

FOIA Marker

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Speechwriting, White House Office of Kropp, Emily - Speech Files

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
W	17	5	3	2	1594	14529	2814	2928

Folder Title:

State of the Union Research and Materials, 01/20/2004 [2]

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Memorandum	Military Families' Freedom from Immediate Tax Worries - To: Josh Bolten - From: J.D. Foster	2	01/07/2004	P5;
002	Outline	SOTU Memo	3	N.D.	P5;
003	Outline	SOTU Memo	4	N.D.	P5;
004	Email	Fw: - To: John McConnell - From: Michael Gerson	1	01/13/2004	P5;
005	Email	FW: SOTU Soc Sec Language Suggestions - To: Michael Gerson, et al. - From: Harriet Miers	2	01/15/2004	P5;
006	Email	SOTU #9 - To: Daniel Bartlett, et al. - From: Andy Card	1	01/15/2004	P5;
007	Email	SOTU Changed Needed - To: Michael Gerson, et al. - From: Anne Campbell	1	01/15/2004	P5;

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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008	Speech	State of the Union Address	15	01/20/2004	P5; P6/b6;
009	Speech	State of the Union Address	14	01/20/2004	P5;
010	Email	Sec. Rumsfeld Comments - To: Michael Gerson, et al. - From: Brett Kavanaugh	1	01/17/2004	P5;
011	Speech	State of the Union Address	14	01/20/2004	P5; P6/b6;

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Mike —

Gerson

From Harriet

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

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Gerson, Michael J.

From: Currin, John**Sent:** Friday, January 16, 2004 6:33 PM**To:** Gerson, Michael J.

-----Original Message-----

From: Linder, Stephen, LtCol, OSD [mailto:Stephen.Linder@osd.pentagon.mil]**Sent:** Wednesday, January 14, 2004 1:45 PM**To:** Winternitz, Andrew, CIV, OSD-POLICY**Cc:** Niles, Michael, COL, OSD; Currin, John; Bockhorn, Lee**Subject:** RE: Re: figures for State of the Union

Andrew,

You are a great American. As we move downstream this month I would very much appreciate your updates in the unfortunate case where we sustain further coalition casualties.

Thanks!

Steve Linder

-----Original Message-----

From: Winternitz, Andrew, CIV, OSD-POLICY**Sent:** Wednesday, January 14, 2004 1:03 PM**To:** Linder, Stephen, LtCol, OSD**Cc:** Niles, Michael, COL, OSD**Subject:** Re: figures for State of the Union

LtCol Linder:

There was a report this morning of an injury to a Dutch Soldier and Centcom has confirmed that the soldier was wounded in a non-hostile incident. This is the first Dutch casualty.

The list of countries below is dynamic in that 20 other countries on the ground have not yet sustained a casualty. If needed, I will continue to update you until the 20th.

Therefore, as of today, here are the OIF Coalition countries that have sustained casualties with those only suffering non-hostile casualties listed last after the break.

1. Bulgaria
2. Denmark
3. Estonia
4. Italy
5. Moldova
6. New Zealand
7. Poland
8. Spain
9. Thailand
10. United Kingdom
11. Ukraine

12. Honduras
13. Netherlands
14. Philippines

Andrew L. Winternitz
Presidential Management Fellow
OSD Coalition Management Team
Pentagon, 1B923A
(703) 614-3731

Key Initiatives in the President's State of the Union Address
FACT SHEET: THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE

- The Challenge: President Bush described the challenge we face in his remarks at the National Endowment for Democracy on November 6, 2003.

“The United States has adopted a new policy, a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East....The advance of freedom is the calling of our time; it is the calling of our country.

“The Middle East...must be a focus of American policy for decades to come....There's a great challenge today in the Middle East. In the words of a recent report by Arab scholars, the global wave of democracy has -- and I quote -- ‘barely reached the Arab states. They continue: ‘This freedom deficit undermines human development and is one of the most painful manifestations of lagging political development.’

“Sixty years of Western nations excusing and accommodating the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make us safe -- because in the long run, stability cannot be purchased at the expense of liberty. As long as the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of stagnation, resentment, and violence ready for export. And with the spread of weapons that can bring catastrophic harm to our country and to our friends, it would be reckless to accept the status quo.”

