.

POS (365) The patients reaffirmed my conviction that every life has dignity and value, because every person bears the mark of Almighty God.

(366) I saw their suffering as a challenge to the words of the Gospel: ‘To whom much is given, much is required.’ 333

(367) “America had been given a lot, and I resolved that we would answer the call.” 333

“In five years, the number of Africans retrieving AIDS medicine had risen from fifty thousand to nearly three million—more than two million of them supported by PEPFAR. People who had been given up for dead were restored to healthy and productive lives.

(368) Calling to mind the story of Jesus raising his friend from the dead, African’s came up with a phrase to describe the transformation.

(369) They called it the Lazarus Effect.” 333

[I decided to take a new approach in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world. We would base our relationships on partnership, not paternalism. We would trust developing countries to design their own strategies for using American taxpayer dollars. In return, they would measure their performance and be held accountable. The result would be that

countries felt invested in their own success, while American taxpayers could see the impact of their generosity.” 335]

N – Bush’s new approach in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world: partnership not paternalism.

[“When I took office, the United States was spending a little over \$500 million a year to fight global AIDS. That was more than any other country. Yet it was paltry compared with the scope of the pandemic. The money was spread haphazardly across six different agencies. Much of their work was duplicative, a sign there was no clear strategy.” 335]

[“American taxpayers deserved—and conscience demanded—a plan that was more effective than this disjointed effort.” 335]

“Before 9/11, I had considered alleviating disease and poverty a humanitarian mission. After the attacks, it became clear to me that this was more than a mission of conscience. Our national security was tied directly to human suffering. Societies mired in poverty and disease foster hopelessness. And hopelessness leaves people ripe for recruitment by terrorists and extremists.

(370) By confronting suffering in places like Africa, America would strengthen its security and collective soul.” 336

T – Protecting America was tied directly to human suffering. Rationale: “societies mired in poverty and disease foster hopelessness. And hopelessness leaves people ripe for recruitment by terrorists and extremists.” National security is connected to human rights, according to Bush’s reasoning and justifies the allocation of funds.

(371) “Critics would later claim that I started PEPFAR (the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief) **to appease the religious right or divert attention from Iraq.** Those charges are preposterous.” 339

(372) “Ironically, both sides charged that we were imposing our values—**religious fundamentalism if you asked one camp, sexual permissiveness if you asked the other.** Neither argument made much sense to me, since the ABC strategy had been developed in Africa, implemented in Africa and successful in Africa.” 340-341

Top of page 13 on Photo gallery 2:

“Congratulating Romania on its admission into NATO.

POS (373) Just before I spoke, a full spectrum rainbow appeared. ‘**God is smiling on us today,**’ I said.”

(374) “I could only imagine **the fear of those hopeless souls** who were stolen from their families and shoved onto ships bound for an unfamiliar land. I put my arm around Laura as we peered out at the blue ocean.” 341

“For two hundred fifty years the captives endured an assault on their culture and their dignity.

(375) The spirit of Africans in America did not break.

(376) Yet the spirit of their captors was corrupted. ...A republic founded on equality for all became a prison for millions. And yet the words of the African proverb, ‘No fist is big enough to hide the sky.’

(377) All the generations of oppression under the laws of man could not crush the hope of freedom and defeat the purposes of God. ...” 342

“Laura and I are very proud of our daughters. They have become professional women serving a cause greater than themselves. They are part of a larger movement of Americans who devote their time and money to helping the less fortunate.

POS (378) These good souls are part of what I call the armies of compassion.

POS (379) Many come from faith-based organizations and seek no compensation. They receive payment in another form.” 344

“By the fall of 2005, our African partners were fully engaged.

POS (380) Faith-based and other groups supported by PEPFAR, both African and American, helped staff clinics and spread prevention messages to millions across the continent. Orphans and the dying were receiving compassionate care. Some four hundred thousand people were taking antiretroviral drugs. We were on pace to reach our goal.” 344-345

POS (381) “Faith-based organizations and major corporations, especially those doing business in Africa, gave generously to our cause.” 345

“Bono bounded into the Oval Office with his high-voltage personality and signature shades. He quickly dispelled the notion that he was a self-promoter. He knew our budgets, understood the facts and had well-informed views about the challenges in Africa.

POS (382) He brought me a thoughtful gift, an old Irish Bible.” 348

(383) ““Do you know that 2,003 verses of Scripture pertain directly to the world’s poor?” he asked.

(384) ‘People are quick to point out the obvious sins like marital infidelity,’ he continued. ‘But sometimes we ignore the most serious ones.

(385) The only place the Bible speaks directly of judgment is in Matthew 25: ‘Whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me.’” 348

POS (386) “After our meeting, Bono joined me and Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, a gentle, spirit-filled man, for the limo ride to the speech at the Inter-American Development Bank. Bono participated in the event and praised our policy. I later learned that one of his major funders, ultra-liberal investor George Soros, had excoriated Bono for joining me at the MCA even without getting more in return.

NEG (387) ‘You’ve sold out for a plate of lentils,’ Soros told Bono.” 349

“My respect for Bono grew over time. He was warm to Laura and the girls. He frequently sent notes of thanks.

POS (388) He is a man of genuine faith.” 349

“She was nine years old and HIV-positive. She had received the virus from her mother, who had died. AIDS had taken her father, too. Yet the little girl was smiling. Her grandmother explained that Catholic Relief Services had been paying for the girl to receive treatment at the PEPFAR clinic.

POS (389) ‘As a Muslim,’ the elderly woman said, ‘I never imagined that a Catholic group would help me like that. I am so grateful to the American people.’” 352

“While these challenges are daunting, the African people have strong partners at their side.

(390) The United States, the G-8, the UN, the faith-based community, and the private sector are all far more engaged than ever before.” 353

POS (391) “As I walked by a cluster of students, I said, ‘God is good.’

POS (392) They shouted back in unison, ‘All the time!’” 354

Here in Rwanda, a country that had lost hundreds of thousands to genocide and AIDS, these children felt blessed. Surely those of us in comfortable places like America could learn a lesson.

