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TRINITY
COLLEGE
DUBLIN

Rhetorical Agency and the Retransmission of Presidential Rhetoric: Southern Baptist Elites and the Global War on Terror

Appendices

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Doctorate of Philosophy

Submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College, June, 2016

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APPENDIX A: ANALYZED RHETORICAL ARTIFACTS	1
George W. Bush - Response to the Terrorist Attacks	1
George W. Bush - Address to the Nation	3
George W. Bush – State of the Union Address – 2002	8
George W. Bush – State of the Union Address – 2003	15
George W. Bush – War Message	24
George W. Bush – End of Major Combat in Iraq	26
George W. Bush – State of the Union Address – 2007	29
George W. Bush - Farewell Address to the Nation	37
Richard Land - Draining the Swamp of Terrorists	41
Richard Land – Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror	42
Richard Land – The so-called “Land Letter”	44
Richard Land – The Time Has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria	47
Richard Land – This Is Not Vietnam	51
Richard Land – What Would King Have Said About Saddam?	53
Richard Land – Key to World Peace: Religious Freedom	54
Richard Land - PBS- Frontline Interview	56
Richard Land - A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq	68
Jack Graham - President’s Address – 2003	72
Charles Stanley - A Nation at War	80
Charles Stanley - Charles Stanley: Satan Always Attacks the Mind.	82
APPENDIX B: ERLC SOURCES WITH UNSTABLE INTERNET LINKS	87
Ricard Land - Contending with the “Cults of Death”	87



Appendix A: Analyzed Rhetorical Artifacts

George W. Bush
Response to the Terrorist Attacks
Washington, DC
September 11, 2001

Good evening.

Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts.

The victims were in airplanes or in their offices -- secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers. Moms and dads. Friends and neighbors.

Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.

The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness and a quiet, unyielding anger.

These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed. Our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation.

Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.

America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature, and we responded with the best of America, with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, D.C., to help with local rescue efforts.

Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight and will be open for business tomorrow.

Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business as well.

The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources for our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.

Tonight I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me."

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time.

None of us will ever forget this day, yet we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night and God bless America.

George W. Bush
Address to the Nation
Washington, DC
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. (Applause.)

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. (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 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 \$40 billion 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. (Applause.)

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 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 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 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 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. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.) 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. (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, 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. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.)

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. (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 -- 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 20th 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. (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 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. (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 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. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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 11th, and they are our strengths today. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. (Applause.) We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of 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 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. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

George W. Bush
State of the Union Address - 2002
Washington, DC
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 welcomed 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, Dr. Sima Samar.

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 men and women of our armed forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 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, Micheal, a CIA officer and marine who died in Mazar-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 Micheal 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 19 men who hijacked planes on September 11 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-e-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 11, 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 terrorist 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 will protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

September 11 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 \$1 billion a month, over \$30 million 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 11 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 200 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. [Laughter] I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing—[laughter]—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 homeownership, 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 11. 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, 4,000 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 200,000 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 nonnegotiable 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.

George W. Bush
State of the Union Address - 2003
Washington, DC
January 28, 2003

Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished citizens and fellow citizens:

Every year, by law and by custom, we meet here to consider the state of the Union. This year, we gather in this chamber deeply aware of decisive days that lie ahead.

You and I serve our country in a time of great consequence. During this session of Congress, we have the duty to reform domestic programs vital to our country. We have the opportunity to save millions of lives abroad from a terrible disease. We will work for a prosperity that is broadly shared, and we will answer every danger and every enemy that threatens the American people.

In all these days of promise and days of reckoning, we can be confident. In a whirlwind of change and hope and peril, our faith is sure; our resolve is firm; and our Union is strong.

This country has many challenges. We will not deny, we will not ignore, we will not pass along our problems to other Congresses, to other Presidents, and other generations. We will confront them with focus and clarity and courage.

During the last two years, we have seen what can be accomplished when we work together. To lift the standards of our public schools, we achieved historic education reform, which must now be carried out in every school and in every classroom so that every child in America can read and learn and succeed in life. To protect our country, we reorganized our government and created the Department of Homeland Security, which is mobilizing against the threats of a new era. To bring our economy out of recession, we delivered the largest tax relief in a generation. To insist on integrity in American business, we passed tough reforms, and we are holding corporate criminals to account.

Some might call this a good record. I call it a good start. Tonight I ask the House and the Senate to join me in the next bold steps to serve our fellow citizens.

Our first goal is clear: We must have an economy that grows fast enough to employ every man and woman who seeks a job. After recession, terrorist attacks, corporate scandals, and stock market declines, our economy is recovering. Yet, it's not growing fast enough or strongly enough. With unemployment rising, our nation needs more small businesses to open, more companies to invest and expand, more employers to put up the sign that says, "Help Wanted."

Jobs are created when the economy grows. The economy grows when Americans have more money to spend and invest, and the best and fairest way to make sure Americans have that money is not to tax it away in the first place.

I am proposing that all the income-tax reductions set for 2004 and 2006 be made permanent and effective this year. And under my plan, as soon as I've signed the bill, this extra money will start showing up in workers' paychecks. Instead of gradually reducing the marriage penalty, we should do it now. Instead of slowly raising the child credit to \$1,000, we should send the checks to American families now.

The tax relief is for everyone who pays income taxes, and it will help our economy immediately: 92 million Americans will keep, this year, an average of almost \$1,100 more of their own money; a family of four with an income of \$40,000 would see their federal income taxes fall from \$1,178 to \$45 per year; our plan will improve the bottom line for more than 23 million small businesses.

You, the Congress, have already passed all these reductions and promised them for future years. If this tax relief is good for Americans three, or five, or seven years from now, it is even better for Americans today.

We should also strengthen the economy by treating investors equally in our tax laws. It's fair to tax a company's profits. It is not fair to again tax the shareholder on the same profits. To boost investor confidence and to help the nearly 10 million seniors who receive dividend income, I ask you to end the unfair double taxation of dividends.

Lower taxes and greater investment will help this economy expand. More jobs mean more taxpayers and higher revenues to our government. The best way to address the deficit and move toward a balanced budget is to encourage economic growth and to show some spending discipline in Washington, D.C.

We must work together to fund only our most important priorities. I will send you a budget that increases discretionary spending by 4 percent next year, about as much as the average family's income is expected to grow. And that is a good benchmark for us. Federal spending should not rise any faster than the paychecks of American families.

A growing economy and a focus on essential priorities will be crucial to the future of Social Security. As we continue to work together to keep Social Security sound and reliable, we must offer younger workers a chance to invest in retirement accounts that they will control and they will own.

Our second goal is high quality, affordable health for all Americans. The American system of medicine is a model of skill and innovation, with a pace of discovery that is adding good years to our lives. Yet for many people, medical care costs too much, and many have no health coverage at all. These problems will not be solved with a nationalized health care system that dictates coverage and rations care.

Instead, we must work toward a system in which all Americans have a good insurance policy, choose their own doctors, and seniors and low-income Americans receive the help they need. Instead of bureaucrats and trial lawyers and HMOs, we must put doctors and nurses and patients back in charge of American medicine.

Health care reform must begin with Medicare. Medicare is the binding commitment of a caring society. We must renew that commitment by giving seniors access to preventive medicine and new drugs that are transforming health care in America.

Seniors happy with the current Medicare system should be able to keep their coverage just the way it is. And just like you, the members of Congress, and your staffs and other federal employees, all seniors should have the choice of a health care plan that provides prescription drugs.

My budget will commit an additional \$400 billion over the next decade to reform and strengthen Medicare. Leaders of both political parties have talked for years about strengthening Medicare. I urge the members of this new Congress to act this year.

To improve our health care system, we must address one of the prime causes of higher cost, the constant threat that physicians and hospitals will be unfairly sued. Because of excessive litigation, everybody pays more for health care, and many parts of America are losing fine doctors. No one has ever been healed by a frivolous lawsuit. I urge the Congress to pass medical liability reform.

Our third goal is to promote energy independence for our country, while dramatically improving the environment. I have sent you a comprehensive energy plan to promote energy efficiency and conservation, to develop cleaner technology, and to produce more energy at home. I have sent you Clear Skies legislation that mandates a 70-percent cut in air pollution from powerplants over the next 15 years. I

have sent you a Healthy Forests Initiative, to help prevent the catastrophic fires that devastate communities, kill wildlife, and burn away millions of acres of treasured forests.

I urge you to pass these measures, for the good of both our environment and our economy. Even more, I ask you to take a crucial step and protect our environment in ways that generations before us could not have imagined.

In this century, the greatest environmental progress will come about not through endless lawsuits or command-and-control regulations but through technology and innovation. Tonight I'm proposing \$1.2 billion in research funding so that America can lead the world in developing clean, hydrogen-powered automobiles.

A simple chemical reaction between hydrogen and oxygen generates energy, which can be used to power a car, producing only water, not exhaust fumes. With a new national commitment, our scientists and engineers will overcome obstacles to taking these cars from laboratory to showroom, so that the first car driven by a child born today could be powered by hydrogen and pollution-free. Join me in this important innovation to make our air significantly cleaner and our country much less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Our fourth goal is to apply the compassion of America to the deepest problems of America. For so many in our country, the homeless and the fatherless, the addicted, the need is great. Yet there's power, wonder-working power, in the goodness and idealism and faith of the American people.

Americans are doing the work of compassion every day, visiting prisoners, providing shelter for battered women, bringing companionship to lonely seniors. These good works deserve our praise. They deserve our personal support, and when appropriate, they deserve the assistance of the federal government.

I urge you to pass both my Faith-Based Initiative and the Citizen Service Act, to encourage acts of compassion that can transform America, one heart and one soul at a time.

Last year, I called on my fellow citizens to participate in the USA Freedom Corps, which is enlisting tens of thousands of new volunteers across America. Tonight I ask Congress and the American people to focus the spirit of service and the resources of government on the needs of some of our most vulnerable citizens, boys and girls trying to grow up without guidance and attention and children who have to go through a prison gate to be hugged by their mom or dad. I propose a \$450 million initiative to bring mentors to more than a million disadvantaged junior high students and children of prisoners. Government will support the training and recruiting of mentors. Yet it is the men and women of America who will fill the need. One mentor, one person can change a life forever, and I urge you to be that one person.

Another cause of hopelessness is addiction to drugs. Addiction crowds out friendship, ambition, moral conviction and reduces all the richness of life to a single destructive desire. As a government, we are fighting illegal drugs by cutting off supplies and reducing demand through antidrug education programs. Yet for those already addicted, the fight against drugs is a fight for their own lives. Too many Americans in search of treatment cannot get it. So tonight I propose a new \$600 million program to help an additional 300,000 Americans receive treatment over the next three years.

Our nation is blessed with recovery programs that do amazing work. One of them is found at the Healing Place Church in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. A man in the program said, "God does miracles in people's lives, and you never think it could be you." Tonight let us bring to all Americans who struggle with drug addiction this message of hope: The miracle of recovery is possible, and it could be you.

By caring for children who need mentors and for addicted men and women who need treatment, we are building a more welcoming society, a culture that values every life. And in this work, we must not overlook the weakest among us. I ask you to protect infants at the very hour of their birth and end the practice of partial-birth abortion. And because no human life should be started or ended as the object of an experiment, I ask you to set a high standard for humanity and pass a law against all human cloning.

The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad. The American flag stands for more than our power and our interests. Our Founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity, the rights of every person, and the possibilities of every life. This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted and defend the peace and confound the designs of evil men.

In Afghanistan, we helped to liberate an oppressed people. And we will continue helping them secure their country, rebuild their society, and educate all their children, boys and girls. In the Middle East, we will continue to seek peace between a secure Israel and a democratic Palestine. Across the Earth, America is feeding the hungry. More than 60 percent of international food aid comes as a gift from the people of the United States. As our nation moves troops and builds alliances to make our world safer, we must also remember our calling as a blessed country is to make the world better.

Today, on the continent of Africa, nearly 30 million people have the AIDS virus, including three million children under the age 15. There are whole countries in Africa where more than one-third of the adult population carries the infection. More than four million require immediate drug treatment. Yet across that continent, only 50,000 AIDS victims—only 50,000—are receiving the medicine they need.

Because the AIDS diagnosis is considered a death sentence, many do not seek treatment. Almost all who do are turned away. A doctor in rural South Africa describes his frustration. He says, "We have no medicines. Many hospitals tell people, 'You've got AIDS. We can't help you. Go home and die.'" In an age of miraculous medicines, no person should have to hear those words.

AIDS can be prevented. Antiretroviral drugs can extend life for many years. And the cost of those drugs has dropped from \$12,000 a year to under \$300 a year, which places a tremendous possibility within our grasp. Ladies and gentlemen, seldom has history offered a greater opportunity to do so much for so many.

We have confronted and will continue to confront HIV/AIDS in our own country. And to meet a severe and urgent crisis abroad, tonight I propose the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, a work of mercy beyond all current international efforts to help the people of Africa. This comprehensive plan will prevent seven million new AIDS infections, treat at least two million people with life-extending drugs, and provide humane care for millions of people suffering from AIDS and for children orphaned by AIDS. I ask the Congress to commit \$15 billion over the next five years, including nearly \$10 billion in new money, to turn the tide against AIDS in the most afflicted nations of Africa and the Caribbean.

This nation can lead the world in sparing innocent people from a plague of nature. And this nation is leading the world in confronting and defeating the manmade evil of international terrorism.

There are days when our fellow citizens do not hear news about the war on terror. There's never a day when I do not learn of another threat or receive reports of operations in progress or give an order in this global war against a scattered network of killers. The war goes on, and we are winning.

To date, we've arrested or otherwise dealt with many key commanders of Al Qaeda. They include a man who directed logistics and funding for the September 11 attacks, the chief of Al Qaeda operations in the Persian Gulf who planned the bombings of our embassies in east Africa and the U.S.S. Cole, an Al Qaeda

operations chief from Southeast Asia, a former director of Al Qaeda's training camps in Afghanistan, a key Al Qaeda operative in Europe, a major Al Qaeda leader in Yemen. All told, more than 3,000 suspected terrorists have been arrested in many countries. Many others have met a different fate. Let's put it this way: They are no longer a problem to the United States and our friends and allies.

We are working closely with other nations to prevent further attacks. America and coalition countries have uncovered and stopped terrorist conspiracies targeting the embassy in Yemen, the American embassy in Singapore, a Saudi military base, ships in the Straits of Hormuz and the Straits of Gibraltar. We've broken Al Qaeda cells in Hamburg, Milan, Madrid, London, Paris, as well as Buffalo, New York.

We have the terrorists on the run. We're keeping them on the run. One by one, the terrorists are learning the meaning of American justice.

As we fight this war, we will remember where it began: Here, in our own country. This government is taking unprecedented measures to protect our people and defend our homeland. We've intensified security at the borders and ports of entry, posted more than 50,000 newly trained federal screeners in airports, begun inoculating troops and first responders against smallpox, and are deploying the nation's first early warning network of sensors to detect biological attack. And this year, for the first time, we are beginning to field a defense to protect this nation against ballistic missiles.