- Doubling Our Efforts to Expand Democracy: The National Endowment for Democracy was established by Congress during the Reagan Administration to expand democracy throughout the world. Governed by an independent, nonpartisan board of directors, the NED makes hundreds of grants each year to support pro-democracy groups in dozens of countries. The NED works in part through direct grants to NGOs and civil society groups fighting for democracy, human rights, religious tolerance, freedom of the press, and free elections; and in part, through its four core institutes: the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS), the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), the International Republican Institute (IRI), and the National Democratic

Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Last year, the NED budget totaled \$39.6 million. The President now calls for a "Special Fund for the Greater Middle East" at the NED, totaling \$40 million per year for two years, FY 2005 and FY 2006, doubling the NED budget to \$80 million for each of those years.

The Special Fund would be available for such projects as these in the countries of the Greater Middle East:

- Training women for increased political participation.
- Training of journalists in professional standards of accurate and fair reporting.
- Supporting visiting fellows such democracy activists, practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world, to come to the United States to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change.
- Fostering the development of free trade unions.
- Promoting understanding and support for free markets.
- Assisting human rights and related NGOs in promoting democracy.
- Publishing and disseminating materials about human rights, democracy, religious freedom, and religious tolerance.
- Promoting freedom of the press.
- Assisting nations in holding free elections by training officials, disseminating materials about free elections, and monitoring elections.
- Providing materials and expertise in educational reform, to develop curricula that promote democracy and human rights.

• "Special Initiative for the Muslim World" at the U.S. Institute of Peace: The United States Institute of Peace was created by Congress in 1984 to promote the prevention, management, and peaceful resolution of international conflicts. The "Special Initiative" works to deal with violence of terrorism and turmoil in the Muslim world, and to support those in the Muslim world working through nonviolent means to integrate democratic and human rights principles into existing Islamic political, social, and economic life. New working groups deal with post-conflict reconstruction and security in Afghanistan, and "pivotal states" in

the Muslim world such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, and Indonesia.

The "Special Initiative" was funded in its first year, 2003, at XXXX million dollars. The President has now called for an additional \$5 million dollars to be made available for the Special Initiative in both FY2005 and FY2006 so that additional grants and projects may be undertaken. These additional "Stevens Grants," named after the USIP's foremost proponent in Congress, will allow steady expansion of USIP activity in this turbulent region.

•Broadcasting to the Muslim World: In the last few years, the United States has begun to meet the need for American broadcasting in Arabic and Persian. The unbalanced, often hostile versions of American life and policy carried on so many channels in the region—both private and state-run—cannot be offset by denunciations or corrections; only fair, informed, and appealing American broadcasting can address the problem.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors, a US Government agency that provides a bipartisan firewall guaranteeing independent journalism, created Radio Sawa and Radio Sawa Iraq as 7 day a week, 24 hour services in Arabic, broadcasting by AM, FM, short wave, internet, and satellite. It also created Radio Farda, broadcasting 24/7 in Persian to Iran. In many cities of the Greater Middle East, these stations have achieved very high popularity with their mix of music and balanced, reliable news programs.

It is critical to add television as a medium for reaching the peoples of the region, and this year BBG will launch a Middle East television network. The President calls for a one-third increase in the budget for this effort, from \$30 million in FY2004 to \$40.4 million in support this year. This satellite channel will be broadcast over the ArabSat and the NileSat. BBG estimates that this will give the network a potential audience of as many as 170 million viewers across the Middle East. The primary format of the station will be news and information, but will also include movies, sports, entertainment and educational programming similar to shows on the Discovery Channel or the History Channel. The goal is to present an accurate portrait of our country, our society, and our policies in the Greater Middle East, along with accurate news about the region, and entertainment programs.