POS (393) I decided to say it again. ‘God is good.’

POS (394) The chorus responded even louder, ‘All the time!’” 354

Chapter 12: Surge

“For almost three years, this road map guided our strategy.

(395) We believed that helping the Iraqis meet those milestones was the best way to show Shia, Sunnis, and Kurds they had a stake in a free and peaceful country. Once Iraqis were invested in the democratic process, we hoped they would resolve disputes at the ballot box, thereby marginalizing the enemies of a free Iraq. In short, we believed political progress was the path to security—and, ultimately, the path home.” 356

[“Our military strategy focused on pursuing the extremists while training the Iraqi security forces. Over time, we would move toward a smaller military footprint, countering the perception that we were occupiers and boosting the legitimacy of Iraq’s leaders.” 356]

“I had studied the histories of postwar Germany, Japan, and South Korea. Each had required many years—and a U.S. troop presence—to complete the transition from the devastation of war to stable democracies. But once they did, their transformative impact proved worth the costs.

(396) West Germany emerged as the engine of European prosperity and a vital beacon of freedom during the Cold War. Japan grew into the world's second-largest economy and the lynchpin of security in the Pacific. South Korea became one of our largest trading partners and a strategic bulwark against its neighbor in the north." 356

"After the meeting, Cindy [a mother from Vacaville, California who lost her son in Sadr City who referred her thoughts after meeting the president] shared her impressions of me with a Vacaville newspaper: 'I now know he's sincere about wanting freedom from the Iraqis....I know he's sorry and feels some pain for our loss.

(397) And I know he's a man of faith.'" 358

(398) "There were other extremists in Iraq: former Baathists, Sunni insurgents, and Shia extremists backed by Iran. But none were more ruthless than al Qaeda. Critics argued the al Qaeda presence proved we had stirred up terrorists by liberating Iraq. I never accepted that logic. Al Qaeda was plenty stirred up on 9/11, when there wasn't a single American soldier in Iraq." 359

"Seven months later, in January 2005, Iraqis reached the next milestone: elections to choose an interim national assembly. Again, the terrorists mounted a campaign to stop the progress.

(398) Zarqawi declared 'an all-out war on this evil principle of democracy' and pledged to kill any Iraqi involved in the election." 359-360

"At 5:51 a.m. on January 30, 2005, I called the duty officer in the Situation Room to get the first readout.

(400) He told me our embassy in Baghdad was reporting a large turnout—despite a boycott by many Sunnis." 360

(401) "In August, the Iraqis reached agreement on the most progressive constitution in the Arab world—a document that guaranteed equal rights for all and protected the freedoms of religion, assembly, and expression. When the voters went to the polls on October 15, the turnout was even larger than it was in January. Violence was lower.

(402) More Sunnis voted. The constitution was ratified 79 percent to 21 percent." 360

"The third election of the year, held in December, was to replace the interim assembly with a permanent legislature. Once again, Iraqis defied terrorist threats. Nearly twelve million people—a turnout of more than 70 percent—cast their ballots.

(403) This time Sunnis participated in overwhelming numbers. One voter stuck his ink-stained finger in the air and shouted, 'This is a thorn in the eyes of the terrorists.'" 360

(404) "The Askariya shrine at the Golden Mosque of Samarra is considered one of the holiest sites in Shia Islam.

(405) It contains the tombs of two revered imams who were father and grandfather to the hidden imam, a savior the Shia believe will restore justice to humanity." 361

(406) “On February 22, 2006, two massive bombs destroyed the mosque.
 (407) The attack was an enormous provocation on the Shia, akin to an attack on St. Peter’s Basilica or the Western Wall.
 (408) ‘This is the equivalent of your 9/11,’ the influential Shia leader Abdul Aziz al Hakim told me.” 361

(409) “I thought back to the letter Zarqawi had written to al Qaeda leaders in 2004, in which he proposed to incite a war between Iraqi Shia and Sunnis. While there were some immediate reprisal attacks, the violence did not seem to be spiraling out of control. I was relieved.

(410) The Shia had shown restraint and I encouraged them to continue.
 (411) In a speech on March 13, I said the Iraqis had ‘looked into the abyss and did not like what they saw.’” 361

“I was wrong. By early April, sectarian violence had exploded.
 (412) Roving bands of Shia gunmen kidnapped and murdered innocent Sunnis.
 (413) Sunnis responded with suicide bombings in Shia areas. The crisis was exacerbated by the lack of a strong Iraqi government.”

“But in the months after the Samarra bombing, I had started to question whether our approach matched the reality on the ground.
 (414) The sectarian violence had not erupted because our footprint was too big.
 (415) It had happened because al Qaeda had provoked it. And with the Iraqis struggling to stand up, it didn’t seem possible for us to stand down.” 363

“One day in the late spring, I asked Meghan O’Sullivan, a Ph.D. who had spent a year working for Jerry Bremer in Iraq, to stay behind after a meeting. She maintained contacts with many senior officials in the Iraqi government. I asked what she was hearing from Baghdad.
 NEG (416) ‘It’s hell, Mr. President,’ she said.” 364

[“The premise for counterinsurgency is that basic security is required before political gains can follow. That was the reverse of our existing strategy. I decided to keep a close eye on General Petraeus’s work—and on him.” 365]

(417) “The prime minister took me into a conference room to meet his cabinet, which included Shia, Sunni, and Kurdish leaders. I introduced him to my team via videoconference.” 366

* POS (418) RCV “I drew strength from family, friends, and faith.
 POS (419) When we visited Camp David, Laura and I loved to worship with military families at the base’s chapel.
 POS M (420) The chaplain in 2006, forty-eight-year-old Navy Lieutenant Commander Stan Fornea, was one of the best preachers I’ve ever heard.
 (421) ‘Evil is real, biblical, and prevalent,’ he said in one sermon.

(422) ‘Some say ignore it, some say it doesn’t exist.