I thank the Congress for supporting these measures. I ask you tonight to add to our future security with a major research and production effort to guard our people against bioterrorism, called Project BioShield. The budget I send you will propose almost \$6 billion to quickly make available effective vaccines and treatments against agents like anthrax, botulinum toxin, Ebola, and plague. We must assume that our enemies would use these diseases as weapons, and we must act before the dangers are upon us.

Since September 11, our intelligence and law enforcement agencies have worked more closely than ever to track and disrupt the terrorists. The FBI is improving its ability to analyze intelligence and is transforming itself to meet new threats. Tonight I am instructing the leaders of the FBI, the CIA, the Homeland Security, and the Department of Defense to develop a Terrorist Threat Integration Center, to merge and analyze all threat information in a single location. Our government must have the very best information possible, and we will use it to make sure the right people are in the right places to protect all our citizens.

Our war against terror is a contest of will in which perseverance is power. In the ruins of two towers, at the western wall of the Pentagon, on a field in Pennsylvania, this nation made a pledge, and we renew that pledge tonight: Whatever the duration of this struggle and whatever the difficulties, we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men; free people will set the course of history.

Today, the gravest danger in the war on terror, the gravest danger facing America and the world, is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. These regimes could use such weapons for blackmail, terror, and mass murder. They could also give or sell those weapons to terrorist allies, who would use them without the least hesitation.

This threat is new. America's duty is familiar. Throughout the 20th century, small groups of men seized control of great nations, built armies and arsenals, and set out to dominate the weak and intimidate the world. In each case, their ambitions of cruelty and murder had no limit. In each case, the ambitions of Hitlerism, militarism, and communism were defeated by the will of free peoples, by the strength of great alliances, and by the might of the United States of America.

Now, in this century, the ideology of power and domination has appeared again and seeks to gain the ultimate weapons of terror. Once again, this nation and all our friends are all that stand between a world at peace and a world of chaos and constant alarm. Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people and the hopes of all mankind. And we accept this responsibility.

America is making a broad and determined effort to confront these dangers. We have called on the United Nations to fulfill its charter and stand by its demand that Iraq disarm. We're strongly supporting the International Atomic Energy Agency in its mission to track and control nuclear materials around the world. We're working with other governments to secure nuclear materials in the former Soviet Union and to strengthen global treaties banning the production and shipment of missile technologies and weapons of mass destruction.

In all these efforts, however, America's purpose is more than to follow a process; it is to achieve a result, the end of terrible threats to the civilized world. All free nations have a stake in preventing sudden and catastrophic attacks. And we're asking them to join us, and many are doing so. Yet the course of this nation does not depend on the decisions of others. Whatever action is required, whenever action is necessary, I will defend the freedom and security of the American people.

Different threats require different strategies. In Iran, we continue to see a government that represses its people, pursues weapons of mass destruction, and supports terror. We also see Iranian citizens risking intimidation and death as they speak out for liberty and human rights and democracy. Iranians, like all people, have a right to choose their own government and determine their own destiny, and the United States supports their aspirations to live in freedom.

On the Korean Peninsula, an oppressive regime rules a people living in fear and starvation. Throughout the 1990s, the United States relied on a negotiated framework to keep North Korea from gaining nuclear weapons. We now know that that regime was deceiving the world and developing those weapons all along. And today the North Korean regime is using its nuclear program to incite fear and seek concessions. America and the world will not be blackmailed.

America is working with the countries of the region, South Korea, Japan, China, and Russia, to find a peaceful solution and to show the North Korean government that nuclear weapons will bring only isolation, economic stagnation, and continued hardship. The North Korean regime will find respect in the world and revival for its people only when it turns away from its nuclear ambitions.

Our nation and the world must learn the lessons of the Korean Peninsula and not allow an even greater threat to rise up in Iraq. A brutal dictator, with a history of reckless aggression, with ties to terrorism, with great potential wealth, will not be permitted to dominate a vital region and threaten the United States.

Twelve years ago, Saddam Hussein faced the prospect of being the last casualty in a war he had started and lost. To spare himself, he agreed to disarm of all weapons of mass destruction. For the next 12 years, he systematically violated that agreement. He pursued chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, even while inspectors were in his country. Nothing to date has restrained him from his pursuit of these weapons, not economic sanctions, not isolation from the civilized world, not even cruise missile strikes on his military facilities.

Almost three months ago, the United Nations Security Council gave Saddam Hussein his final chance to disarm. He has shown instead utter contempt for the United Nations and for the opinion of the world. The 108 U.N. inspectors were sent to conduct—were not sent to conduct a scavenger hunt for hidden materials across a country the size of California. The job of the inspectors is to verify that Iraq's regime is

disarming. It is up to Iraq to show exactly where it is hiding its banned weapons, lay those weapons out for the world to see, and destroy them as directed. Nothing like this has happened.

The United Nations concluded in 1999 that Saddam Hussein had biological weapons sufficient to produce over 25,000 liters of anthrax, enough doses to kill several million people. He hasn't accounted for that material. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed it. The United Nations concluded that Saddam Hussein had materials sufficient to produce more than 38,000 liters of botulinum toxin, enough to subject millions of people to death by respiratory failure. He hasn't accounted for that material. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed it. Our intelligence officials estimate that Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard, and VX nerve agent. In such quantities, these chemical agents could also kill untold thousands. He's not accounted for these materials. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them. U.S. intelligence indicates that Saddam Hussein had upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents. Inspectors recently turned up 16 of them, despite Iraq's recent declaration denying their existence. Saddam Hussein has not accounted for the remaining 29,984 of these prohibited munitions. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

From three Iraqi defectors we know that Iraq, in the late 1990s, had several mobile biological weapons labs. These are designed to produce germ warfare agents and can be moved from place to a place to evade inspectors. Saddam Hussein has not disclosed these facilities. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

The International Atomic Energy Agency confirmed in the 1990s that Saddam Hussein had an advanced nuclear weapons development program, had a design for a nuclear weapon, and was working on five different methods of enriching uranium for a bomb. The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa. Our intelligence sources tell us that he has attempted to purchase high-strength aluminum tubes suitable for nuclear weapons production. Saddam Hussein has not credibly explained these activities. He clearly has much to hide.

The dictator of Iraq is not disarming. To the contrary, he is deceiving. From intelligence sources we know, for instance, that thousands of Iraqi security personnel are at work hiding documents and materials from the U.N. inspectors, sanitizing inspection sites, and monitoring the inspectors themselves. Iraqi officials accompany the inspectors in order to intimidate witnesses.

Iraq is blocking U-2 surveillance flights requested by the United Nations. Iraqi intelligence officers are posing as the scientists inspectors are supposed to interview. Real scientists have been coached by Iraqi officials on what to say. Intelligence sources indicate that Saddam Hussein has ordered that scientists who cooperate with U.N. inspectors in disarming Iraq will be killed, along with their families.

Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks to build and keep weapons of mass destruction. But why? The only possible explanation, the only possible use he could have for those weapons, is to dominate, intimidate, or attack.

With nuclear arms or a full arsenal of chemical and biological weapons, Saddam Hussein could resume his ambitions of conquest in the Middle East and create deadly havoc in that region. And this Congress and the American people must recognize another threat. Evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications, and statements by people now in custody reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of Al Qaeda. Secretly and without fingerprints, he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists or help them develop their own.

Before September 11, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents, lethal viruses, and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans, this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that that day never comes.

Some have said we must not act until the threat is imminent. Since when have terrorists and tyrants announced their intentions, politely putting us on notice before they strike? If this threat is permitted to fully and suddenly emerge, all actions, all words, and all recriminations would come too late. Trusting in the sanity and restraint of Saddam Hussein is not a strategy, and it is not an option.

The dictator who is assembling the world's most dangerous weapons has already used them on whole villages, leaving thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured. Iraqi refugees tell us how forced confessions are obtained, by torturing children while their parents are made to watch. International human rights groups have cataloged other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape. If this is not evil, then evil has no meaning.

And tonight I have a message for the brave and oppressed people of Iraq: Your enemy is not surrounding your country; your enemy is ruling your country. And the day he and his regime are removed from power will be the day of your liberation.

The world has waited 12 years for Iraq to disarm. America will not accept a serious and mounting threat to our country and our friends and our allies. The United States will ask the U.N. Security Council to convene on February 5 to consider the facts of Iraq's ongoing defiance of the world. Secretary of State Powell will present information and intelligence about Iraq's legal—Iraq's illegal weapons programs, its attempt to hide those weapons from inspectors, and its links to terrorist groups.

We will consult. But let there be no misunderstanding: If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm, for the safety of our people and for the peace of the world, we will lead a coalition to disarm him.

Tonight I have a message for the men and women who will keep the peace, members of the American armed forces: Many of you are assembling in or near the Middle East, and some crucial hours may lay ahead. In those hours, the success of our cause will depend on you. Your training has prepared you. Your honor will guide you. You believe in America, and America believes in you.

Sending Americans into battle is the most profound decision a President can make. The technologies of war have changed; the risks and suffering of war have not. For the brave Americans who bear the risk, no victory is free from sorrow. This nation fights reluctantly, because we know the cost and we dread the days of mourning that always come.

We seek peace. We strive for peace. And sometimes peace must be defended. A future lived at the mercy of terrible threats is no peace at all. If war is forced upon us, we will fight in a just cause and by just means, sparing, in every way we can, the innocent. And if war is forced upon us, we will fight with the full force and might of the United States military, and we will prevail.

And as we and our coalition partners are doing in Afghanistan, we will bring to the Iraqi people food and medicines and supplies and freedom.

Many challenges, abroad and at home, have arrived in a single season. In two years, America has gone from a sense of invulnerability to an awareness of peril, from bitter division in small matters to calm unity

in great causes. And we go forward with confidence, because this call of history has come to the right country.

Americans are a resolute people who have risen to every test of our time. Adversity has revealed the character of our country, to the world and to ourselves. America is a strong nation and honorable in the use of our strength. We exercise power without conquest, and we sacrifice for the liberty of strangers.

Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity.

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.

May He guide us now. And may God continue to bless the United States of America.

George W. Bush
War Message
Washington, DC
March 19, 2003

My fellow citizens, at this hour American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.

On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign.

More than 35 countries are giving crucial support, from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.

To all of the men and women of the United States armed forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you.

That trust is well placed.

The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military.

In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military; a final atrocity against his people.

I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm. A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict. And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment.

We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.

For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people and you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.

Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly, yet our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder.

We will meet that threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of firefighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force. And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures and we will accept no outcome but victory.

My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others. And we will prevail.

May God bless our country and all who defend her.

George W. Bush
End of Major Combat in Iraq
San Diego, California
May 1, 2003

Thank you all very much. Admiral Kelly, Captain Card, officers and sailors of the USS Abraham Lincoln, my fellow Americans: Major combat operations in Iraq have ended. In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed. (Applause.) And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country.

In this battle, we have fought for the cause of liberty, and for the peace of the world. Our nation and our coalition are proud of this accomplishment -- yet, it is you, the members of the United States military, who achieved it. Your courage, your willingness to face danger for your country and for each other, made this day possible. Because of you, our nation is more secure. Because of you, the tyrant has fallen, and Iraq is free. (Applause.)

Operation Iraqi Freedom was carried out with a combination of precision and speed and boldness the enemy did not expect, and the world had not seen before. From distant bases or ships at sea, we sent planes and missiles that could destroy an enemy division, or strike a single bunker. Marines and soldiers charged to Baghdad across 350 miles of hostile ground, in one of the swiftest advances of heavy arms in history. You have shown the world the skill and the might of the American Armed Forces.

This nation thanks all the members of our coalition who joined in a noble cause. We thank the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland, who shared in the hardships of war. We thank all the citizens of Iraq who welcomed our troops and joined in the liberation of their own country. And tonight, I have a special word for Secretary Rumsfeld, for General Franks, and for all the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States: America is grateful for a job well done. (Applause.)

The character of our military through history -- the daring of Normandy, the fierce courage of Iwo Jima, the decency and idealism that turned enemies into allies -- is fully present in this generation. When Iraqi civilians looked into the faces of our servicemen and women, they saw strength and kindness and goodwill. When I look at the members of the United States military, I see the best of our country, and I'm honored to be your Commander-in-Chief. (Applause.)

In the images of falling statues, we have witnessed the arrival of a new era. For a hundred of years of war, culminating in the nuclear age, military technology was designed and deployed to inflict casualties on an ever-growing scale. In defeating Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, Allied forces destroyed entire cities, while enemy leaders who started the conflict were safe until the final days. Military power was used to end a regime by breaking a nation.

Today, we have the greater power to free a nation by breaking a dangerous and aggressive regime. With new tactics and precision weapons, we can achieve military objectives without directing violence against civilians. No device of man can remove the tragedy from war; yet it is a great moral advance when the guilty have far more to fear from war than the innocent. (Applause.)

In the images of celebrating Iraqis, we have also seen the ageless appeal of human freedom. Decades of lies and intimidation could not make the Iraqi people love their oppressors or desire their own enslavement. Men and women in every culture need liberty like they need food and water and air. Everywhere that freedom arrives, humanity rejoices; and everywhere that freedom stirs, let tyrants fear. (Applause.)

We have difficult work to do in Iraq. We're bringing order to parts of that country that remain dangerous. We're pursuing and finding leaders of the old regime, who will be held to account for their crimes. We've begun the search for hidden chemical and biological weapons and already know of hundreds of sites that will be investigated. We're helping to rebuild Iraq, where the dictator built palaces for himself, instead of hospitals and schools. And we will stand with the new leaders of Iraq as they establish a government of, by, and for the Iraqi people. (Applause.)

The transition from dictatorship to democracy will take time, but it is worth every effort. Our coalition will stay until our work is done. Then we will leave, and we will leave behind a free Iraq. (Applause.)

The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11, 2001 -- and still goes on. That terrible morning, 19 evil men -- the shock troops of a hateful ideology -- gave America and the civilized world a glimpse of their ambitions. They imagined, in the words of one terrorist, that September the 11th would be the "beginning of the end of America." By seeking to turn our cities into killing fields, terrorists and their allies believed that they could destroy this nation's resolve, and force our retreat from the world. They have failed. (Applause.)

In the battle of Afghanistan, we destroyed the Taliban, many terrorists, and the camps where they trained. We continue to help the Afghan people lay roads, restore hospitals, and educate all of their children. Yet we also have dangerous work to complete. As I speak, a Special Operations task force, led by the 82nd Airborne, is on the trail of the terrorists and those who seek to undermine the free government of Afghanistan. America and our coalition will finish what we have begun. (Applause.)

From Pakistan to the Philippines to the Horn of Africa, we are hunting down al Qaeda killers. Nineteen months ago, I pledged that the terrorists would not escape the patient justice of the United States. And as of tonight, nearly one-half of al Qaeda's senior operatives have been captured or killed. (Applause.)