•Rethinking American Assistance: The Middle East Partnership Initiative (**MEPI**) is a Presidential initiative to support economic, political, and educational reform efforts in the Middle East. One of the first tasks undertaken under MEPI is a review of all bilateral aid programs to bring

them into line with current goals—and the critical needs of this region. MEPI is structured in four reform areas. In the economic pillar, MEPI policy and programs support region-wide economic and employment growth driven by private sector expansion and entrepreneurship. In the political pillar, MEPI champions an expanded public space where democratic voices can be heard in the political process, the people have a choice in governance, and there is respect for the rule of law. In the education pillar, MEPI supports education systems that enable all people, including girls, to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in today's economy and improve the quality of their lives. Finally, in the women's pillar, MEPI works toward economic, political, and educational systems where women enjoy full and equal opportunities. Among the hallmark activities being conducted under the auspices of MEPI are the establishment of the Middle East Finance Corporation (economic pillar); a Regional Judicial Forum and Regional Campaign Schools (political pillar); stay-in-school incentive programs and the Arabic Book program (education pillar); and regional micro-enterprise and business internships for women (women's pillar).

To date, the Administration has committed \$129 million to MEPI (\$29 million in FY 2002 supplemental and \$100 million in FY 2003 supplemental). Funding for MEPI will increase in FY 2005, with a planned increase to \$145 million now being raised by an additional \$5 million to \$150 million. This MEPI funding is in addition to the bilateral economic assistance we provide annually to the Arab world, and is meant to help re-target that assistance and to support the key goals of reform in the region. The additional MEPI funding is for the Partnership for Financial Excellence (see below).

- Partnership for Financial Excellence: The new Partnership for Financial Excellence (PFE) is a component of MEPI. MEPI funding will be increased by \$5 million to initiate the PFE, and additional funding will be sought from countries in the region. PFE activities in the Greater Middle East will focus in the following areas:
 - **Bank supervision and regulation**: Strengthening supervisory and regulatory capacity to oversee banking systems, the cornerstone of many financial systems.
 - **Capital markets development**: Developing markets for public and private sector securities and the effective capacity to regulate these markets appropriately.
 - **Small and medium enterprise finance**: Promoting access to financial services for privately-owned small and medium sized businesses.

- Financial sector enforcement capacity: Developing enforcement capacity to stem abuses of the financial system.
- Legal and regulatory frameworks for financial services: Designing and enforcing legal and regulatory frameworks for banking, capital markets and other services that promote private investment and protect the public.

• Transforming Trade in the Greater Middle East: Speaking on May 9, 2003 at the University of South Carolina, President Bush proposed a Middle East Free Trade Area (MEFTA). The President intends for the MEFTA to be completed within a decade. Progress will include programs and technical assistance to strengthen and transform the trade and investment environments and climates in the region. Programs conducted in support of the MEFTA will be supported with MEPI funding.

Building on our free trade agreements (FTAs) with Israel and Jordan, the United States will take a series of graduated steps: help reforming countries become members of the World Trade Organization; negotiate Bilateral Investment Treaties and Trade and Investment Framework Agreements (TIFA) with governments determined to improve their trade and investment regimes; complete our negotiations on a free trade agreement with Morocco in 2004; continue to pursue a FTA with the reform-focused leadership in Bahrain; launch, in consultation with Congress, new bilateral free trade agreements with governments committed to high standards and comprehensive trade liberalization; and provide assistance to build trade capacity and expansion so countries can benefit from integration into the global trading system.

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One-year job growth, December 2002 to December 2003*Industries with positive growth*

Rank	Industry	Number of jobs created, thousands
1	Administrative and Support Services (SA, Thous)	227
2	Food Services and Drinking Places (SA, Thous)	164
3	Ambulatory Health Care Services (SA, Thous)	110
4	Specialty Trade Contractors (SA, Thous)	105
5	Hospitals (SA, Thous)	62
6	Educational Services (SA, Thous)	60
7	Professional and Technical Services (SA, Thous)	37
8	Nursing & Residential Care Facilities (SA, Thous)	36
9	Social Assistance (SA, Thous)	33
10	Construction of Buildings (SA, Thous)	33
11	Building Material and Garden Supply Stores (SA, Thous)	24
12	Credit Intermediation and Related Activities (SA, Thous)	24
13	Health and Personal Care Stores (SA, Thous)	23
14	Real Estate (SA, Thous)	22
15	Local Government (SA, Thous)	13
16	Securities, Commodity Contracts, Investments (SA, Thous)	13
17	Electronic Markets, Agents and Brokers (SA, Thous)	9
18	Couriers and Messengers (SA, Thous)	8
19	Motor Vehicle and Parts Dealers (SA, Thous)	7
20	Rental and Leasing Services (SA, Thous)	5
21	Scenic and Sightseeing Transportation (SA, Thous)	5
22	Oil and Gas Extraction (SA, Thous)	4
23	Lessors of Nonfinancial Intangible Assets (SA, Thous)	4
24	Heavy and Civil Engineering Construction (SA, Thous)	4
25	Membership Associations & Organizations (SA, Thous)	4
26	General Merchandise Stores (SA, Thous)	3
27	Furniture and Home Furnishings Stores (SA, Thous)	3
28	Truck Transportation (SA, Thous)	2
29	Internet Publishing and Broadcasting (SA, Thous)	2