(423) But evil must not be ignored, it must be restrained.’ He quoted Sir Edmund Burke, the eighteenth-century British leader:

(424) ‘The only thing needed for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.’”
368

*** POS M (425) “Stan believed that the answer to evil was freedom.**

He also knew there would be a cost.

POS M (426) ‘There has never been a noble cause devoid of sacrifice,’ he said in one sermon. ‘If freedom is worthy of defense only to the point it costs us nothing then we are in desperate need as a nation.’” 368

*** POS M (427) “Above all, Stan was an optimist, and his sense of hope lifted my spirits.**

POS M (428) ‘The Scriptures put great premiums on faithfulness, perseverance, and overcoming,’ he said. ‘We do not quit or give up. We always believe there is no such thing as a hopeless situation.’” 368

*** “The casualties were not his [Lincoln’s] only struggle. Lincoln had to cycle through one commander after another until he found one who would fight. He watched his son Willie die in the White House and his wife, Mary Todd, sink into depression.**

ARN (429) Yet thanks to his faith in God and his deep belief that he was waging war for a just cause, Lincoln persisted.”

*** “In December 2005, I received a letter from a man in Pensacola, Florida:**

Dear President Bush,

My name is Bud Clay. My son, SSgt Daniel Clay [United States Marine Corps] was killed last week 12/01/05 in Iraq. He was one of the ten Marines killed by the IED in Falluja.

(430) Dan was a Christian—he knew Jesus as Lord and Savior—so we know where he is. In his final letter (one left with me for the family—to be read in case of his death) he says,

(431) ‘If you are reading this, it means my race is over.’

(432) He’s home now—his and our real home.

I am writing to you to tell you how proud we (his parents and family) are of you and what you are trying to do to protect us all. This was Dan’s second tour in Iraq—he knew and said that his being there was to protect us. Many do not see it that way.

I want to encourage you. I hear in your speeches about ‘staying the course.’ I also know that many are against you in this ‘war on Terror’ and that you must get weary in the fight to do what is right.

POS (433) We and many others are praying for you to see this through—as Lincoln said ‘that these might not have died in vain.’

POS (434) You have a heavy load—we are praying for you.

God bless you,

Bud Clay

“I invited Bud; his wife, Sara Jo; and Daniel’s widow, Lisa, to my State of the Union address the next month. Before the speech, I met the Clays in the Oval Office.

POS (435) We hugged, and they reiterated that I was in their prayers. I was inspired by their strength.

(436) God had worked an amazing deed, turning their hearts from grief to compassion.

POS (437) Their faith was so evident and real that it reconfirmed my own.

POS (438) I was hoping to lift the Clays’ spirits, but they lifted mine.” 369-370

“We took a couple laps around the jogging track Bill Clinton had installed.

(439) I marveled at Christian’s [two prosthetic legs after roadside bomb hit is Humvee and he was pinned for forty-five minutes and lost both legs] strength and spirit. I would barely believe this was the same man who had been confined to a hospital bed less than six months earlier.” 370

[“I left the meeting convinced we would have to develop those measures ourselves. I authorized Steve Hadley to formalize the review the NSC Iraq team had been conducting. I wanted them to challenge every assumption behind our strategy and generate new options. I soon came to view them as my personal band of warriors.” 371]

“By the fall, my Iraq briefing charts showed an average of almost a thousand attacks per week.

NEG (440) I read accounts of sectarian extremists torturing civilians with power drills, kidnapping patients from hospitals, and blowing up worshippers during Friday prayers.” 371

“All were grateful to the American people for freeing them from the brutality of Saddam. And all had hope for their country.

POS (441) One Iraqi picked up a pen in his month-old hand and painstakingly scrawled some Arabic words on a piece of paper: ‘A prayer for God to bless America.’” 373

“On November 29, 2006, I flew to meet Maliki in Amman, Jordan. The Iraqi prime minister’s leadership had frustrated us at times. He had not always deployed Iraqi troops when he said he would. Some in his government had suspicious ties to Iran.

(442) He hadn’t done enough to go after Shia extremists.

(443) General Casey was rightly upset that sectarian officials close to Maliki had blocked our troops from going into Shia neighborhoods.” 374

(444) “‘Americans want to know whether your plan allows us to go against both Sunni and Shia killers,’ I asked. 374

“I ran through the list: He had to commit more Iraqi forces, and they had to show up.

(445) There could be no political interference in our joint military operations—**no more forbidding us from going into Shia neighborhoods.**

(446) He would have to confront Shia militias, including Sadr’s army.

(447) And as security improved, he had to make progress on political reconciliation among Shia, Sunnis, and Kurds.” 374

[“On December 13, 2006, I walked into the Tank, the Joint Chiefs’ secure wood-paneled conference room at the Pentagon. Coming to their territory was a way to show my respect. I opened by telling them I was there to hear their opinions and ask their advice.” 376]

“At fifty-three thousand square miles, Anbar covers nearly the same amount of land as New York State.

(448) Its population is mostly Sunni. For almost four years, it served as a stronghold for insurgents—and a sanctuary for al Qaeda.” 383

(449) “Al Qaeda took over Anbar’s principal cities, infiltrated the security forces, and imposed their ideology on the population.

(450) Like the Taliban, they forbade women from leaving their homes without a male escort and banned sports and other leisure activities.” 383

[“Our troops discovered an al Qaeda document laying out an elaborate governing structure for Anbar, including an Education Department, a Social Services Department, and an ‘Execution Unit.’ Our intelligence community believed Anbar was to be al Qaeda’s base for planning attacks on the United States. In August 2006, a senior Marine Corps intelligence officer in Anbar wrote a widely publicized report concluding that the province was lost.” 383]

“Then everything changed. The people of Anbar had a look at life under al Qaeda, and they didn’t like what they saw.

(451) Starting in mid-2006, tribal sheikhs banded together to take their province back from the extremists. The Awakening drew thousands of recruits.” 383

(452) “As part of the surge, we deployed four thousand additional Marines to Anbar, where they reinforced the tribal sheikhs and boosted their confidence.