The liberation of Iraq is a crucial advance in the campaign against terror. We've removed an ally of al Qaeda, and cut off a source of terrorist funding. And this much is certain: No terrorist network will gain weapons of mass destruction from the Iraqi regime, because the regime is no more. (Applause.)

In these 19 months that changed the world, our actions have been focused and deliberate and proportionate to the offense. We have not forgotten the victims of September the 11th -- the last phone calls, the cold murder of children, the searches in the rubble. With those attacks, the terrorists and their supporters declared war on the United States. And war is what they got. (Applause.)

Our war against terror is proceeding according to principles that I have made clear to all: Any person involved in committing or planning terrorist attacks against the American people becomes an enemy of this country, and a target of American justice. (Applause.)

Any person, organization, or government that supports, protects, or harbors terrorists is complicit in the murder of the innocent, and equally guilty of terrorist crimes.

Any outlaw regime that has ties to terrorist groups and seeks or possesses weapons of mass destruction is a grave danger to the civilized world -- and will be confronted. (Applause.)

And anyone in the world, including the Arab world, who works and sacrifices for freedom has a loyal friend in the United States of America. (Applause.)

Our commitment to liberty is America's tradition -- declared at our founding; affirmed in Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms; asserted in the Truman Doctrine and in Ronald Reagan's challenge to an evil empire. We are committed to freedom in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in a peaceful Palestine. The advance of

freedom is the surest strategy to undermine the appeal of terror in the world. Where freedom takes hold, hatred gives way to hope. When freedom takes hold, men and women turn to the peaceful pursuit of a better life. American values and American interests lead in the same direction: We stand for human liberty. (Applause.)

The United States upholds these principles of security and freedom in many ways -- with all the tools of diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence, and finance. We're working with a broad coalition of nations that understand the threat and our shared responsibility to meet it. The use of force has been -- and remains -- our last resort. Yet all can know, friend and foe alike, that our nation has a mission: We will answer threats to our security, and we will defend the peace. (Applause.)

Our mission continues. Al Qaeda is wounded, not destroyed. The scattered cells of the terrorist network still operate in many nations, and we know from daily intelligence that they continue to plot against free people. The proliferation of deadly weapons remains a serious danger. The enemies of freedom are not idle, and neither are we. Our government has taken unprecedented measures to defend the homeland. And we will continue to hunt down the enemy before he can strike. (Applause.)

The war on terror is not over; yet it is not endless. We do not know the day of final victory, but we have seen the turning of the tide. No act of the terrorists will change our purpose, or weaken our resolve, or alter their fate. Their cause is lost. Free nations will press on to victory. (Applause.)

Other nations in history have fought in foreign lands and remained to occupy and exploit. Americans, following a battle, want nothing more than to return home. And that is your direction tonight. (Applause.) After service in the Afghan -- and Iraqi theaters of war -- after 100,000 miles, on the longest carrier deployment in recent history, you are homeward bound. (Applause.) Some of you will see new family members for the first time -- 150 babies were born while their fathers were on the Lincoln. Your families are proud of you, and your nation will welcome you. (Applause.)

We are mindful, as well, that some good men and women are not making the journey home. One of those who fell, Corporal Jason Mileo, spoke to his parents five days before his death. Jason's father said, "He called us from the center of Baghdad, not to brag, but to tell us he loved us. Our son was a soldier."

Every name, every life is a loss to our military, to our nation, and to the loved ones who grieve. There's no homecoming for these families. Yet we pray, in God's time, their reunion will come. Those we lost were last seen on duty. Their final act on this Earth was to fight a great evil and bring liberty to others. All of you -- all in this generation of our military -- have taken up the highest calling of history. Thank you for serving our country and our cause. May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless America.

George W. Bush
State of the Union Address - 2007
Washington, DC
January 23, 2007

Thank you very much. And tonight I have the 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 we can 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 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 41st month of uninterrupted job growth, a recovery that has created 7.2 million new jobs so far. Unemployment is low; inflation is low; 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 is 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 \$18 billion. Even worse, over 90 percent of the 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 good will, 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 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 \$15,000 of their income. Single Americans with health insurance will pay no income or payroll taxes on \$7,500 of their income. With this reform, more than 100 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—\$4,500 for a family of four making \$60,000 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 not made 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 worksite 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 20 percent in the next 10 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 35 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 and a half 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 9/11 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 9/11 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 terrorists, this war began well before September 11 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." Usama 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 Shi'a 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 Shi'a 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 have 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 19 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 12 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. Hizballah 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 Shi'a Islam, the Golden Mosque of Samarra. This atrocity, directed at a Muslim house of prayer, was designed to provoke retaliation from Iraqi Shi'a, and it succeeded. Radical Shi'a 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 20,000 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 4,000 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 reenter 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 Shi'a 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 11 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've proposed 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 92,000 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 U.N., the EU, 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 and 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/AIDS, especially on the continent of Africa. Because you funded the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, the number of people receiving lifesaving drugs has grown from 50,000 to more than 800,000 in three short years. I ask you to continue funding our efforts to fight HIV/AIDS. And I ask you to provide \$1.2 billion over five years so we can combat malaria in 15 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 and 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 took 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 \$20 million in sales. In November 2001, Julie sold Baby Einstein to Walt Disney Company, and with her help, Baby Einstein has grown into a \$200 million 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 is the most important thing 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.

George W. Bush
Farewell Address to the Nation
Washington, DC
January 15, 2009

Fellow citizens:

For eight years, it has been my honor to serve as your President. The first decade of this new century has been a period of consequence—a time set apart. Tonight, with a thankful heart, I have asked for a final opportunity to share some thoughts on the journey that we have traveled together, and the future of our nation.

Five days from now, the world will witness the vitality of American democracy. In a tradition dating back to our founding, the presidency will pass to a successor chosen by you, the American people. Standing on the steps of the Capitol will be a man whose history reflects the enduring promise of our land. This is a moment of hope and pride for our whole nation. And I join all Americans in offering best wishes to President-Elect Obama, his wife Michelle, and their two beautiful girls.

Tonight I am filled with gratitude—to Vice President Cheney and members of my administration; to Laura, who brought joy to this house and love to my life; to our wonderful daughters, Barbara and Jenna; to my parents, whose examples have provided strength for a lifetime. And above all, I thank the American people for the trust you have given me. I thank you for the prayers that have lifted my spirits. And I thank you for the countless acts of courage, generosity, and grace that I have witnessed these past eight years.

This evening, my thoughts return to the first night I addressed you from this house—September the 11th, 2001. That morning, terrorists took nearly 3,000 lives in the worst attack on America since Pearl Harbor. I remember standing in the rubble of the World Trade Center three days later, surrounded by rescuers who had been working around the clock. I remember talking to brave souls who charged through smoke-filled corridors at the Pentagon, and to husbands and wives whose loved ones became heroes aboard Flight 93. I remember Arlene Howard, who gave me her fallen son's police shield as a reminder of all that was lost. And I still carry his badge. As the years passed, most Americans were able to return to life much as it had been before 9/11. But I never did. Every morning, I received a briefing on the threats to our nation. I vowed to do everything in my power to keep us safe.

Over the past seven years, a new Department of Homeland Security has been created. The military, the intelligence community, and the FBI have been transformed. Our nation is equipped with new tools to monitor the terrorists' movements, freeze their finances, and break up their plots. And with strong allies at our side, we have taken the fight to the terrorists and those who support them. Afghanistan has gone from a nation where the Taliban harbored al-Qaeda and stoned women in the streets to a young democracy that is fighting terror and encouraging girls to go to school. Iraq has gone from a brutal dictatorship and a sworn enemy of America to an Arab democracy at the heart of the Middle East and a friend of the United States.

There is legitimate debate about many of these decisions. But there can be little debate about the results. America has gone more than seven years without another terrorist attack on our soil. This is a tribute to those who toil night and day to keep us safe—law enforcement officers, intelligence analysts, homeland security and diplomatic personnel, and the men and women of the United States Armed Forces.

Our nation is blessed to have citizens who volunteer to defend us in this time of danger. I have cherished meeting these selfless patriots and their families. And America owes you a debt of gratitude. And to all our men and women in uniform listening tonight: There has been no higher honor than serving as your Commander-in-Chief.

The battles waged by our troops are part of a broader struggle between two dramatically different systems. Under one, a small band of fanatics demands total obedience to an oppressive ideology, condemns women to subservience, and marks unbelievers for murder. The other system is based on the conviction that freedom is the universal gift of Almighty God, and that liberty and justice light the path to peace.

This is the belief that gave birth to our nation. And in the long run, advancing this belief is the only practical way to protect our citizens. When people live in freedom, they do not willingly choose leaders who pursue campaigns of terror. When people have hope in the future, they will not cede their lives to violence and extremism. So around the world, America is promoting human liberty, human rights, and human dignity. We're standing with dissidents and young democracies, providing AIDS medicine to dying patients—to bring dying patients back to life, and sparing mothers and babies from malaria. And this great republic born alone in liberty is leading the world toward a new age when freedom belongs to all nations.

For eight years, we've also strived to expand opportunity and hope here at home. Across our country, students are rising to meet higher standards in public schools. A new Medicare prescription drug benefit is bringing peace of mind to seniors and the disabled. Every taxpayer pays lower income taxes. The addicted and suffering are finding new hope through faith-based programs. Vulnerable human life is better protected. Funding for our veterans has nearly doubled. America's air and water and lands are measurably cleaner. And the federal bench includes wise new members like Justice Sam Alito and Chief Justice John Roberts.

When challenges to our prosperity emerged, we rose to meet them. Facing the prospect of a financial collapse, we took decisive measures to safeguard our economy. These are very tough times for hardworking families, but the toll would be far worse if we had not acted. All Americans are in this together. And together, with determination and hard work, we will restore our economy to the path of growth. We will show the world once again the resilience of America's free enterprise system.

Like all who have held this office before me, I have experienced setbacks. There are things I would do differently if given the chance. Yet I've always acted with the best interests of our country in mind. I have followed my conscience and done what I thought was right. You may not agree with some of the tough decisions I have made. But I hope you can agree that I was willing to make the tough decisions.

The decades ahead will bring more hard choices for our country, and there are some guiding principles that should shape our course.

While our nation is safer than it was seven years ago, the gravest threat to our people remains another terrorist attack. Our enemies are patient, and determined to strike again. America did nothing to seek or deserve this conflict. But we have been given solemn responsibilities, and we must meet them. We must resist complacency. We must keep our resolve. And we must never let down our guard.

At the same time, we must continue to engage the world with confidence and clear purpose. In the face of threats from abroad, it can be tempting to seek comfort by turning inward. But we must reject isolationism and its companion, protectionism. Retreating behind our borders would only invite danger. In the 21st century, security and prosperity at home depend on the expansion of liberty abroad. If America does not lead the cause of freedom, that cause will not be led.

As we address these challenges—and others we cannot foresee tonight—America must maintain our moral clarity. I've often spoken to you about good and evil, and this has made some uncomfortable. But good and evil are present in this world, and between the two of them there can be no compromise. Murdering the innocent to advance an ideology is wrong every time, everywhere. Freeing people from oppression and despair is eternally right. This nation must continue to speak out for justice and truth. We must always be willing to act in their defense—and to advance the cause of peace.

President Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past." As I leave the house he occupied two centuries ago, I share that optimism. America is a young country, full of vitality, constantly growing and renewing itself. And even in the toughest times, we lift our eyes to the broad horizon ahead.

I have confidence in the promise of America because I know the character of our people. This is a nation that inspires immigrants to risk everything for the dream of freedom. This is a nation where citizens show calm in times of danger, and compassion in the face of suffering. We see examples of America's character all around us. And Laura and I have invited some of them to join us in the White House this evening.

We see America's character in Dr. Tony Recasner, a principal who opened a new charter school from the ruins of Hurricane Katrina. We see it in Julio Medina, a former inmate who leads a faith-based program to help prisoners returning to society. We've seen it in Staff Sergeant Aubrey McDade, who charged into an ambush in Iraq and rescued three of his fellow Marines.

We see America's character in Bill Krissoff—a surgeon from California. His son, Nathan—a Marine—gave his life in Iraq. When I met Dr. Krissoff and his family, he delivered some surprising news: He told me he wanted to join the Navy Medical Corps in honor of his son. This good man was 60 years old—18 years above the age limit. But his petition for a waiver was granted, and for the past year he has trained in battlefield medicine. Lieutenant Commander Krissoff could not be here tonight, because he will soon deploy to Iraq, where he will help save America's wounded warriors—and uphold the legacy of his fallen son.

In citizens like these, we see the best of our country—resilient and hopeful, caring and strong. These virtues give me an unshakable faith in America. We have faced danger and trial, and there's more ahead. But with the courage of our people and confidence in our ideals, this great nation will never tire, never falter, and never fail.

It has been the privilege of a lifetime to serve as your President. There have been good days and tough days. But every day I have been inspired by the greatness of our country, and uplifted by the goodness of our people. I have been blessed to represent this nation we love. And I will always be honored to carry a title that means more to me than any other—citizen of the United States of America.

And so, my fellow Americans, for the final time: Good night. May God bless this house and our next President. And may God bless you and our wonderful country. Thank you.

Richard Land

Draining the Swamp of Terrorists

<https://erlc.com/article/draining-the-swamp-of-terrorists>.

October 8, 2001

Our military response is the only one that could be expected given the act of war that was perpetrated on the United States on Sept. 11.

One of the many examples of the moral difference between the United States and its allies, i.e. the civilized world, and our opponents, the forces of barbarism and terror, is that we are taking great pains to minimize civilian, noncombatant casualties and we are targeting only legitimate military targets.

The terrorists deliberately attacked our civilian population in an attempt to inflict maximum loss of human life, all of it noncombatant. We hold the Taliban accountable for aiding and abetting these murderous thugs. We have a duty to answer acts of terrorism.

We know who the enemy is and it is not the Afghan people. I applaud President Bush for seeking to give emergency relief aid, food and medical kits to the starving Afghan civilian population about whom Osama bin Laden and the Taliban seem to care very little. I imagine that that contrast is not lost on the tens of thousands of Afghans for whom American humanitarian aid will make a life-and-death difference in the coming winter months.

When all the diplomatic efforts to secure justice fail, the only way to safeguard our nation is to strike at the source of this evil. The 13th chapter of the Book of Romans tells us that government has the biblical authority to use lethal force to exact justice.

We should all pause to pray for our servicemen and servicewomen who are bravely going into harm's way to "defend civilization," as British Prime Minister Blair so aptly stated. They are also saving many lives around the world in the process. We would be remiss if we did not also pray for their families, asking God to give them a special sense of His peace in this difficult time.