Three-year job growth, December 2000 to December 2003

Industries with positive growth

Rank	Industry	Number of jobs created, thousands
1	Local Government (SA, Thous)	563
2	Ambulatory Health Care Services (SA, Thous)	451
3	Educational Services (SA, Thous)	311
4	Food Services and Drinking Places (SA, Thous)	304
5	Hospitals (SA, Thous)	266
6	Credit Intermediation and Related Activities (SA, Thous)	210
7	Membership Associations & Organizations (SA, Thous)	195
8	Nursing & Residential Care Facilities (SA, Thous)	183
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Tax Code Under Implemented Growth Package

Provision	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Rate Relief	Rates reduced to 35, 33, 28, and 25 percent.								Rates increased to 29.6, 26, 31, and 28 percent.		
10 Percent Bracket	Upper bracket point increased to \$7K/\$14K for single/joint filers and is inflation-indexed.		Upper bracket point reverts back to \$6K/\$12K for single/joint filers.			Upper bracket point increased to \$7K/\$14K for single/joint filers and is inflation-indexed.			Bracket eliminated, making lowest bracket 15 percent.		
15 Percent Bracket Expansion	Upper bracket point for joint filers increases to 200 percent of single filer point.		Upper bracket point for joint filers increases to 180 percent of single filer point.	Upper bracket point for joint filers increases to 187 percent of single filer point.	Upper bracket point for joint filers increases to 193 percent of single filer point.	Upper bracket point for joint filers increases to 200 percent of single filer point.			Upper bracket point for joint filers returns to 167 percent of single filer point.		
Standard Deduction Increase	Standard deduction for joint filers increases to 200 percent of single standard deduction.		Standard deduction for joint filers decreases to 174 percent of single standard deduction.	Standard deduction for joint filers increases to 184 percent of single standard deduction.	Standard deduction for joint filers increases to 187 percent of single standard deduction.	Standard deduction for joint filers increases to 190 percent of single standard deduction.	Standard deduction for joint filers increases to 200 percent of single standard deduction.		Standard deduction for joint filers returns to 167 percent of single standard deduction.		
Child Credit	Tax credit for each qualifying child under age 17 increases to \$1000.		Tax credit for each qualifying child under age 17 decreases to \$700.				Tax credit for each qualifying child under age 17 increases to \$800.	Tax credit for each qualifying child under age 17 increases to \$1000.	Tax credit for each qualifying child under age 17 decreases to \$500.		
Small Business Expensing	Deduct up to \$100,000, reduced by amount qualifying property exceeds \$400,000.			Deduction reverts back to \$25,000, reduced by amount qualifying property exceeds \$200,000.							
Capital Gains	Tax rate on capital gains is reduced to 15/5 percent.					Tax on capital gains is eliminated for taxpayers in 10/15% tax brackets.		Tax on capital gains increased to 20/10%.			
Dividend Exclusion	Tax rate on dividend income is reduced to 15/5 percent.					Tax on dividend income is eliminated for taxpayers in 10/15% tax brackets.		Tax on dividend income reverts to standard income tax rates.			
Bonus Depreciation	Depreciate additional 50% of qualified property acquired after 5/5/03.		Bonus depreciation sunsets.								
Alternative Minimum Tax	Increase AMT exemption amount to \$40,250 for single and \$58,000 for joint.		AMT exemption reverts back to \$33,750 for single and \$45,000 for joint.								