(453) Many of the al Qaeda jihadists fled into the desert. Violence in the province plummeted by more than 90 percent. Within months, the brave people of Anbar—with support from our troops—had retaken their province.

(454) An al Qaeda safe haven had become the site of its greatest ideological defeat.” 383

“We walked down the stairs into the searing heat and quickly moved to an air-conditioned room at the base.

POS (455) I listened to several briefings and then met with a group of tribal sheikhs who had started the Anbar uprising. They were a rough-hewn, earthly bunch. Their friendly, animated mannerisms reminded me of local officials in West Texas. But instead of jeans and boots, they were wearing full-length robes and colorful headdresses.”

POS (456) “The sheikhs beamed with pride as they described what they had accomplished.”

(457) “Prime Minister Maliki and President Jalal Talabani joined the meeting.

POS (458) It was extraordinary to watch Maliki, a Shia; Talabani, a Kurd; and a roomful of Sunni sheikhs discuss the future of their country. When the prime minister asked what they needed, they had a long list of requests: more money, more equipment, and more infrastructure. Maliki complained that there wasn’t enough in the budget for everything they asked for. Talabani helped referee the disputes. I sat back and enjoyed the scene. Democracy was at work in Iraq.” 384

POS (459) “I thanked the sheikhs for their hospitality and their bravery in the war on terror.

POS (460) ‘If you need us,’ one sheikh jubilantly told me, ‘my men and I will go to Afghanistan.’” 384

(461) “The Awakening movement we had witnessed in Anbar had spread to Diyala Province and the Sunni neighborhoods of Baghdad. The picture was unmistakable. The surge was working.” 385

“The momentum of the surge continued into 2008.

(462) By spring more than ninety thousand Iraqis, both Sunni and Shia, had joined.” 386

(463) “The biggest concern in the spring of 2008 was the presence of Shia extremists.

(464) While security in most of Iraq improved during the surge, Shia extremists, many with close ties to Iran, had taken over large parts of Basra, Iraq’s second-largest city.” 387

“I felt differently. Maliki was leading. For almost two years, I had urged him to show his evenhandedness.

(465) ‘A Shia murderer is as guilty as a Sunni murderer,’ I said many times. Now he had followed through in a highly public way.” 387

“The assault was far from textbook, but it worked. The Iraqi forces brought security to Basra.

(466) Their success stunned Shia radicals like Moqtada al Sadr and their backers in Iran. Above all, the Basra operation established Maliki as a strong leader. The prime

minister had reached a major decision point of his own, and he had made the right call.”
387

“From the beginning of the war in Iraq, my conviction was that freedom is universal—and democracy in the Middle East would make the region more peaceful. There were times when that seemed unlikely.

(467) But I never lost faith that it was true.” 393

(468) “I never lost faith in our troops, either.” 393

“Every American who served in Iraq helped to make our nation safer, gave twenty-five million people the chance to live in freedom, and changed the direction of the Middle East for generations to come.

(469) There are things we got wrong in Iraq, but that cause is eternally right.” 394

Chapter 13: Freedom Agenda

“Senator Trent Lott, the chairman of the Inaugural Committee, called Chief Justice William Rehnquist to the podium. I stepped forward with Laura, Barbara, and Jenna.

(470) Laura held the Bible, which both Dad and I had used to take the oath.

(471) It was open to Isaiah 40:31, ‘But those who hope in the Lord will renew their strength.

(472) They will soar on wings like eagles; they will run and not grow weary, they will walk and not be faint.” 396

(473) “I put my left hand on the Bible and raised my right as the ailing chief justice administered the thirty-five word oath. When I closed with ‘So help me God,’ the cannons boomed a twenty-one-gun salute. I hugged Laura and the girls, stepped back, and soaked in the moment.” 396

In President Bush’s second inaugural address:

(474) “After the shipwreck of communism came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical—and then there came a day of fire.” 396

[“We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion:

^ARN The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world. ...So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.” 396]

[“After 9/11, I developed a strategy to protect the country that came to be known as the Bush Doctrine: First, make no distinction between the terrorists and the nations that harbor them—and hold both to account. Second, take the fight to the enemy overseas

before they can attack us again here at home. Third, confront threats before they fully materialize. And fourth, advance liberty and hope as an alternative to the enemy's ideology of repression and fear." 397]

T – Protecting America, a theme that emerged from his time at the Camp David Chapel where he made his decision – protecting the country became his primary agenda. Out of this, the Bush Doctrine was forged and as a result, American foreign policy.

“The freedom agenda, as I called the fourth prong, was both idealistic and realistic. **(475) It was idealistic in that freedom is a universal gift from Almighty God.** It was realistic because freedom is the most practical way to protect our country in the long run.” 397

[“Critics charged that the freedom agenda was a way for America to impose our values on others. But freedom is not an American value; it is a universal value. Freedom cannot be imposed; it must be chosen. And when people are given the choice, they choose freedom.” 397]

[“The authors of the UN report, a group of respected Arab scholars, attributed the depressing results to three deficits: a deficit in knowledge, a deficit in women's empowerment, and most important, a deficit in freedom.” 398]

“For most of the Cold War, America's priority in the Middle East was stability. Our alliances were based on anticommunism, a strategy that made sense at the time. But under the surface, resentment and anger built.

(476) Many people turned to radical clerics and mosques as a release. Amid these conditions, terrorists found fertile recruiting ground. Then nineteen terrorists born in the Middle East turned up on planes in the United States. After 9/11, I decided that the stability we had been promoting was a mirage. The focus of the freedom agenda would be the Middle East.” 398

N – To protect America the freedom agenda was promoted. Ideologically, to turn hopelessness to hope people (in the Middle East) need to experience hope. The only way for them to experience hope is by having freedom. Freedom became the key ingredient for securing America's protection and the structure to provide freedom is democracy. Democracy is based on the idea of equality of all people endowed by God with unalienable rights, that of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In essence, to protect America in the long run, promote and build democracies around the world – but, most specifically, turn our greatest threats into our allies – promote and support the establishment of democracy in the Middle East.