The allied military response that began Oct. 7 was a defensive action. If we did nothing, the terrorist acts would escalate. Bin Laden and his fanatical followers will not stop until they are disabled and disarmed. We must remove their safe havens and camps that allow them to strike at a time of their choosing against innocent men, women and children. If you want to get rid of the malaria of international terrorism, you just can't swat mosquitoes; you have to drain the swamp.

Richard Land

Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror

<https://erlc.com/article/seeking-justice-in-the-midst-of-terror>

October 8, 2001

The Christian criteria for retribution

As the U.S. government contemplates its response against those who unleashed a reign of terror upon the United States, we must consider the ethics of war. From its earliest days, the church has debated when it is morally legitimate to wage war. I salute President Bush for his determination to conduct an all-out campaign “to rout out and whip terrorism.” In the face of the unrefined evil of terrorism, this is the only “just” thing to do.

For many centuries, Christians have employed “just-war theory” as a framework for the discussion of issues of war and peace. This theory was adopted by early church leaders, particularly Augustine, to deal with the reality of war in a fallen, sinful world of empires and nations.

There are two dimensions to just-war theory—one that weighs whether or not to engage in armed conflict (*jus ad bellum*) and the other that examines how to conduct the military exercises (*jus in bello*). The aim of any armed conflict should be to keep the peace and maintain justice.

The proper response to the destruction unleashed against America by an illusory, stealthy enemy, is a “declaration of war.” We have a duty to answer acts of terrorism. As Christians, we must pray for our enemies, and we cannot seek personal vengeance. However, we should expect our government to exact justice. Any military action will be designed to thwart the ability of this enemy to continue its ghastly campaign of terror.

President Bush has made clear that our government will target not only those responsible for these acts, but also the rogue nations that harbor those who masterminded this unspeakable violence. As the president said Sept. 13, the United States will seek out and punish “those who fund them, hide them, and encourage them.”

Sadly, the resort to armed conflict is the price human beings must periodically pay for the right to live in a moral universe. We must always remember that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and we must bring these perpetrators of evil to justice.

There is a similar episode in America’s early history. In the early 19th century, pirates from North Africa were destroying American and European shipping and taking crew, passengers and cargo hostage for ransom. The regions then called the Barbary States (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli) were allowing them safe harbor. Presidents Washington and Adams acquiesced to the tyrannical practice of paying tribute to these rulers for safe passage for their ships.

But President Jefferson, whose controversial, razor-thin election foreshadowed that of President Bush, was repulsed by this practice—and when the ruler of Tripoli tried to increase the tribute, Jefferson declared war. He sent a fleet of ships into the Mediterranean in what became known as the Tripolitan War (1801–1805), which concluded with a peace favorable to the United States.

We need to learn from Jefferson’s wisdom and follow his example.

Can resorting to military force be justified? If so, under what circumstances? While there have been persistent elements of pacifism within the Christian tradition, for most Christians, in most places, at most times, the answer has been: Yes, military action by legitimately constituted civil authority is justifiable.

Just-war theory was never intended to justify war. Instead, it tries to bring war under the sway of justice as understood by Christians and to ensure that war, when it does occur, is hedged about by limits to reduce its barbarity. In fact, if all parties accepted just-war criteria, there would be no wars or acts of terrorism, because the theory's first rule clearly states that only defense against aggression can be just. Hence, if everyone adhered to just-war theory, aggression would be eliminated.

In other words, only defensive war is defensible. The intent must be to secure justice for all involved. It is to be a last resort, authorized only by legitimate civil authority. There must be limited goals, and the question of proportionality must accompany all actions. Underlying all of these criteria is the question of noncombatant immunity. No war that does not disqualify noncombatants as legitimate military targets and that does not seek to minimize collateral civilian casualties can be just.

Can such goals be achieved without disproportionate casualties? Are there no effective alternatives to avoid conflict? Will measures be taken to ensure the minimizing of noncombatant casualties? If so, then resort to armed force is justified.

Perhaps most importantly, a legitimate authority must authorize the use of armed force. For Americans, the duly constituted authority is the government of the United States.

The key Scripture passage supporting just-war theory is Romans 13:4. The Apostle Paul writes that it is God who ordains the secular state to reward good and to punish evil. God established the state to "bear the sword," that is, to use lethal force to keep the peace and maintain justice. This limits the use of force. Peace, not vengeance, is always the object of war.

We should never surrender to, nor compromise with, cowardly villains who sneak about and in their madness spill the blood of innocent men and women. We need to pray for all of those who have lost loved ones and who are in the midst of anguish and suffering. We also need to understand that one of the prices we pay for being a free and open society is vulnerability to this kind of attack.

We must be eternally vigilant to minimize these horrors and to bring their perpetrators to justice. I salute President Bush for his determination to conduct an all-out campaign "to rout out and whip terrorism." In the face of the unrefined evil of terrorism, this is the only "just" thing to do.

Richard Land

The so-called "Land Letter"

<https://erlc.com/article/the-so-called-land-letter/>

October 3, 2002

The Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. President,

In this decisive hour of our nation's history we are writing to express our deep appreciation for your bold, courageous, and visionary leadership. Americans everywhere have been inspired by your eloquent and clear articulation of our nation's highest ideals of freedom and of our resolve to defend that freedom both here and across the globe.

We believe that your policies concerning the ongoing international terrorist campaign against America are both right and just. Specifically, we believe that your stated policies concerning Saddam Hussein and his headlong pursuit and development of biochemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction are prudent and fall well within the time-honored criteria of just war theory as developed by Christian theologians in the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D.

First, your stated policy concerning using military force if necessary to disarm Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction is a just cause. In just war theory only defensive war is defensible; and if military force is used against Saddam Hussein it will be because he has attacked his neighbors, used weapons of mass destruction against his own people, and harbored terrorists from the Al Qaeda terrorist network that attacked our nation so viciously and violently on September 11, 2001. As you stated in your address to the U.N. September 12th:

"We can harbor no illusions... Saddam Hussein attacked Iran in 1980 and Kuwait in 1990. He's fired ballistic missiles at Iran and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Israel. His regime once ordered the killing of every person between the ages of 15 and 70 in certain Kurdish villages in Northern Iraq. He has gassed many Iranians and forty Iraqi villages."

Disarming and neutralizing Saddam Hussein is to defend freedom and freedom-loving people from state-sponsored terror and death.

Second, just war must have just intent. Our nation does not intend to destroy, conquer, or exploit Iraq. As you declared forthrightly in your speech to the U.N. General Assembly:

"The United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people... Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause, and a great strategic goal. The people of Iraq deserve it; the security of all nations requires it. Free societies do not intimidate through cruelty and conquest, and open societies do not threaten the world with mass murder. The United States supports political and economic liberty in a unified Iraq."

This is clearly a just and noble intent.

Third, just war may only be commenced as a last resort. As you so clearly enumerated before the U.N., Saddam Hussein has for more than a decade ignored Security Council resolutions or defied them while breaking virtually every agreement

Into which he has entered. He stands convicted by his own record as a brutal dictator who cannot be trusted to abide by any agreement he makes. And while he prevaricates and obfuscates, he continues to obtain and develop the weapons of mass destruction which he will use to terrorize the world community of nations.

The world has been waiting for more than a decade for the Iraqi regime to fulfill its agreement to destroy all of its weapons of mass destruction, to cease producing them or the long-range missiles to deliver them in the future, and to allow thorough and rigorous inspections to verify their compliance. They have not, and will not, do so and any further delay in forcing the regime's compliance would be reckless irresponsibility in the face of grave and growing danger.

Fourth, just war requires authorization by legitimate authority. We believe it was wise and prudent for you to go before the U.N. General Assembly and ask the U.N. Security Council to enforce its own resolutions. However, as American citizens we believe that, however helpful a U.N. Security Council vote might be, the legitimate authority to authorize the use of U.S. military force is the government of the United States and that the authorizing vehicle is a declaration of war or a joint resolution of the Congress.

When the threat of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba presented a grave threat to America's security, President Kennedy asked for the support of the U.N. and the Organization of American States, but made it clear, with or without their support, those missiles would either be removed by the Soviets, or we would neutralize them ourselves. The American people expected no less from their president and their government.

Fifth, just war requires limited goals and the resort to armed force must have a reasonable expectation of success. In other words, "total war" is unacceptable and the war's goals must be achievable. We believe your stated policies for disarming the murderous Iraqi dictator and destroying his weapons of mass destruction, while liberating the Iraqi people for his cruel and barbarous grip, more than meet those criteria.

Sixth, just war theory requires noncombatant immunity. We are confident that our government, unlike Hussein, will not target civilians and will do all that it can to minimize noncombatant casualties.

Seventh, just war theory requires the question of proportionality be addressed. Will the human cost of the armed conflict to both sides be proportionate to the stated objectives and goals? Does the good gained by resort to armed conflict justify the cost of lives lost and bodies maimed? We believe that the cost of not dealing with this threat now will only succeed in greatly increasing the cost in human lives and suffering when an even more heavily armed and dangerous Saddam Hussein must be confronted at some date in the not too distant future. We believe that every day of delay significantly increases the risk of far greater human suffering in the future than acting now would entail.

How different and how much safer would the history of the twentieth century have been had the allies confronted Hitler when he illegally reoccupied the Rhineland in 1936 in clear violation of Germany's treaty agreements? It is at least possible that tens of millions of the lives lost in World War II might not have been lost if the Allies had enforced treaty compliance then instead of appeasing a murderous dictator.

We are extremely grateful that we have a president who has learned the costly lessons of the twentieth century and who is determined to lead America and the world to a far different and better future in the twenty first century. As you told the world's leaders at the U.N.:

“We must choose between a world of fear and a world of progress. We cannot stand by and do nothing while dangers gather. We must stand up for our security, and for the permanent rights and hopes of mankind. By heritage and by choice, the United States of America will make that stand.”

Mr. President, we make that stand with you. In so doing, while we cannot speak for all of our constituents, we are supremely confident that we are voicing the convictions and concerns of the great preponderance of those we are privileged to serve.

Please know that we join tens of millions of our fellow Americans in praying for you and your family daily.

Sincerely Yours,

Richard D. Land, D.Phil.
President
Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission
Southern Baptist Convention

Dr. Chuck Colson
Chairman
Prison Fellowship Ministries

Dr. Bill Bright
Founder and Chairman
Campus Crusade for Christ International

D. James Kennedy, Ph.D.
President
Coral Ridge Ministries Media, Inc.

Dr. Carl D. Herbster
President
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Richard Land

The Time Has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria

<https://erlc.com/article/the-time-has-arrived>

February 6, 2003

Interview with Richard Land in Rheinischer Merkur (German newspaper), February 6, 2003

For many centuries Christians have employed Just War theory as a framework for the discussion of issues of war and peace. This theory was adopted by early church leaders, particularly Aquinas and Augustine, to deal with the reality of war in a fallen, sinful world and to determine when military action could be justified within a Christian framework.

There are two dimensions to Just War theory—one that weighs whether or not to engage in armed conflict (*jus ad bellum*) and the other that examines how to conduct the military exercises (*jus in bello*).

According to Just War theory, the aim of any armed conflict should be to keep the peace and maintain justice. Christians are to pray for their enemies and not to seek personal vengeance. Christians expect the government to exact justice.

Jesus made clear individuals are not to seek private retribution for wrongs done against them. Romans 13 tells us God ordained the civil magistrate to punish evil-doers and reward those who do right and that the state bears not the sword in vain. The Greek word Paul used for sword in this instance was the lethal instrument used to decapitate those found guilty of capital crimes.

We do not have the right to take the law into our own hands. Only the government is authorized to use lethal force. This is the foundation of Just War theory.

For most of Christian history, Just War theory has been the guide that governs when armed conflict is acceptable under the authority accorded the state by God (Roman 13:1-4). More than a century and a half ago, John Stuart Mill reminded us that “war is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things: the decayed and degraded state ... which thinks nothing worth a war, is worse.”

Sometimes war is necessary; sometimes war is permissible under certain criteria. The theory requires a “just cause” be in place. Only defensive war is defensible.

Lethal military action must have a just intent; the motive must not be revenge, conquest, or economic benefit. And such action must be a last resort.

The theory requires a legitimate authority to make the decision to wage war. The legitimate authority for the exercise of American military forces is Congress.

Sadly, the resort to armed conflict is the price human beings must periodically pay for the right to live in a moral universe. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. We must not shrink back when crazed madmen threaten the peace.

There is an eerily similar episode in America’s early history to this contemporary situation, where a sworn enemy of the U.S. targeted her citizens and friends. The Islamic Barbary States of North Africa were giving safe harbor to pirates who were interrupting American and European shipping traffic and taking crew, passengers and cargo hostage for ransom. Presidents Washington and Adams had acquiesced to the tyrannical practice of paying tribute to these rulers for safe passage for their ships, thereby encouraging these villains to continue in their evil-doing.

President Jefferson was repulsed by this practice, and when the ruler of Tripoli tried to increase the tribute, Jefferson declared war and sent a fleet of ships into the Mediterranean in what is known to history as the Tripolitan War (1801 – 1805), which concluded with a peace favorable to the U.S.

We can learn from the wisdom of Jefferson. There is a point at which military action is required.

When resort to military force is necessary, can it be justified, and under what circumstances? While there have been persistent elements of pacifism within the Christian tradition, for most Christians, in most places, at most times, the answer has been that, yes, resort to military conflict by legitimately constituted civil authority is justifiable.

Scripture tells us that some soldiers inquired of John the Baptist as to what they should do in advance of the coming Messiah (Luke 3:14). “Don’t extort money and don’t accuse people falsely—be content with your pay,” he told them. In other words, be just and continue in your service in the military. From this verse, we find no indication that a person of faith must avoid military service or that war is unacceptable in a Christian context.

Just War theory was never intended to justify war. Instead, it tries to bring war under the sway of justice as understood by Christians and to ensure that war, when it does occur, is hedged about by limits that reduce its barbarity. In fact, if all parties accepted just-war criteria, there would be no wars or acts of terrorism, because the theory’s first rule clearly states no action is just unless it is a defense against aggression. In an idyllic world where everyone adhered to just-war theory, there would be no aggression.

The intent of a just war must be to secure justice for all involved. It is to be a last resort only authorized by legitimate civil authority. There must be limited goals, and the question of proportionality must accompany all actions. Underlying all of these criteria is the question of noncombatant immunity. No war that does not disqualify noncombatants as legitimate military targets and that does not seek to minimize collateral civilian casualties can be just.

Can such goals be achieved without disproportionate casualties? Are there no effective alternatives to avoid conflict? Will measures be taken to ensure the minimizing of noncombatant casualties? If so, then resort to armed force is justified.

Perhaps most importantly, a legitimate authority must authorize the use of armed force. For Americans, the duly constituted authority is the government of the United States.

The key Scripture passage supporting Just War theory is Romans 13:4. The Apostle Paul writes that it is God who ordains the secular state to reward good and to punish evil. God established the state to “bear the sword,” that is, to use lethal force to keep the peace and maintain justice. This limits the use of force and insists that peace, not vengeance, is always the object of war.