Blue -- JGTRRA Green -- EGTRRA Red -- Sunset Yellow -- Trough Green -- Permanent Sunset Orange -- JGTRRA Sunsets

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: SOTU Soc Sec Language Suggestions - To: Michael Gerson, et al. - From: Harriet Miers	2	01/15/2004	P5;

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Speechwriting, White House Office of

SERIES:

Kropp, Emily - Speech Files

FOLDER TITLE:

State of the Union Research and Materials, 01/20/2004 [2]

FRC ID:

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FOIA IDs and Segments:

2014-0126-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	SOTU #9 - To: Daniel Bartlett, et al. - From: Andy Card	1	01/15/2004	P5;

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Email	SOTU Changed Needed - To: Michael Gerson, et al. - From: Anne Campbell	1	01/15/2004	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Speech	State of the Union Address	15	01/20/2004	P5; P6/b6;

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Speech	State of the Union Address	14	01/20/2004	P5;

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SERIES:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Sec. Rumsfeld Comments - To: Michael Gerson, et al. - From: Brett Kavanaugh	1	01/17/2004	P5;

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Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People
 United States Capitol
 Washington, D.C.

- » View the President's Remarks
- » Listen to the President's Remarks

9:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: 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, Beamer, here tonight. (Applause.)

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion, seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers – Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made of strangers their own.

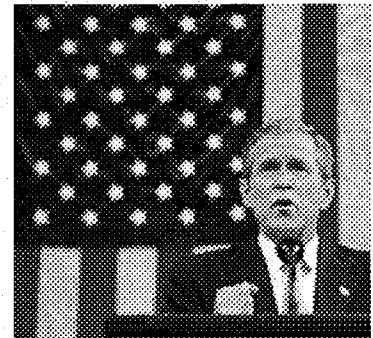
My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union is strong. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched that evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of the Capitol singing "God Bless America." And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering \$40 billion to 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. (Applause.)

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America



Response
video &
:
Homeland
video &
:

West Wing

• History

forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or 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 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 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. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.)



On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars – but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war – but not at the center of a great 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, 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 organization al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania, 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 world – and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslims 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. They 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 60 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 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 dictated by their leaders. 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 provider of humanitarian aid – but we condemn the Taliban regime. (Applause.) It is not only repressing the people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. Aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Del

States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. (Applause.) Release all nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure to appropriate authorities. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.) The Taliban must 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, freely practiced 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 are enemies of the name of Allah. (Applause.) The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to pervert Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. The enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. (Applause.)

Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. (Applause.)

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: freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with one another.

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 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, we hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They seek to do 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 same as all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical ends – by abandoning every value except the will to power – they follow in the path of fascism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked graves. (Applause.)

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 destruction of the global terrorist 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 expect a long and difficult battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic military operations, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funds, deny them one haven after another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. 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. (Applause.) 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 against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position directly to me – the Office of Homeland Security.

And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen America a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend – Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. (Applause.) He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy for 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. (Applause.)

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists 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 and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. (Applause.)

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom but 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. From Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the best 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 unchecked, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings but threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what – we're not going to allow it. (Applause.)

Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. You 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 fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be subject to unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. (Applause.)

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who wish 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. I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security. Your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked 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 11th, and they are our strengths today. (Applause.)

And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in ur for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already for what we will do together.

Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct during this emergency. (Applause.)

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down ter home. (Applause.) We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike. (Applause.)

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our p to work.

Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: G George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. (Applause.) As a symbol of America's resolve, administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will York City. (Applause.)

After all that has just passed – all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that die it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I kn struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined b long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terr an age of liberty, here and across the world. (Applause.)

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger w found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human fr great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time – now depends on us. Our generation – will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail. (Applause.)

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go b lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll re moment the news came – where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember ar 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 1 Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end. (Applause.)


I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not res 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 have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them. (Applause.)

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice – assured of the rightness of our caus confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and r watch over the United States of America.

Thank you. (Applause.)

END 9:41 P.M. EDT

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