(477) “Two months later [after Arafat turned down Barak's offer to turn over most of the West Bank and Gaza], in September 2000, frustration over the failed peace accord—**along with prominent Israeli leader Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to Jerusalem's Temple Mount**—led to the Second Intifada. Palestinian extremists, many affiliated with

the terrorist group Hamas, launched a wave of terrorist attacks against innocent civilians in Israel.” 399

“The Israeli people responded to the violent onslaught the way any democracy would: They elected a leader who promised to protect them, Ariel Sharon. I first met Sharon in 1998, when Laura and I went to Israel with three fellow governors on a trip sponsored by the Republican Jewish Coalition.

(478) The visit was my first to the Holy Land.” 399

“Ever since President Franklin Roosevelt met with Saudi Arabia’s founder, King Abdul Aziz, aboard the USS *Quincy* in 1945, America’s relationship with the kingdom had been one of our most critical.

(479) The Sunni Arab nation sits on a fifth of the world’s oil and has tremendous influence among Muslims as the guardian of the holy mosques at Mecca and Medina.” 401

(480) “The evening of the Arab League summit, a Hamas suicide bomber walked into a hotel dining room filled with people celebrating **Passover in the Israeli city of Netanya.**

(481) ‘**Suddenly it was hell,**’ one guest said.” 401

(482) “I urged Sharon privately to end the offensive, which had become counterproductive. Arafat held a TV interview by candlelight and **was looking like a martyr.**” 402

“I walked into the living room with Gamal and asked for a moment alone with the crown prince. I had read two interesting things about him in a background briefing.

(483) One was that he was a devout religious believer. The other was that he loved his farm.” 402

“‘Your Royal Highness,’ I said.

(484) ‘I would like to discuss religion with you.’

(485) I talked about my belief in Christianity and the role religion played in my life.

NEG (486) I hoped he would reciprocate by talking about his faith. He wasn’t in the sharing mood.” 402

“I told him it was a turkey. ‘Benjamin Franklin loved the turkey so much he wanted it to be America’s national bird,’ I said. Suddenly I felt the crown prince’s hand grab my arm.

POS (487) ‘My brother,’ he said, ‘it is a sign from Allah.

POS (488) This is a good omen.’” 403

(489) “As violence in the Holy Land escalated in the spring of 2002, I decided we needed a game-changer.” 404

[“Whatever the outcome, free and fair elections reveal the truth.” 407]

(490) “There was not time to enlarge the font, so I pulled out my reading glasses and read from the page: ‘We agree to immediately **launch good-faith bilateral negotiations** in order to conclude a peace treaty...and shall make every effort to conclude and agreement before the end of 2008.’” 408-409

(491) “**The struggle in the Holy Land is no longer Palestinian verses Israeli, or Muslim verses Jew.** It is between those who seek peace and extremists who promote terror. And there is a consensus that democracy is the foundation on which to build a just and lasting peace.” 410

(492) “On the one-month anniversary of Hariri’s murder, nearly a million Lebanese people—a quarter of the nation’s population—**turned out at Martyr’s Square in Beirut to protest Syria’s occupation.** People began to speak of a Cedar Revolution, named for the tree in the middle of Lebanon’s flag.” 411

“The Cedar Revolution marked one of the most important successes of the freedom agenda.

(493) **It took place in a multi-religious country with a Muslim majority.**” 412

(494) “By the time I took office, **the theocratic regime in Iran had presented a challenge to American presidents for more than twenty years.**” 415

“And why did Iran need to enrich uranium when it didn’t have an operable nuclear power plant?

(495) All of a sudden, there weren’t so many complaints about including Iran **in the axis of evil.**” 415

“In June 2005, everything changed. Iran held a presidential election. The process was suspicious, to say the least.

(496) **The Council of Guardians, a handful of senior Islamic clerics, decided who was on the ballot.**

(497) **The clerics used the Basij Corps,** a militia-like unit of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, to manage turnout and influence the vote. Tehran Mayor Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was declared the winner.” 416

“Ahmadinejad called Israel ‘a stinking corpse’ that should be ‘wiped off the map.’ He dismissed the Holocaust as a ‘myth.’

(498) **He used a United Nations speech to predict that the hidden imam would reappear to save the world.** I started to worry we were dealing with more than a dangerous leader. This guy could be nuts.” 416

“I faced a major decision point. America could not allow Iran to have a nuclear weapon.

(499) **The theocratic regime would be able to dominate the Middle East,** blackmail the world, pass nuclear weapons technology to its terrorist proxies, or use the bomb against Israel.” 416

[“Bilateral negotiations with a tyrant rarely turn out well for a democracy. Because they are subjected to little accountability, totalitarian regimes face no pressure to honor their word.” 417]

[“The key to multilateral diplomacy with North Korea was China, which had close ties to its fellow communist nation. The challenge was that China and the United States had different interests on the Korean Peninsula. The Chinese wanted stability; we wanted freedom. They were worried about refugees flowing across the border; we were worried about starvation and human rights. But there was one area where we agreed: It was not in either of our interests to let Kim Jong-il have a nuclear weapon.” 424]

“One area of disagreement with the Chinese leadership was human rights.

(500) My focus was on religious liberty, because I believe that allowing people to worship as they choose is a cornerstone of the freedom agenda.

(501) In one of our first meetings, I explained to President Jiang that faith was a vital part of my life and that I studied the Word every day.

(502) I told him I planned to raise freedom of worship in our conversations.

NEG (503) ‘I read the Bible,’ he replied, ‘but I don’t trust what it says.’” 427-428

POS (504) “I told both Jiang and Hu that religious believers would be peaceful and productive citizens, the kind of people who would make their country stronger. I told them that for China to reach its full potential, they needed to trust their people with greater freedom. I didn’t hector or lecture them; I let my actions send the message.

POS (505) Laura and I attended church in Beijing, met with religious leaders like Cardinal Joseph Zen of Hong Kong, and spoke out for the rights of Chinese underground preachers and worshippers, bloggers, dissidents, and political prisoners.” 428

(506) “At the 2007 APEC Summit in Sydney, I told President Hu I planned to attend a ceremony where the Dalai Lama would receive the Congressional Gold Medal.