The Bush administration’s stated policies concerning Saddam Hussein and his headlong pursuit and development of biochemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction are prudent and fall well within the time-honored criteria of Just War theory as developed by Christian theologians in the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D.

First, the President’s stated policy concerning using military force if necessary to disarm Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction is a just cause. Again, in Just War theory only defensive war is defensible; and if military force is used against Saddam Hussein it will be because he has attacked his neighbors, used weapons of mass destruction against his own people, and harbored terrorists from the Al

Qaeda terrorist network that attacked our nation so viciously and violently on September 11, 2001. As the President stated in his address to the U.N. September 12, 2002:

“We can harbor no illusions. ... Saddam Hussein attacked Iran in 1980 and Kuwait in 1990. He’s fired ballistic missiles at Iran and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Israel. His regime once ordered the killing of every person between the ages of 15 and 70 in certain Kurdish villages in Northern Iraq. He has gassed many Iranians and forty Iraqi villages.”

Disarming and neutralizing Saddam Hussein is to defend freedom and freedom-loving people from state-sponsored terror and death.

Second, just war must have just intent. Our nation does not intend to destroy, conquer, or exploit Iraq. As President Bush declared forthrightly in his speech to the U.N. General Assembly:

“The United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. ... Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause, and a great strategic goal. The people of Iraq deserve it; the security of all nations requires it. Free societies do not intimidate through cruelty and conquest, and open societies do not threaten the world with mass murder. The United States supports political and economic liberty in a unified Iraq.”

This is clearly a just and noble intent.

Third, just war may only be commenced as a last resort. Saddam Hussein has for more than a decade ignored Security Council resolutions or defied them while breaking virtually every agreement into which he has entered. He stands convicted by his own record as a brutal dictator who cannot be trusted to abide by any agreement he makes. And while he prevaricates and obfuscates, he continues to obtain and develop the weapons of mass destruction that he will use to terrorize the world community of nations.

The world has been waiting for more than a decade for the Iraqi regime to fulfill its agreement to destroy all of its weapons of mass destruction, to cease producing them or the long-range missiles to deliver them in the future, and to allow thorough and rigorous inspections to verify their compliance. They have not, and will not, do so and any further delay in forcing the regime’s compliance would be reckless irresponsibility in the face of grave and growing danger.

Fourth, just war requires authorization by legitimate authority. It was wise and prudent for President Bush to go before the U.N. General Assembly and ask the U.N. Security Council to enforce its own resolutions. However, as American citizens we believe that, however helpful a U.N. Security Council vote might be, the legitimate authority to authorize the use of U.S. military force is the government of the United States and that the authorizing vehicle is a declaration of war or a joint resolution of the Congress.

When the threat of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba presented a grave threat to America’s security, President Kennedy asked for the support of the U.N. and the Organization of American States, but made it clear, with or without their support, those missiles would either be removed by the Soviets, or we would neutralize them ourselves. The American people expected no less from their president and their government.

Fifth, just war requires limited goals and the resort to armed force must have a reasonable expectation of success. In other words, “total war” is unacceptable and the war’s goals must be achievable. We believe the administration’s stated policies for disarming the murderous Iraqi dictator and destroying his weapons of mass destruction, while liberating the Iraqi people for his cruel and barbarous grip, more than meet those criteria.

Sixth, Just War theory requires noncombatant immunity. We are confident that our government, unlike Hussein, will not target civilians and will do all that it can to minimize noncombatant casualties.

Seventh, Just War theory requires the question of proportionality be addressed. Will the human cost of the armed conflict to both sides be proportionate to the stated objectives and goals? Does the good gained by resort to armed conflict justify the cost of lives lost and bodies maimed? The cost of not dealing with this threat now will only succeed in greatly increasing the cost in human lives and suffering when an even more heavily armed and dangerous Saddam Hussein must be confronted at some date in the not too distant future. Every day of delay significantly increases the risk of far greater human suffering in the future than acting now would entail.

How different and how much safer would the history of the twentieth century have been had the allies confronted Hitler when he illegally reoccupied the Rhineland in 1936 in clear violation of Germany's treaty agreements? It is at least possible that tens of millions of the lives lost in World War II might not have been lost if the Allies had enforced treaty compliance then instead of appeasing a murderous dictator.

I am extremely grateful that we have a President who has learned the costly lessons of the twentieth century and who is determined to lead America and the world to a far different and better future in the twenty first century.

The face of warfare has changed in the 21st century. Unconventional threats to our liberty and wellbeing—terrorism, biochemical, and other weapons of mass destruction—are as real, if not more potent, as the dangers posed by the weapons of conventional warfare.

The U.S. government is wise to adopt a more “forward-leaning” strategy, as it seriously plans for preemptive strikes on a bloodthirsty enemy that hides its intentions and its arms.

“Anticipatory self-defense is not a new concept,” Condoleezza Rice, the national security adviser, told reporters the other day as she was explaining why pre-emption was replacing containment and deterrence as the foundation of American defense policy and serving as the justification for striking Iraq before Iraq strikes. “You know, Daniel Webster actually wrote a very famous defense of anticipatory self-defense,” she said. (New York Times, September 27, 2002)

Rice's reference was to the Caroline incident in which Daniel Webster, as the U.S. Secretary of State in 1837, reprimanded the British for destroying the American ship, Caroline, for its role in supporting rebels who were seeking the liberation of French Canada. The British said the attack was in self-defense. Webster said for a government to justify preemptive military action, the necessity of self-defense must be “instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, no moment of deliberation.”

It is my belief that the danger posed by Saddam Hussein and his henchman is so close at hand that to tarry is to allow him at least precious time to complete his work on weapons of mass destruction, and at most, to risk grave danger and injury to innocents when he uses these deadly weapons.

Conducting war in a just manner is an act of Christian love that seeks to accomplish the divinely ordained duty of the state: to punish and restrain evil and to protect and reward good. The Bush administration's policy vis-à-vis Saddam Hussein fits well within the framework of Just War theory.

Richard Land

This Is Not Vietnam

<https://erlc.com/article/this-is-not-vietnam>

March 19, 2003

A war with Iraq meets all the criteria for a just war.

Bob Edgar's statement as part of a National Council of Churches delegation of 13 religious leaders and experts visiting Iraq is rife with issues that need to be addressed. I would like to respond to a few.

The group declared itself to be a "religious and not a political delegation." Its statement then proceeded to make a political assertion that "a war against Iraq will make the U.S. less secure...We believe the entire region, including Israel and the United States, will be at greater risk of terrorism if war takes place." This conclusion is not only political, it is also highly debatable. Does anyone really think President Bush, Secretaries Colin Powell and Donald Rumsfeld, and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice think that such a conclusion is correct? Of course they don't, or they would not be insisting that Saddam Hussein give up his weapons of mass destruction.

Edgar and his NCC delegation make much of the suffering of the Iraqi people under the United Nations sanctions. Did they choose to ignore the fact that the UN and United States are not responsible for the suffering of the Iraqi people? That responsibility belongs to their pathological and brutal head of state, Saddam Hussein. The sanctions and suffering would end if Hussein would comply with the UN inspections he agreed to—then defied or ignored for more than a decade. During the period of the sanctions, while his people have suffered, Hussein has continued to construct lavish presidential palaces and to squander resources in his pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. The people suffer because of Saddam Hussein, not the UN or the United States.

When Edgar and his delegation do turn to religious matters, they declare, "As disciples of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, we know this war is completely antithetical to his teachings." Note that they don't "think," but they "know" that armed intervention in Iraq is anti-Christian. Such certitude is as startling in its arrogance as it is in its source, the habitually relativist NCC.

Many Christians argue that this war does meet just war criteria in that it has the just intent of freeing the Iraqi people and the entire region from the criminal behavior of Saddam Hussein—who, it must be remembered, has already attacked and gassed his own people and his neighbors. America's just intent is to liberate the Iraqi people and their neighbors from Saddam Hussein's state-sponsored terror. To avert war, all Hussein must do is demonstrably comply with the UN's requirement that he rid himself of such weapons and of the means to deliver them.

For most of Christian history, just war theology has been the guide that governs when armed conflict is acceptable under the authority accorded the state by God. (Roman 13:1-4) More than a century and a half ago, John Stuart Mill reminded us that "war is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things: the decayed and degraded state ... which thinks nothing worth a war, is worse."

When I read statements like Edgar's, I wonder if he and those who agree with him have lost touch with the reality of true evil in the world, and whether their theological cognitive grid just can't conceive of the evil Hussein is clearly capable of doing.

An old professor of mine, Paul Ramsey, used to remind us that "a policy of 'anticipatory reconciliation' to which we Christians are prone is simply not sufficient in foreign affairs. The counsel this policy yields is, on all occasions, Stop, Do Less, Let Peace Prevail." It always gives the enemy the benefit of the doubt,

assumes he can be reconciled and understood, and what have we done to provoke him? That kind of thinking lead Neville Chamberlain to come back from Munich waving a piece of paper proclaiming he had procured "peace for our time."

When I read Bob Edgar's statement, I could almost hear the once-familiar sounds of people saying, "Give peace a chance." Bob, this is not 1968, and this is not Vietnam.

Richard Land

What Would King Have Said About Saddam?

<https://erlc.com/article/what-would-king-have-said-about-saddam>

March 19, 2003

Is the enemy of the anti-war movement Saddam Hussein, or President Bush?

Martin Luther King Jr. once said of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the martyred World War II pastor, “if your opponent has a conscience, then follow Gandhi. But if your enemy has no conscience, like Hitler, then follow Bonhoeffer.”

As was the case so many times on so many controversial issues, King spoke eloquently to the issue of when, if ever, violence was justified. Bonhoeffer — Lutheran theologian, ethicist, and pastor — had once been a pacifist. However, confronted by the relentless evil that was Hitler and the Nazis, he joined the resistance, including their plot to assassinate Hitler in 1944. Arrested by the Gestapo, Bonhoeffer was executed by hanging at Flossenbergl concentration camp one month before Germany’s surrender in 1945.

After the war, Bonhoeffer’s fame and influence grew, undergirded by the fact that he lived out his belief in “costly grace” and direct confrontation with political evil. His martyrdom underscored the authenticity of his message. Bonhoeffer’s legacy impacted millions of people in the last half of the 20th century, including King.

As Bonhoeffer, and evidently King, came to understand, when your enemy has a basic moral structure which can be appealed to, and a conscience that can be troubled — as with Gandhi and the British in India, and King and racially segregated America — then disciplined non-violent disobedience and demonstration against injustice must be the morally superior path. However, when your enemy, in his implacable evil, has no conscience, then violence may be permissible and necessary.

With Saddam Hussein, we are dealing with a sadomasochistic sociopath who has murdered his way to absolute power. His hero is Joseph Stalin, a man who rivals Hitler in the annals of perpetrators of monstrous evil. Hussein has used weapons of mass destruction against his neighbors and his own people. He has ignored and defied United Nations resolutions and continues to subject his people to the privations from UN sanctions in his attempt to conceal present versions, and to acquire ever more deadly models, of weapons of mass destruction.

I ask those who demonstrate and protest this potential war to contemplate this question. Is their opponent President Bush or Saddam Hussein? If their opponent is Bush, then protest peacefully, because he has a conscience to which they may appeal as Gandhi did against the British Raj and King did against segregationists. But if the enemy is a conscience-less Hussein—as I believe he is—then, like Bonhoeffer, do we not have a moral imperative to use force to oppose such evil?

Richard Land

Key to World Peace: Religious Freedom

<https://erlc.com/article/key-to-world-peace-religious-freedom>

May 22, 2007

In his letter to the Turo Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, George Washington promised “to establish effective barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution.” He argued for an attitude that respected the inherent and equal right of everyone to worship God as they think best or to not worship God at all. The government, wrote Washington, would give “to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance.”

Over two hundred years later, President George W. Bush elaborated on Washington’s promise: “Religious freedom is the first freedom of the human soul. The right to speak the words that God places in our mouths. We must stand for that freedom in our country. We must speak for that freedom to the world.”

Religious liberty has played an integral part in American history. Religious freedom, freedom of conscience, is an integral part, a foundational part, of why this nation exists.

But does religion matter in international affairs? Just about everywhere we look in the world today there is a religious dimension to conflict. The old concepts of security based on sovereign nations competing for armaments and strategic superiority are being replaced by high-tech weaponry and ethnic and religious strife—which often are synonymous with one another.

It is important for future leaders to take religion seriously—to understand its yearnings, use its potential, and counter its danger. Diplomats and politicians and policymakers who are not equipped to do that will fall short in promoting U.S. policy goals in the twenty-first century. We need people who can factor religion and religious concerns into domestic politics and international relations just as they do economic and security concerns.

The promotion of religious freedom is linked to the promotion of other fundamental human civil rights, including the growth of democracy. Governments that protect religious freedom for all their citizens are more likely to be governments that protect other human rights. Encouraging stable, healthy democracies is a vital national interest of the United States. The spread of democracy makes for good neighbors, for economic prosperity, for increased trade, and for a decrease in conflict. Countries with governments that protect everyone’s right to practice their faith are not active breeding grounds for terrorists.

The 2007 annual report of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom paints a bleak picture of our world with eleven countries—Burma, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea), Eritrea, Iran, Pakistan, China, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam—noted as “countries of particular concern.” It is believed these governments have “engaged in or tolerated systematic and egregious violations of the universal right to freedom of religion or belief.”

The Commission also identified eight countries— Iraq, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Belarus, Cuba, Egypt, Indonesia, and Nigeria—as requiring close monitoring, given that the governments of these nations have engaged in or tolerated attempts to regulate thought, conscience, and religion or belief.

As the 2007 annual report states, religious freedom has a central place not only in the “area of advancing human rights but also in promoting accountability, conflict resolution, and reconciliation within societies.”

When we prioritize trade and security concerns over human rights and religious freedom we travel a dangerous road. The better way is to seek to link these concerns in a way consistent with our own interests and the long-term betterment of the lives of those in countries where violations of freedom of thought, conscience, and religion are common.

By placing attention on the state of religious freedom in individual nations, we greatly enhance prospects for long-term peace and security in the world.

Richard Land

PBS- Frontline Interview

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jesus/interviews/land.html>

April 29, 2004

Q: Let's talk about the reception that the Southern Baptist Convention gets inside the White House. I've heard that it's quite welcome.

A: Well, there's no question this is the most receptive White House to our concerns and to our perspective of any White House that I've dealt with, and I've dealt with every White House from Reagan on.

In the Reagan administration, they would usually return our phone calls. In the Bush 41 administration, they often would return our phone calls, but not quite as quickly, and sometimes not quite as receptively. In the Clinton administration, they quit accepting our phone calls after a while.

In this administration, they call us, and they say, "What is your take on this? How does your group feel about this?" I don't know if there's any question that this administration understands that Southern Baptists and other evangelicals are a very significant part of their coalition. By some estimates, 40 percent of their raw vote came from evangelicals. Mr. Bush carried every state in which there was a significant Southern Baptist presence.

This president is very popular with Southern Baptists, much more popular than he was in 2000. I think that he carried some baggage from his father's administration. The conservative evangelical groups and people never had quite the same trust level of his father that they had of Reagan. They did have the feeling that there were people in the Bush administration below the president who were not at all sympathetic to where they were coming from; much less so than the Reagan administration.

Q: What do you think is going on here? Do you think it's simply because Bush is an evangelical himself?

A: I think that there's no question that this president expresses his faith in overtly evangelical terms in a way that is much more recognizable, much more identifiable as being quote, "one of us" than the presidents that I've known in my lifetime. And I can remember every president from Eisenhower on.

That, I think, comes from the fact that he was essentially raised in Midland, Texas, in his formative years. If I can just contrast him with his father -- his father was raised Episcopal in Connecticut, where it is just not considered good form to talk about one's faith in public.

Well, of course, the very warp and woof of the life in the society in which George W. was raised is a very different one. It's an evangelical one. It is one in which faith is something you talk about a good deal. You're encouraged to talk about it, and people talk about it with each other. He knows the lingo, he knows the style, and he has the substance.

You know, Bill Clinton knew the language. Bill Clinton could talk like a Southern Baptist evangelist when he wanted to. But they hated what he was doing with it, because they were in fundamental disagreement with him about so many very important social issues. Now we have a president who they feel like really sees the world the way they see it, understands them, is sympathetic to them, and has an administration that understands that they are a very important part of a governing coalition for a Republican president.

Q: Let's talk about the people around Bush. We've looked at people like Condoleezza Rice and Andrew Card and Michael Gerson. He has surrounded himself with people who are like-minded in this area.

A: I think this White House certainly has probably a more homogeneous worldview than some previous Republican White Houses. I don't think it's more homogeneous than the Clinton White House. I think the Clinton White House was pretty homogeneous, but the homogeneous nature of it was postmodern. As my wife said to me, when Bill Clinton was elected president -- my wife and I, we're the same age as the Clintons, same age as the Bushes -- she said, "The people that were sitting around in Volkswagen vans, smoking pot with peace symbols on their vans and hanging around their necks, are running the country now, aren't they?" I said, "Yes, they are." That was Bill Clinton. That was the Clinton administration. I think it was a pretty homogenous administration.

In the Reagan administration and in the Bush administration, you didn't have that homogeneity, and the reason was you had two different kinds of Republicans. You had the Eastern establishment Republicans, who were economic conservatives and international conservatives, in that they agreed on a tough foreign policy, but who were totally at odds with the social conservatives on issues like abortion, issues like homosexuality, like promotion of a tough anti-obscenity enforcement by the Justice Department.

So I think that in previous Republican administrations -- at least certainly in the Reagan administration and in the first Bush administration -- there was much more of a yin and yang.

If you read Peter Robinson's book, *How Ronald Reagan Changed My Life*, he talks about Richard Darman and others saying "It's our job to protect the president from himself." Of course, the conservatives were always saying, "Let Reagan be Reagan, because Reagan's instincts were almost always with us," unless Darman or James Baker or Nancy Reagan talked him out of it.

In this White House, there's nobody trying to talk the president out of it. ... This is the Reagan administration without the drag of those old country club Republicans, who really disdained social conservatives, knew they were necessary at election time, but wished they would just go away. This president not only thinks we're important; he shares our concerns. ...

Q: You were mentioning that this White House is very receptive to the concerns of Southern Baptists. I was hoping you could elaborate on that.

A: I don't think there's any question that this president's heartbeat is close to the heartbeat of Southern Baptists when it comes to very serious and important public policy issues to Southern Baptists. The first one, unquestionably, undeniably is the question of the sanctity of human life.

This issue is as important to Southern Baptists as the slavery issue was to the abolitionists. It bears a great deal of analogy to the abolitionist movement, and the issue bears a great deal to the issue of slavery. The question is whether or not slaves were people. Abolitionists believed they were, and if they were, it was wrong to treat them as property. It was wrong to keep them in involuntary servitude.

If you believe that unborn human beings are human beings, that they are living human beings, that their hearts are beating, that they have brain waves, that the only difference between them and us is time and the opportunity to not be destroyed, then we believe we have a moral and a civic obligation to extend the protections of the law to unborn human beings. That issue's not going to go away, and it trumps other issues.

One of my biggest applause lines -- you have to understand that it doesn't happen very often that people stand up and applaud in the middle of a Baptist church service. But it has happened, and I get a lot of applause from this line -- and that is, "Let me be very clear about this. We need to vote our values, our beliefs and our convictions. We shouldn't be endorsing candidates. We should be looking for candidates who endorse us."...

Q: So the partial birth abortion [bill] that happened, and I do understand that George Bush is pro-life-

He is. George Bush is pro-life. Let me tell you the difference between George Bush and Ronald Reagan. Ronald Reagan was pro-life by gut instinct. It just horrified him. The whole process horrified him. He just couldn't conceive of people arguing that people ought to be able to routinely kill unborn babies. But it was more of a traditional value, American value, Western civilization kind of gut instinct with him.

With George W. Bush, it is a settled faith conviction, and I'll take settled faith convictions over gut instincts anytime.

Q: What do you mean when you say that -- "settled faith?"

A: He believes that the Bible is very clear that life begins at conception, that God is involved when conception takes place, which is what the Bible clearly teaches. I mean, there's a reason why the Jews were the only civilization in the Mediterranean Basin that did not practice abortion and did not practice infanticide routinely.

The Romans did it. Will and Ariel Durant, in their history of Western civilization, say that as late as the time when Christianity came into the Roman Empire, when the apostle Paul made his first missionary trip to Rome, that 99 out of every 100 girl babies in a Roman family after the first girl was successfully born was killed at birth. The Greeks did it. The Assyrians did it. The Babylonians did it. The Phoenicians did it. The Egyptians did it.

The Jews didn't do it. The reason that they didn't do it is because their Old Testament Scriptures made it very clear that God was involved when conception takes place, Psalm 51:5, that God was involved in the creation of the child. Psalm 139, "God knitted me and embroidered me together in my mother's womb. All of my parts are written in God's book before any of them came to be." And his assertion to Jeremiah, "Jeremiah, before you were in your mother's womb, I knew you. While you were in your mother's womb, I sanctified you. I made you a prophet to the nations."

This is why the Christian faith, which came out of Judaism, bore an uncompromising opposition to the abortion and infanticide that was prevalent in the Roman Empire. The very first post-apostolic teaching of the Christian faith ... condemns abortion as murder. That was the uncompromising stand of the Christian faith, right through the Reformation. Luther and Calvin were both strongly pro-life. So was Bonhoeffer.

It's only been in the last half-century when you've had the rise of groups [in] modern Christendom, who believe in what I call "Dalmatian theology." The Bible's inspired in spots, and they're inspired to spot the spots. They think they can reject large chunks of Christian Scripture and biblical revelation that they don't agree with, that you have had any debate within Christian faiths about whether abortion on demand is permissible.

The president comes out of that evangelical faith. It's part of the warp and woof of his being. He is offended at very basic levels that we have a society that kills approximately one out every three babies conceived.

Q: Talk a little bit about what President Bush has done with this belief, and how he sort of made a difference for you.

A: Well, on the embryonic stem cell research speech that he gave, I believe he did more in one speech to humanize unborn babies to the American people than has been done by any other one speech in the history of the country since *Roe v. Wade*. I thought it was a magnificent speech. You look at the polls afterwards, two-thirds of the people disagreed with him before the speech. Two-thirds of the people agreed with him after the speech.

I believe it was a fundamental sea change in the way the American people began to look at unborn babies in the womb. He was under tremendous pressure to compromise on the embryonic stem cell research issue from Republicans, who get a lot of money from stem cell research, and who were putting enormous pressure on the president. Instead, he fulfilled his campaign promise, and gave a very principled speech with a very principled approach. ...

Q: Tell me about your input [on this issue] and the conversation that was happening at the White House, and who you were talking to.

We were very concerned -- we being Southern Baptists and other evangelicals -- about embryonic stem cell research. We have no problem with stem cell research. In fact, we encourage stem cell research. In fact, the most promising breakthroughs that have been made so far have not been made with embryonic stem cells; they've been made with adult stem cells. We certainly encourage that.

But the president was trying to make a decision. He promised in his campaign that he would make a decision that would not cause federal funding to go forward that would cause the death of babies. I got a fairly detailed list of questions that they wanted answers to at the White House on this issue.

We prepared what we felt was our strongest argument against it. One of the arguments [was] that, even if there were tangible benefits from embryonic stem cell research, whether that's true or not remains to be seen. ...

Q: So when he gave that speech, can you tell me sort of the inside story on that, the conversations you were having.

A: I was in conversation with Karl and with Tim Goeglein [a special assistant to the president]. My own personal conversations were with those two men, primarily. They would come back to us with things, and we'd try to answer those questions. They'd say, "Well, what about this? And what about that?" ... But my understanding is Laura, the president, Karl and the speechwriter are the only people who knew what he was going to say before he said it.

Q: Were you pleased?

A: Very pleased.

Q: What were the couple of moments in that speech that you thought were particularly important?

A: When he said something to the effect of, "These babies are dead. There's nothing we can do to bring them back." First of all, he called them babies, which is important. He said their sacrifice could lead to tremendous possibilities for healing in the future and for helping others. So we will allow federal funding for research on these existing stem cell lines.

The second thing that impressed me was the number of stem cell lines, which I don't think anyone was quite aware of how many there were until they got the sort of worldwide registry.

Then at the end of the speech, it was just an overall impression. I turned to my wife and I said, "You know, I think this is going to go down as a very memorable speech." It sort of got lost to some degree, because so soon after that was Sept. 11. But I said, "Honey, I think that he really helped the American people to understand these are babies." She said, "You're absolutely right."

And I think he did. I think his whole approach in that speech was, we're talking about babies. We're talking about human babies. Under what circumstances it is permissible to kill human babies to harvest their tissue? ...

Q: [Talk about] the issue of gay marriage [for evangelicals].

A: I don't think that the average liberal has ever understood, or will ever understand the depth of that issue in igniting evangelical Christians to participation in the public policy process. When we went to a baby being killed every 20 seconds, three babies a minute, 180 babies an hour within six months after *Roe v. Wade*, it ignited the evangelical movement to get involved in the public policy process in a way that nothing else ever has. The only issue that even begins to touch it, in my experience, is the same-sex marriage movement. ...

Q: Tell me why Southern Baptists care so much about this.

A: We believe that marriage is a divinely ordained institution. It's the foundational building block of human society. That's why all human societies have been built on that foundation or building block of marriage. It's usually been defined the same way, almost overwhelmingly defined the same way.

We believe that society does not have the right to redefine marriage any way it chooses to do so. We believe that marriage is to be between a man and a woman. It is not to be between a man and a man. It is not to be between a woman and a woman.

In a representative democracy like the United States, if we believe that certain lifestyles should be affirmed and other lifestyles should be merely tolerated, we have a right to have that made into law. And that's not called a theocracy; [it's] just called representative government. Seventy percent of Americans don't want same-sex marriage. When it was put to a vote in California -- I think we would all agree a fairly liberal state -- 61 percent of the voters in California said marriage should only be between a man and a woman.

We want a federal marriage amendment to keep the judiciary from forcing a secularist agenda on this country that this country does not want in the area of marriage. The only way to protect ourselves from that, given the current power of the judiciary, is to trump the judiciary by passing an amendment to the Constitution, which is aimed like a rifle -- not a shotgun, but a rifle -- at same-sex unions: A federal marriage amendment which would say that nothing in this Constitution or in any state constitution shall be construed as requiring marriage as anything other than between a man and a woman.

Clearly, as Justice Scalia said in his rather blistering dissent in the *Lawrence* decision, the majority of this court has now taken sides in the culture war, and they're not on the Judeo-Christian side. They're on the relativist neo-pagan side.

Our forefathers had given us a way to deal with a court that is so out of sync with its people, and that is to amend the Constitution, which is the governing document.

Q: Let's talk about that amendment. Tell me what it would do, in very simple terms, whether you think it's realistic. Because other evangelicals, including Richard Cizik, told me that there's no way this is going to get through. You will need to soften your agenda on this, to go for a compromise on something like this, rather than the whole shebang.

A: Well, he's wrong. One reason why people listen less and less to him and more and more to some of the rest of [us is] because we have soldiers, and our soldiers go out and get active and they're involved. You know, we will have 43,000 Southern Baptist churches, and [in] probably 40,000 of them, the federal marriage amendment will get mentioned favorably.

It may say some other things, but any form of the marriage amendment that will be proposed will say this: Nothing in this Constitution, the U.S. Constitution, and nothing in any state constitution shall be construed as requiring that marriage be anything other than between a man and a woman.

Now, what that would do, of course, is would lead to each state legislature, how they would apportion any benefits of civil unions. Will such a federal marriage amendment pass? I think it will. We don't have the votes in the Senate right now. But I believe we will have after November 2004, because in light of what the Massachusetts Supreme Court has done -- throwing down the gauntlet now in a 4-3 decision, saying that the Massachusetts constitution requires same-sex marriages.

At that point, we had no choice but to either accept same-sex marriage or stop it through a federal marriage amendment, because immediately, what's going to happen in the 13 states that don't have Defense of Marriage Acts, is that once this once this marriage ruling goes into effect, there will be same-sex marriages in Massachusetts [and] the states that don't have Defense of Marriage Acts will be forced to recognize those marriages. Then, GLAD or somebody, some homosexual advocacy organization, is going to go into federal court and is going to argue that the full faith and credit clause of the Constitution requires every state -- even those who have DOMAs, Defense of Marriage Acts -- to recognize the same-sex marriages that are performed in Massachusetts. ...

Q: What is it about gay marriage that the evangelicals -- and you're speaking for Southern Baptists here -- find so offensive? Why?

A: Well, it's not just gay marriage. It would be polygamy. If it were polygamy, we'd be just as opposed to it. If it were incestuous marriage between biological brothers and sisters in a consensual relationship, we would be just as opposed to it.

We believe that marriage is to be between a man and a woman. We believe that that is a divinely ordained institution, and that the American court system does not have the right to redefine it to suit itself. ...

Q: This summer President Bush talked about gay marriage. He spoke about it in the Rose Garden. Tell me what your input was in that.

A: I had no input in that. I'm happy he said what he said, but I had no input into it.

... I think most of the Baptists were not surprised, but were very gratified by the president's speech in the Rose Garden, in which he said, "Look, I think that marriage ought to be between a man and a woman." Now of course, in saying that, he's saying what 70 percent of Americans believe. He's saying what most of Western civilization has believed for most of its existence, going all the way back to Greece and Rome. Even the Romans thought the Corinthians were morally corrupt -- which is a rather mind-boggling thought if you know much about the Roman Empire -- and one of the reasons was because of the rampant nature of homosexuality in Corinth.