(507) The Buddhist leader was a source of distress for the Chinese government, which accused him of stirring up separatists in Tibet.

POS (508) I met with the Dalai Lama five times during my presidency, and I found him to be a charming, peaceful man.

(509) I told China’s leaders they should not fear him.

(510) ‘This is not meant as a slap at China,’ I said, ‘but as a measure of my respect for the Dalai Lama and for the U.S. Congress.

POS (511) You know my strong belief in religious freedom.” 428

“‘This is a politically sensitive issue in China,’ President Hu replied. ‘...It will draw a very strong reaction from the Chinese people.’

(512) What he meant was that it would draw a strong reaction from the government, which did not want me to be the first American president to appear with the Dalai Lama in public.” 428

“As President Ion Iliescu introduced me, the rain stopped and a full spectrum rainbow appeared. It stretched across the sky and ended right behind the balcony that was lit as a memorial to freedom. It was a stunning moment.

POS (513) I ad-libbed: ‘**God is smiling on us today.**’” 430

“Over my eight years as president, I met face to face with Vladimir more than forty times.

(514) Laura and I had wonderful visits with him and his wife, Lyudmilla, at our home in Crawford and his dacha outside Moscow, **where he showed me his private chapel** and let me drive his classic 1956 Volga.” 431

“I’ll never forget Putin’s reaction the first time he came into the Oval Office. It was early in the morning, and the light was streaming through the south windows.

POS (515) As he stepped through the door, he blurted out, ‘**My God... This is beautiful!**’ It was quite a response for a former KGB agent from the atheist Soviet Union.” 431

“By 2009, nations across the Middle East were actively fighting terrorism instead of looking the other way.

(516) **Iraq was a multi-religious, multi-ethnic democracy and an ally of the United States.**” 437

Chapter 14: Financial Crisis

[“A president must work for the best case, and prepare for the worst.” 442]

(517) “Credit rating agencies, which received lucrative fees from investment banks, **blessed many of these assets with AAA ratings.**” 448

(518) “‘**What the hell is going on?**’ I asked Hank. ‘I thought we were going to get a deal.’” 456

(519) “While Hank and I spoke all the time, those phone calls on Sunday—**the supposed day of rest**—always seemed to be the worst. It felt like we were having the same conversation again and again.” 456

(520) “**All hell broke loose in the morning.**” 457

[“The gears of the financial system, which depend on liquidity to serve as grease, were grinding to a halt.” 457]

“Less than forty-eight hours after Lehman filed for bankruptcy, saving AIG would look like a glaring contradiction.

(521) **But that was a hell of a lot better than a financial collapse.**” 458

[“I decided that we couldn’t keep going like this. We had to patch the boat.” 458]

["I decided that the only way to preserve the free market in the long run was to intervene in the short run." 459]

["The conversation moved to a discussion of all the difficulties we would face on Capitol Hill. 'We don't have time to worry about politics,' I said. 'Let's figure out the right thing to do and do it.'" 459]

["I had made up my mind: The U.S. government was going all in." 459]

T – Decisions are made when the president makes up his mind; it is what happened when he decided to run for governor, president, his response to 9/11, Katrina and the financial crisis, among other key events of history.

"I didn't feel sorry for myself. I knew there would be tough days. Self-pity is a pathetic quality in a leader. It sends such demoralizing signals to the team and the country.

POS (522) As well, **I was comforted by my conviction that the Good Lord wouldn't give a believer a burden he couldn't handle.**" 459

["In the presidency, as in life, you have to play the hand you're dealt. This wasn't the hand any of us had hoped for, but we were damn sure going to play it as best we could." 459]

["In periods of crisis, voters value experience and judgment over youth and charisma. By handling the challenge in a statesmanlike way, John [McCain] could make the case that he was the better candidate for the times." 461]

"I told the president-elect I looked forward to welcoming him to the White House.

(523) When I hung up the phone, **I said a prayer that all would be well during my successor's time.**

(524) I thought about one of my favorite presidential quotes, from a letter John Adams wrote to his wife, Abigail: **'I pray Heaven to bestow the best blessings on this house and all that shall hereafter inhabit it.**

(525) **May none but honest and wise men ever rule under this roof.**" 467

(526) **"I decided to treat him the way I would like to have been treated if I were in his position."** 469

["To fully recover, the federal government must improve its long-term fiscal position by reducing spending, addressing the unfunded liabilities in Social Security and Medicare, and creating the conditions for the private sector—especially small businesses—to generate new jobs." 471]

["Above all, our country must maintain our faith in free markets, free enterprise, and free trade. Free markets have made America a land of opportunity and, over time, helped raise the standard of living for successive generations." 471]

[“The nature of the presidency is that sometimes you don’t choose which challenges come to your desk. You do decide how to respond.” 472]

Epilogue

POS (527) “I began Tuesday, January 20, 2009, the same way I had started every day for the past eight years: **I read the Bible. One of the passages that final day was Psalm 18:2—‘The Lord is my rock, my fortress and my deliverer; my God is my rock, in whom I take refuge.’**

POS (523) Amen.” 473

(528) “**The Obamas were in good spirits and excited about the journey ahead.**

Meanwhile, in the Situation Room, homeland security aides from both our teams monitored intelligence on a terrorist threat to the Inauguration.