People say, "The president is lining up with evangelicals." Well, he's also lining up with the Vatican. The Vatican's made a very strong statement. If there are homosexuals who say, "The president should be neutral," well, the Supreme Court's not neutral. If the Supreme Court's going to be arguing the homosexual agenda -- which Scalia says, emphatically, they are, that they've taken sides in the culture war -- then we don't see where it's not fair for the president to take sides too. We're glad he's on our side of the culture war.

The culture war is an interesting thing. We read a statement and an article the other day and the divide that used to be about race [now] is about region and religion.

I think there's a tremendous division in this country. It is a division that doesn't run between states; it runs through states. It doesn't run between institutions; it runs through institutions. It doesn't run between families; it runs through families.

Basically, it breaks down to this enormous fault line. On one side of this fault line, you have people who have a traditional view of morality. Some would call it Judeo-Christian values. Others would just call it traditional American values. Those were pretty synonymous for most of our history. Some things are always right; some things are always wrong; and if you accept a society in which that's not true, then anything becomes possible.

On the other side of this fault line, you have what I would call a post-modern worldview. That is a worldview [in which] ultimately everything is relative. It depends on the situation. That there are very few, if anything, very few things that's always right or always wrong. It depends on the circumstance, and we get to decide for ourselves what's right and what's wrong, what's true and what's not true, to the extent that there is truth. ...

When you look at the election patterns of the 2000 election, you see that a very convincing case could be made that, in the United States, we live in a country that has two societies that happen to inhabit the same country and live on the same continent. But they don't often live in the same places.

The state maps were dramatic. But the county maps were even more dramatic. If you look at the county maps -- the best one I've seen was done, I think, by the Washington Post. It was three-dimensional. It not only had all the counties that voted for Bush in red and all the counties that voted for Gore in blue, but it had a tower of blue in Los Angeles, and a smaller tower of red in Dallas. So you got the idea of just how many people [voted]. A tower of blue in Detroit and a smaller tower of red in Nashville.

You had this blue strip along the upper East Coast. Then you had a blue strip in South Florida. Then you had a blue strip along the Mississippi Delta, which is overwhelmingly African-American. Then you had a blue strip along South Texas, along the Mexican border into Southern California. Then you had a blue strip in urban areas.

... When demographers began to break down the nature of those counties, what they found was that the traditional views and the traditional values predominated in the counties that voted for George W. Bush. These other values tended to predominate in the counties that voted for Al Gore, aside from the African-American anomaly, of 91 percent of African-Americans voting for Al Gore.

In the general population, the single most reliable predictor of how a person voted in the 2000 election was whether they went to church or synagogue or mosque at least once a week. If they went to church or synagogue or mosque at least once a week, two-thirds of them voted for George W. Bush. That was the single most reliable predictor of how a person voted, once you take out the anomaly of the African-American population. ...

Q: Tell me why the Sudan matters to evangelicals, what the White House did and why that was important to you guys.

The Sudan should be important to all Americans, because you've had over 2 million people killed, primarily for their religious faith and because they refused to convert to a rather radical form of Islam.

What you've had happening in the Sudan over the last 15 years is nothing less than a genocidal war against the black African Christians and animists in the south by the Arabist north, who happen to have the guns, who happen to have the helicopter gunships.

Unfortunately, I've come to the conclusion that the reason this was not on the radar screen of the American people the way that it should have been is race. If these had been Caucasians who were being slaughtered, I suspect that there would have been much more notoriety given to this issue. I can find no other explanation for it. I mean, what's been going on there is horrific, and it's been very, very difficult to get the attention of the American people and the American government focused on what's going on in the Sudan. Finally, we were able to do so.

Q: How did you do that?

A: Chuck Colson was one person who was very important in this, and another man who doesn't get the credit he deserves -- a man named Michael Horowitz who was a person who worked in the Reagan administration. He is a Jew. Michael Horowitz was very much involved in helping to mobilize Christians in solidarity with the refuseniks and those Jews who wanted to emigrate from the Soviet Union. ... He came to the conclusion that it was time to do this for Christians. If we could do it for Jewish refugees, we ought to do it for Christian refugees.

Q: How was it that this little coalition of people could actually convince the president and get this on his radar, right now, during this war on terror, and get him to go public with it?

A: I think we have to go back to the foundation of the International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church. We literally had over 100,000 churches of various denominations who observed International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church.

Sudan was sort of the poster child for this movement, how Christians were being persecuted in the Sudan. When you get 100,000 churches focused on this, they begin to talk to their congressmen. You have people going over and purchasing slaves in the slave market, and redeeming them out of slavery. We have 15 Sudanese boys in Nashville who go around giving their testimony about how their parents were killed, and they had to escape from slavery, and have now been resettled in Nashville, and hope to go back to the Sudan.

So we didn't do it. We helped lead the movement that brought it about. But the president didn't need to be convinced. Now, some in his administration needed to be convinced. The State Department -- which is usually a part of the problem -- if it worships anything, worships the status quo, and looks upon anything that makes waves as problematic. ...

Q: The whole topic of human trafficking -- many of us in the media were really sort of taken aback that the president was even talking about this. It just seemed like it came out from left field. Tell me about getting something that important to Southern Baptists into a U.N. speech.

A: We had made it clear this is a very important issue to us, and to our constituencies. The president understood that. He was as horrified as any person would be.

Once you become aware of this, how can you not be horrified by it? It is as cruel and as inhumane an activity as goes on anywhere in the world. I mean, I can't even begin to imagine the horror of being a child that is sold into sexual slavery. ...

As I understand it, it was part of the president saying, "Look, you either live up to your responsibilities -- only together can we deal with this." We made him aware of how important it was to us, but this was an easy sell. I mean, he was as horrified by it as we were.

Q: This kind of issue also appeals to a wider base of people who aren't necessarily evangelical. Do you think the evangelical movement, including the Southern Baptists have, in the recent years, come across some issues that cross this divide, that we all care about, that are sort of things like the Sudan, things like human trafficking? You've had success in getting these issues to the forefront, into the mainstream ...

A: Well, it hasn't been a strategy, if that's what you're asking. It's just [that] we are concerned about these issues. We have had the opportunity to express that concern. This is another one of those divides within that earlier Republicanism. You know, most evangelicals came late to their Republicanism. Most of them were not raised Republicans. Most of them were either independents or Democrats who have been disattached.

First of all, they were disattached from the Democrats because of social issues and foreign policy. They have been now increasingly attached to the Republicans. I think it was the social conservatives in the Reagan administration and the first Bush administration who were so pressuring the president to make social issues part of the foreign policy of this country, to make human rights issues part of the foreign policy of this country.

It was the Kissingerites, the Darmanites, the people who were the Bakerites who were arguing no, that this should not be a part of our foreign policy. It was one of the reasons that there was disaffection from the first President Bush. ...

Q: When the president talks to evangelicals or when he talks to the nation, he uses certain words or phrases like "wonder-working power." What goes into the thought behind this? ... How does he signal to the evangelical community, without alienating someone like myself who wouldn't know that that's necessarily evangelical?

A: I think this idea that the president is signaling things to evangelicals is way too complex. I just don't think that that's the way that this administration works. Gerson is one of his chief speechwriters; he is an evangelical.

I thought, at the time of its delivery, that his inaugural address was one of the best inaugural addresses that has ever been delivered by an American president -- one of the most eloquent, one of the most religious that's been in a long time.

It was interesting to me to note that neutral observers have said that they think it's the best since Kennedy's. I think it will hold up very well to the judgment of history. But it is a speech which uses language that would be very familiar to Americans of an earlier time, and evangelicals are more in touch with that earlier time.

John Kennedy, in 1961, said in his inaugural address that the rights of man don't come from man, they're the gift of God. It's not Bush's rhetoric that's changed. It's many people in the country, particularly in the chattering classes, that have changed.

That kind of religious language, or that kind of God language, jars their ears. But that's because they've changed. He hasn't changed. Just go read Lincoln's second inaugural, which sounds like a sermon, [or] Roosevelt reading a prayer when he announces the D-Day invasion, a prayer which he and his daughter wrote, as they announced over the radio the D-Day invasion of 1944. ...

Bush's language, yes, it is more overtly religious and is much more comfortable talking about God and talking about divine power than would be the case with his immediate predecessors. But he's standing in a long American tradition here. I don't think that there's any conscious effort to signal things to evangelicals. His chief speechwriter is an evangelical. One of the reasons that this president is so effective as a speaker is that he says what he thinks, and he thinks what he says. ...

Q: A lot of people on the left have charged that it is a bad thing. Thinking that you're doing God's will is a very big thought, and means that America is God's country, that we're on a mission, that we're on some sort of jihad ourselves. Can you respond to that?

A: I can understand that there are a lot of people on the left who are uncomfortable with the concept that someone thinks they're doing God's will, or that they're on a divine mission. That says more about the left than it does about George W. Bush.

There's a big difference between thinking, "God's on our side, and God is in favor of what we're doing," than the position that the president actually takes, which I think is very much analogous to Lincoln's position, articulated in the second inaugural. We now know that Lincoln, at the very crisis stage of the Civil War in 1862, sat down and had a discourse with himself -- which wasn't discovered until much later, until the late 1870s -- in which he tried to figure out, "Why is this happening?" Because no one had ever seen a war like this.

You understand, this was the first modern war. No human beings had ever been exposed to the level of slaughter that was going on in the American Civil War. Lincoln was clearly wracked by this. "If we're doing what God's will is, why is this happening to us? Why is this going on and on? Why is all this terrible bloodletting taking place?"

He answered in a ways that find their way into the second inaugural. He basically says, "Both sides believe that God is on their side. Both sides can't be right. Neither side may be completely right. It may be that God is going to, as an act of judgment, cause all of the wealth that was produced by involuntary servitude, North and South, to be used up, before this war will ever be over. But we're going to go forward, doing the right, as God gives us the light to see the light, with malice toward none, with charity for all."

That's a very different posture, and a very different attitude than say, just assuming, "God's on our side." It goes back to the story that one of Lincoln's Cabinet members said to him during the midst of the war, "Well, God's on our side." And Lincoln said, "I'm more concerned that we be on God's side, sir."

The problem with the left is that some of them don't think God has a side. George Bush and most of George Bush's supporters believe God has a side, and we believe that side is freedom. We believe that side is democracy. We believe that side is respect for basic human rights. We don't see the word starkly in terms of black and white. But we do see that there is a good and there is an evil, and that there is no moral equivalence between Saddam Hussein and the United States of America.

There is no moral equivalence between the radical Islamic jihadists and the United States of America. As Tony Blair said, this is a struggle for civilization. It's a struggle between the force of civilization and the

force of barbarism. I understand that the left is often uncomfortable with that kind of language and that kind of posture. Once again, that says more about the left than it does about George W. Bush.

George W. Bush is standing squarely in the middle of American history and American tradition, and believing in American exceptionalism. Does that mean that America is God's chosen people? No. No. Does it mean that we believe that an angel still rides in this storm, as they did at the founding? Yes. Yes.

I believe that. I believe that the United States of America has a divinely given responsibility to hold up the flame of freedom, and whenever possible, to advance it. I don't make any apology for that. That's part of who I am as an American. Just exactly what does the left think that John F. Kennedy was talking about, when he said, "We're going to let tyrants of the world beware. We're willing to go anywhere, bear any price, assume any burden, defend [against] any foe, support any friend, in defense of liberty?"...

Q: On Ellis Island, Sept. 11, 2002, a year after Sept. 11, Bush said, "I believe there is a reason t
There is no moral equivalence between the radical Islamic jihadists and the United States of America.**hat**
history has matched this nation with this time." Then he also said, "We do know that God has
placed us together in this moment." What do you make of this, and what does it mean, when he
says something like that?

A: First of all, it's hardly a novel concept for anyone who has a traditional Christian faith, be it Catholic or be it traditional Protestant, that there is a divine providence, and that we have a place and a purpose that is beyond our understanding.

He talked about this in his [recent] Yale commencement address. ... He said, "Many of us had many plans and purposes when we left here. I didn't, but many of us did. Since then, we've had many disappointments, and we've had changes. And we've come to understand that we are not the final arbiters."

Just a belief in divine providence -- hardly a novel thing in U.S. history. If there are those who find it disquieting, they need to understand, they are the ones who have moved. ... George Bush is not the one that's moved.

Q: I've read George Bush's autobiography, A Charge to Keep. He talks about a very important moment in his life, when in Texas, Mark Craig was giving a sermon about Moses. It was at that moment where George Bush decided that it was time for him to run for president; that actually, this was his calling. Can you talk about that at all?

A: Well, I wasn't there for at that worship service. But I will tell you this: The day he was inaugurated for his second term as governor in 1999, there were several of us who met with him at the governor's mansion. Among the things he said to us was -- and this goes back to my Lincoln analogy -- he said, "I believe that God wants me to be president. But if that doesn't happen, that's OK. I'm loved at home, and that's more important." Then he said, "I have seen the presidency up close and personal. I know it's a sacrifice, and I don't need it for personal validation."...

Q: You've said that if Bush wants to talk about his faith, he should be able to do so. You said, "Let people decide if that's the kind of president that they want, instead of the media." There is a criticism that Bush does use too much religious language, that his religion affects his presidency too much. Can you talk about that?

A: Well, there are some who would like to make that line between church and state a lot stricter than it has been historically. I believe in separation of church and state. As a Baptist, how could I not? I think

that if you don't have it, that it ends up being very detrimental to the church, and to the Christian faith, or any faith.

However, I was 14 years old in 1960, when John Kennedy came to my town, Houston, Texas, to meet with the Baptist ministers of Houston, and to assure them that his Catholicism would not interfere in any way with how he served as president. My pastor came back to our church and said, "My concerns are alleviated. This man will not let his Catholicism interfere with his oath of office." I think that was a terrible price to ask John Kennedy to pay to be president. I think what we should have done instead was say, "Now, you're a Catholic. How will that impact how you serve as president?"

I think it's much healthier, what happened in 2000, where Joseph Lieberman -- I was in Nashville when he went down to Nashville and accepted Gore's invitation to join the ticket. He mentioned God 12 times in two minutes. The New York Times counted, and thought this was just horrible. Well, what Lieberman was saying was, "Look. I'm an observant Jew. You can't understand who Joe Lieberman is, and you can't understand how I would be vice president, without understanding the fact that I'm an observant Jew."

It seems to me that that's what we ought to allow candidates to do. Tell us who they are. If being religious is part of who they are, then we take that into account, and we decide whether that's the kind of president we want.

I was in a debate just recently, where someone was making fun of the president, and accusing him of political calculation when he said in one of the debates [when asked], "Which political philosopher has influenced you the most?" And he said, "Jesus. Because he changed my life."

This person didn't know the president. But this person assumed that that was a political ploy, because for this person, that kind of faith is incomprehensible. Well, it's not incomprehensible to millions of Americans. George Bush was being quite transparent, and quite honest. ...