NEG (529) **It was a stark reminder that evil men still want to harm our country, no matter who is serving as president.”** 474

[“I knew some of the decisions I had made were not popular with many of my fellow citizens. But I felt satisfied that I had been willing to make the hard decisions, and I had always done what I believed was right.” 474]

(530) “**I am blessed to be the only president to leave office with both parents alive, and I’m grateful for the chance to spend more time with them.”** 475

[“Instead of covering every issue, I’ve tried to give the reader a sense of the most consequential decisions that reached my desk. As I hope I’ve made clear, I believe I got some of those decisions right, and I got some wrong. But on every one, I did what I believed was in the best interests of our country.” 476]

[“Whatever the verdict on my presidency, I’m comfortable with the fact that I won’t be around to hear it. That’s a decision point only history will reach.” 477]

Analysis:

530 Religious references in *Decision Points*

183 in 530 (35%) Positive experiences with religious reference

36 in 530 (7%) Negative experiences with religious reference

93 in 530 (18%) Positive references to religious mentoring

93 in 183 (51%) Positive references to religious mentoring to positive experiences

1 in 530 (.02%) Negative references to religious mentoring

1 in 36 (3%) Negative references to religious mentoring to negative experiences

13 in 530 (2%) American religious nationalism with religious reference

4 in 530 (.08%) American religious nationalism without religious reference

17 in 530 (3%) American religious nationalism with or without religious reference

Religious References Per Chapter

Chapter 1: Quitting	100
Chapter 2: Running	20
Chapter 3: Personnel	14
Chapter 4: Stem Cells	35
Chapter 5: Day of Fire	41
Chapter 6: War Footing	6
Chapter 7: Afghanistan	43
Chapter 8: Iraq	30
Chapter 9: Leading	50
Chapter 10: Katrina	23
Chapter 11: Lazarus Effect	31
Chapter 12: Surge	75
Chapter 13: Freedom Agenda	47
Chapter 14: Financial Crisis	10
Epilogue	5

Positive Experience with a Religious References Per Chapter

Chapter 1: Quitting	57
Chapter 2: Running	16
Chapter 3: Personnel	6
Chapter 4: Stem Cells	7
Chapter 5: Day of Fire	8
Chapter 6: War Footing	0
Chapter 7: Afghanistan	11
Chapter 8: Iraq	1
Chapter 9: Leading	24
Chapter 10: Katrina	10
Chapter 11: Lazarus Effect	15
Chapter 12: Surge	18
Chapter 13: Freedom Agenda	8
Chapter 14: Financial Crisis	1
Epilogue	1

20 in 93 (22%) Positive experiences with a religious reference in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8

Negative Experience with a Religious Reference Per Chapter

Chapter 1: Quitting	11
Chapter 2: Running	0
Chapter 3: Personnel	0
Chapter 4: Stem Cells	2
Chapter 5: Day of Fire	3
Chapter 6: War Footing	2
Chapter 7: Afghanistan	8
Chapter 8: Iraq	1
Chapter 9: Leading	1
Chapter 10: Katrina	3

Chapter 11: Lazarus Effect	1
Chapter 12: Surge	2
Chapter 13: Freedom Agenda	1
Chapter 14: Financial Crisis	0
Epilogue	1

14 in 36 (39%) Negative experiences with a religious reference in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8

Positive References to Religious Mentoring Per Chapter

Chapter 1: Quitting	41
Chapter 2: Running	14
Chapter 3: Personnel	3
Chapter 4: Stem Cells	6
Chapter 5: Day of Fire	6
Chapter 6: War Footing	0
Chapter 7: Afghanistan	8
Chapter 8: Iraq	1
Chapter 9: Leading	9
Chapter 10: Katrina	0
Chapter 11: Lazarus Effect	0
Chapter 12: Surge	5
Chapter 13: Freedom Agenda	0
Chapter 14: Financial Crisis	0
Epilogue	0

15 in 93 (16%) Positive references to religious mentoring in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8

120 Religious references from Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 (time period of 9/11 and following)

120 of 530 (23%) Religious references from Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8

American Religious Nationalism With or Without Religious Reference Per Chapter

Chapter 1: Quitting	2	^ARN x 2
Chapter 2: Running	1	ARN
Chapter 3: Personnel	0	
Chapter 4: Stem Cells	0	
Chapter 5: Day of Fire	5	^ARN, ARN x 4
Chapter 6: War Footing	0	
Chapter 7: Afghanistan	3	ARN x 3
Chapter 8: Iraq	4	ARN x 4
Chapter 9: Leading	0	
Chapter 10: Katrina	1	ARN
Chapter 11: Lazarus Effect	0	
Chapter 12: Surge	1	ARN
Chapter 13: Freedom Agenda	1	^ARN
Chapter 14: Financial Crisis	0	
Epilogue	0	

12 in 18 (67%) American religious nationalism with or without religious references in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8

Themes of *Decision Points*

Theme 1: Bush sought out mentors (23). It was his *modus operandi*. His father was his most influential political mentor who also was a spiritual example. He followed the example of former presidents, like Lincoln, by reading biographies as part of his study of history. His religious mentors in varying degrees included Graham, Keller, Craig, Caldwell, John Paul II, Williams, Evans, and Fornea. [T.D. Jakes is listed as a friend and Bush's reflection does not indicate in influence, but that he, Jakes, put his faith in action.]

Theme 2: Jesus' "kindness to suffering strangers...[and] His ultimate act of sacrificial love" are themes that run through Bush's presidential speeches (32). Such themes relate with his perspective of human rights and more foundationally, the call to fight for freedom in his championing of democracy.

Theme 3: Guiding principles are the core to Bush's decision-making process (110-111).

Theme 4: Guiding principles in decision-making. Vindicated over time, maintain credibility (123).

Theme 5: Human dignity, human rights, freedom and democracy are themes of Bush (125).

Theme 6: Bush is habitual (126). His habitual nature has grounded him through spiritual disciplines. His habitual characteristic speaks to the theory of cognitive consistency. His ability to remain disciplined and keep on point during his campaigns and presidential speeches may be attributable to his habitual nature—providing support to the consistency of his beliefs and rhetoric according to the operational code analysis intuition.

Theme 7: Protection of Americans (127).

Theme 8: Protect Americans and defend freedom (129).

Theme 9: Protect Americans by devising "a strategy to bring the terrorists to justice so they would not strike again" (129)

Theme 10: Protecting America, perceived by Bush as more than just his protection over the nation, included leading a new generation to protect the nation for years to come. This shows evidence of his instinctive foresight and depth of understanding the implication of the attack and hence, his actions as a means of follow-up (137).

Theme 11: Protecting America, at all costs (151).

Theme 12: Protecting America required the waging of war against terrorists (154).

Theme 13: Protecting America required putting America on a war footing. Protecting America at all costs was the guiding principle for putting America on a war footing. The guiding principle of protecting America is foundational in the future decisions Bush made in foreign policy (154).

Theme 14: Protecting America on the grounds of Constitutional authority (155).

Theme 15: Protecting America is a just cause. America is fighting a just war (199).

Theme 16: Protecting America is tied to the spread of democracy (224).

Theme 17: Protecting America was tied directly to human suffering. Rationale: “societies mired in poverty and disease foster hopelessness. And hopelessness leaves people ripe for recruitment by terrorists and extremists.” National security is connected to human rights, according to Bush’s reasoning and justifies the allocation of funds (336).

Theme 18: Protecting America, a theme that emerged from his time at the Camp David Chapel where he made his decision – protecting the country became his primary agenda. Out of this, the Bush Doctrine was forged and as a result, American foreign policy (397).

Theme 19: Decisions are made when the president makes up his mind; it is what happened when he decided to run for governor, president, his response to 9/11, Katrina and the financial crisis, among other key events of history (459).

Correlation of religious influences on foreign policy presidential decision-making during the 9/11 crisis and beyond

Religious Causal Vectors

Vector 1:

“Sunday, September 16, was a day of reflection.

(227) Laura and I went to services at Camp David’s beautiful Evergreen Chapel.

(228) Started during the Reagan administration and finished during Dad’s, the chapel was a special place for my family.

(229) The first wedding performed there was between my sister Doro and her fine husband, Bobby Koch.” 190

(230) “At 10:00 a.m. that first Sunday after 9/11, late summer light streamed through the serene woods and into the chapel.

POS (231) Navy and Marine Corps personnel and family members joined us in worship, as did members of the national security team who had stayed over from the meetings the day before.” 190

POS M (232) “Camp David was blessed to have a fine pastor, Navy Chaplain Bob Williams.

POS M (233) His sermon that Sunday was touching and comforting. He asked the questions so many of us had struggled with: “Why? ... How could this happen, God?” 190

POS M (234) “Bob said the answer was beyond our power to know.

POS M (235) ‘Life is sometimes a maze of contradictions and incongruities,’ he acknowledged.

POS M (236) Yet we could take comfort in knowing that God’s plan would prevail.

POS M (237) He quoted a passage from St. Ignatius of Loyola: ‘Pray as if it all depends on God, for it does.

POS M (238) But work as if it all depends upon us, for it does.’” 190

*** “After the service, Laura and I boarded Marine One for the flight back to Washington. By that afternoon I had reached one of the defining decision points in my presidency: We would fight the war on terror on the offense, and the first battle front would be Afghanistan.”** 190

N – RCV “God’s plan would prevail.” Implied interpretation by Bush: God’s plan is to protect America, His chosen, and thus, the plan of America’s war footing derived from Bush, would prevail (232). America would take the offensive in fighting terror, to be known as The Bush Doctrine. Bush is clear that it all depends on God (233) and he will place America on war footing as though it all depended on the citizens. His decision was clear and as a foreign policy, it was influenced by and defined by religion.

Vector 2:

*** POS (418) RCV “I drew strength from family, friends, and faith.**

POS (419) When we visited Camp David, Laura and I loved to worship with military families at the base’s chapel.

POS M (420) The chaplain in 2006, forty-eight-year-old Navy Lieutenant Commander Stan Fornea, was one of the best preachers I’ve ever heard.

(421) ‘Evil is real, biblical, and prevalent,’ he said in one sermon.

(422) ‘Some say ignore it, some say it doesn’t exist.

(423) But evil must not be ignored, it must be restrained.’ He quoted Sir Edmund Burke, the eighteenth-century British leader:

(424) ‘The only thing needed for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.’” 368

*** POS M (425) “Stan believed that the answer to evil was freedom.**

He also knew there would be a cost.

POS M (426) ‘There has never been a noble cause devoid of sacrifice,’ he said in one sermon. ‘If freedom is worthy of defense only to the point it costs us nothing then we are in desperate need as a nation.’” 368

* **POS M (427)** “Above all, Stan was an optimist, and his sense of hope lifted my spirits.

POS M (428) ‘The Scriptures put great premiums on faithfulness, perseverance, and overcoming,’ he said. ‘We do not quit or give up. We always believe there is no such thing as a hopeless situation.’” 368

* “The casualties were not his [Lincoln’s] only struggle. Lincoln had to cycle through one commander after another until he found one who would fight. He watched his son Willie die in the White House and his wife, Mary Todd, sink into depression.

(429) Yet thanks to his faith in God and his deep belief that he was waging war for a just cause, Lincoln persisted.”

* Correlation of religious influence on foreign policy presidential decision-making
[] Significant point on decision-making that does not include religion or religious reference

N Notes interacting with the text on religious influences on presidential decision-making in times of crisis

__ Repeat phrases indicating a decision-making theme

T Themes that recur in the text

() Respective numbering of sentence inclusive of a religious word, phrase, or quote.

I Insight on a core belief that activated his choices personally and politically (in italicized text)

NEG Negative experience with a religious reference

POS Positive experience with a religious reference

M Religious mentoring

ARN American religious nationalism with religious reference

^ARN Implied American religious nationalism without religious reference in text

RCV Religious causal vector

Protecting America is the dominant theme of the book. Protecting America is a foreign policy decision attributed by Bush to being derived after hearing a sermon by Navy Chaplain Bob Williams at Camp David on the first Sunday after 9/11, September 16; a religious causal vector that led to the offensive objective in the war on terror and the first battle in Afghanistan. The sermon content includes a quote from St. Ignatius of Loyola preceded by an exposition by Chaplain Williams. Support of the religious causal vector is also provided by the 71% concentration of American religious nationalism with or without religious references in chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8, the time period of the 9/11 attacks and following.

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