The American people decide what kind of president they want. I don't think anyone can complain that people didn't know what they were getting in George W. Bush. They were getting a man of deep personal faith, whose personal faith is going to impact his perspective on public policy. I say it was truth in advertising.

Richard Land

A Christian Defense of the War In Iraq

<http://www.beliefnet.com/news/2006/03/a-christian-defense-of-the-war-in-iraq.aspx>

March 2006

Q: Do you support President Bush and the war in Iraq as it stands now, 3 years after it began?

A: I do. I think that the progress in Iraq has been very encouraging. After all, we've had 3 elections in the past 15 months where the Iraqi people, braving threats of violence and intimidation and retribution, have come out and voted in larger numbers than we did in our presidential election, which isn't very flattering to us and our commitment to democracy, but does tend to underscore the Iraqis' commitment to democratic self-government and the understanding that their votes make a difference.

Increasingly, the Iraqis are taking over the defense of their country. I'm told that about 60 percent of the country geographically has been turned over to the Iraqi army and police forces, and that by Labor Day, it'll be 80 percent. They are performing very well, and this is making a real difference. In the latest air assault [Operation Swarmer, in mid-March 2006], there were 1,500 troops—800 of them were Iraqis, and 700 of them were American paratroopers. The Iraqis give every indication of understanding what democratic self-government is, and understanding that they want it. I find it particularly intriguing, in light of public opinion in the United States, that the Iraqis, when they are polled, are more positive about their country's future than Americans are about their country, and certainly more than Americans are about Iraq.

Q: That was your view of events from a political perspective. How do you reflect on the war as a Christian?

A: I believe in just-war theory, and the first item in just-war criteria is that it has to be a just cause. I believe our cause in Iraq was just; I think it was one of the more noble things we've done. We went to liberate a country that was in the grip of a terrible dictator who had perpetrated horrible atrocities and crimes against humanity, against his own people, as well as his neighbors. We removed him and we are giving the Iraqis the ability to defend themselves and to build a stable democracy.

I as a Christian believe that all human beings have unique dignity and the right to freedom, the right to freedom of conscience. I believe the Declaration of Independence, which says that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The people who were responsible for the drafting and approval of that were people who were operating mostly from a Judeo-Christian worldview. They understood that to be what the Bible taught, and I agree with them. The Iraqis have the same right to freedom.

I would also say that there's a very important principle in scripture that says that to whom much is given, much is required. As an American, I have been given much. We have freedoms that we didn't die for, we have freedoms that we haven't sacrificed much for. To use a biblical metaphor, we drink from wells we didn't dig, and we live in houses we didn't build. We benefit from tremendous rights that we didn't do much sacrificing for, at least not in my generation. My father did, my father was in a good deal of combat in World War II to help defend and secure those freedoms. But we have been given much. And to whom much is given, much is required. And I believe that makes it incumbent upon us as Americans to help others when we can to secure the same freedom that we have. The idea of American exceptionalism is not a doctrine of empire, it's not a doctrine of domination, it's a doctrine of responsibility and obligation. We have a responsibility and an obligation based upon the blessings that have been showered upon us as a nation and as a people to help others when we can.

Obviously there are some situations, there are other parts of just-war theory that would mitigate against our ability to do so. North Korea comes to mind. North Korea is a situation where we certainly would like to help the North Koreans obtain their freedom, and there are certainly ways in which we can put pressure on the North Korean regime, but military action is not an option, because it would not pass the test of proportionality.

Even without nuclear weapons, the estimates are that if there were to be armed hostilities breaking out on the Korean peninsula, that close to a million Koreans, North and South, would die within a month. That's the level of armed might on both sides on the peninsula. So the last thing that any human being would want is to see an outbreak of military hostilities on the Korean Peninsula, conventional or nuclear.

Q: North Korea isn't the only other dictatorship in the world. According to biblical principles, does the American military have an obligation to go into other countries that are suffering under unjust regimes, in Africa or Iran?

A: You have to use all of the tests. You have to use the test of just cause, just intent, you have to have a declaration of war or a joint resolution from Congress, it has to be authorized by legitimate authority, which in the case of the United States is the elected Congress of the United States. It has to meet the test of proportionality—will the good gained outweigh the suffering in the loss of life.

You talked about some future examples, let's talk about some past ones. I argued for intervention in Rwanda. If we had intervened in Rwanda, it would have taken probably 10,000 Marines to save about 750,000 Africans from being hacked to death. I think we're morally culpable for not having done so. I think we should have intervened in Bosnia, and I argued in 1991 that we should have. One of the biggest tests that we face as an international community today is not how we deal with aggression from one state to another, but how we deal with a state that is committing crimes against humanity and is acting in an aggressive way that amounts to genocide against its own people. I argued for American-led NATO or U.N. intervention in Bosnia, and I argued for the same thing in Kosovo.

Q: Do you argue for the same in Sudan now?

A: I sure do. I think there needs to be international action. The sad truth is that without American leadership, the international community won't do it. They should. NATO should have intervened in Bosnia. NATO should have intervened in Kosovo. But only after we were willing to do it ourselves if they didn't support us, they finally agreed to help us in Kosovo. And they never did agree to do it in Bosnia until after the terrible kinds of atrocities that we saw at Srebrenitza.

I think that we have an obligation and a responsibility when we can to act. We could stop what's going on in Darfur, and I believe that we should. I would not use American troops, except as a last resort, but I would use American logistics, and I would use American leadership to say, we must do this. This is not the kind of thing that human beings should allow to happen to other human beings in the 21st century. We as an international community must act to stop it.

This is a genocide going on in Sudan, and one of tests is, when you can do something and you don't, then you become culpable morally for not having done something. I believe that the United States and the international community are culpable for what happened in Rwanda. It didn't have to happen, it could have been stopped with minimal effort and minimal sacrifice on the part of the western powers. We just didn't care enough to do it, and it's morally reprehensible. I'm not saying this after the fact, I said it in print and on the air about Bosnia-Herzegovina, about Kosovo, and about Rwanda, and I've said it about Darfur.

Q: Getting back to Iraq, if the situation were to devolve into sectarian civil war, what kind of moral responsibility would the United States have at that point?

A: I think our responsibility would be to try to do what we could to help bring about its end, to bring about a cessation of ethnic conflict. I think we have to ask ourselves, what are the consequences? This is a question too few American commentators are asking, and they need to do more of it. What are the consequences of failure in Iraq? The consequences of failure in Iraq are horrific for the security of the United States, and for the security of moderate Islamic regimes and moderate followers of Islam around the world. The consequences of failure in Iraq are too horrendous to allow failure to happen.

So, I would argue that it must be the policy of the United States to help bring about a stable democratic government in Iraq and take whatever steps we can, along with moderate Iraqis, to ensure that civil war doesn't happen. I must say to you that I have been very encouraged by the admirable restraint that has been shown by the Iraqi people in the face of supreme provocation by the radical Islamic jihadists who have tried to foment a civil war, have so far been unsuccessful in doing so.

Q: President Bush's speech this week urged Americans not to rush to judgment based on the violent images from Iraq they see on the evening news. As a religious leader, do you see this as the president asking us to take this war on faith? Is it easier for people of faith to relate to that request?

A: I don't think it's easier for people of faith to be skeptical about the national news media. That's what the president is talking about, he's talking about a national news media people of faith and otherwise believe have presented a very biased view of this war. We believe that based upon our own conversations with American military who have served in Iraq and who have a very different viewpoint, by and large, from the one that's presented in the electronic news media and The New York Times, and from our discussions with Iraqis.

At the World Economic Forum in Davos, I had a chance to spend about an hour with the speaker of the Iraqi Assembly, who is a Sunni Muslim, and he was very optimistic about the future. He went out of his way to say thank you. He said, "I want to thank you and your country for all the wonderful young men and women that you've sent and continue to send to help us secure and defend our freedom. We are very grateful."

Somehow that doesn't seem to make it on CBS and ABC and NBC and CNN and The New York Times. But many of us have other sources.

I think the president is saying there is another reality than the one that is being presented by our national news media. Something has to account for more Iraqis having a positive view about their nation's future than Americans have a positive view about their nation's future.

Q: Over the course of the war, has anything changed about your support for it?

A: No, I don't think so. In hindsight, I think there are things that could have been done differently, but that always happens once armed conflict begins. There are some strategy issues that could have been done differently. I think we should probably have put more troops in to present overwhelming force, as we did in Germany and Japan after World War II. I think we should have put more troops in, certainly in the immediate aftermath to keep the looting from taking place in Baghdad, when I think we lost a lot of confidence from individual Iraqis at the very beginning that we were going to be able to provide security.

I profoundly wish that the Abu Ghraib atrocities had not taken place, and I am grateful that our government has prosecuted the people responsible to the fullest extent of the law. Some of them are in

prison now, as they deserve to be, for having dishonored their country and dishonored their uniform and having committed human-rights abuses that are grotesque in nature. I wish we had gone to more training of the military and police forces in the way that we're training them now earlier, but then again, those are the kinds of things that are the benefit of hindsight. You don't have the benefit of hindsight when you're making decisions in a war zone.

Q: What about in the area of justification for the war?

A: My justification for the war was not based upon weapons of mass destruction. To me, and I said so at the time, this was a continuation of Gulf War I, which was an act of aggression by Saddam Hussein. We did not have a peace treaty after Gulf War I, we had a cease-fire. And the cease-fire was predicated upon Saddam Hussein complying with U.N. resolutions, which he did not do for 12 years. So finally, after 12 years, we continued the war against the man who was a very dangerous and de-stabilizing influence. We're seeing now, with the release of these documents that have just been released to the public, that the connections between Saddam Hussein and terrorists were far more extensive than some had believed.

Whether he had weapons of mass destruction, and of course everybody believed that he did—every intelligence agency in the world believed that he did—he certainly, it seems, was trying to keep the ability to reconstitute those weapons as soon as the pressure was off. The idea that he could reconstitute these weapons, and because of the extensive contacts and relationships and the thousands of terrorists he was personally allowing to be trained in his country—we now know from the Iraqi secret-service documents that there were extensive connections there—that at some point, for a quid pro quo, that he might give some anthrax or some ricin or some other biological weapons, which could be used against the United States, to terrorists, Given a post-9/11 world, I don't think that's something we can allow to happen before we respond.

For me, the overriding argument was always the President's argument that after 9/11, we had to acknowledge that the way we'd been doing business in the Middle East for the last 50 years, under both Democratic and Republican presidents, was erroneous and wrong. We had been supporting fascistic and oligarchical regimes, first in the name of anti-communism, and then in the name of stable oil supplies, but these repressive and terrible regimes were the breeding ground for terrorism.

The only way to adequately address long-term the question of radical Islamic jihadism was to help build stable democracies in the Middle East. The idea that Arabs don't want stable democracies is, in my opinion, at root a racist belief. I think human beings anywhere, given the choice, will choose governments that are accountable to them, and not governments that feed the ambitions of megalomaniacal dictators.

Q: And you feel that Christian tradition supports that belief?

A: I do. We didn't go into Iraq to conquer Iraq, we didn't go into Iraq to subjugate Iraq, we went in to liberate Iraq. We turned over sovereignty to a provisional government, and now there's an elected government that is in the process of forming a constitution. We are there as guests of the Iraqi government. If the Iraqi government asked us to leave, we'd leave. But the last thing the Iraqi government wants is for us to leave. They want us to leave when they're able to defend themselves and they're able to defend their society. We're helping them to do that, and when that's done, we'll leave.

Jack Graham
President's Address – 2003
Phoenix, Arizona
June 17, 2003

The theme of the Southern Baptist Convention is *Kingdom First*, taken from Matthew 6:33: **"But seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you"** (NKJV).

Our priorities, prayers, purpose, and passion is exalting the King and expanding the kingdom. I personally believe that Southern Baptists have come to the kingdom for such a time as this. We have been called to the kingdom of God. It is the call of our risen Redeemer King—and it's my prayer—that our Redeemer's kingdom will capture our hearts and imaginations through our churches and missionary involvement around the world.

The kingdom mission will be more than a theme—it will be a way of life. We as Southern Baptists have an incredible, incredible opportunity and I don't want to miss the moment. Winston Churchill said these words: *"To each there comes in their lifetime a special moment when they are figuratively tapped on the shoulder and offered the chance to do a very special thing, unique to them and fitted to their talents. What a tragedy if that moment finds them unprepared and unqualified that which could have been their finest hour."*

Southern Baptists, this can and should be our finest hour. We must seize the opportunity. concerns the everlasting eternal kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. He is the King! Now, in Matthew 6:33 we are challenged to prioritize the kingdom: *"Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness..."* We are encouraged to personalize the kingdom and earnestly pursue the kingdom of God. Jesus tells us in *The Sermon On The Mount* that we are to pray for the kingdom: *"Your kingdom come, Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven"* (NKJV).

We know that we are to proclaim the kingdom, and that God has called all of us to be heralds of the King and His kingdom. But, in the inaugural sermon of the kingdom, *The Sermon On The Mount* in Matthew 5, 6 and 7, Jesus taught us that we are to practice the kingdom and live as citizens of the kingdom of God. *The Sermon On The Mount* has been called the *Constitution* of the kingdom, even the *Magna Carta* of the kingdom. After the initial beatitudes when Jesus describes the characteristics of kingdom citizens, Jesus moves on to explain how the child or citizen of the kingdom is to live.

I found that seeking to describe or define the kingdom of God can be difficult. That is Jesus often spoke of the mysteries of the kingdom, and told stories to illustrate the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God has been defined as the visible manifestation and application of the rule of Jesus Christ in our lives. But, the kingdom is not so much defined as it is to be demonstrated. That is why Jesus two powerful word pictures that describe who the kingdom citizen is, how we're to live, and what we're to do. Those powerful metaphors are found in Matthew 5:13. Jesus said: **"You are the salt of the earth; but if the salt loses its flavor, how should it be seasoned."**

It is then good for nothing but to be thrown out and trampled underfoot by men. 14: You are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hidden. 15: Nor do they light lamp and put it under a basket, but on a lampstand, and it gives light to all who are in house. 16: Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (NKJV).

Jesus uses two common, ordinary substances to tell us how we are to engage our culture maximize our influence for the King of the kingdom in our own generations. There are two simple truths that are profound—you can be salt and light.

When I was a little boy growing up in First Baptist Church of Conway, Arkansas, some fondest memories were enjoying the Sunbeam Band. I was a Sunbeam! How many of you were Sunbeams?

A Sunbeam I will be.
 A Sunbeam I will be.
 A Sunbeam for Jesus.
 A Sunbeam I will be.

That little truth captured my heart and imagination a long time ago. I might be just sunbeam or a small pinch of salt, but my life can make a difference eternally for the kingdom of God. Because the world is a decaying and dark place, our salt and light is absolutely necessary. God has called every Christian, every church, and the Southern Baptist Convention to use our influence for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus. We are living in an everdarkening and increasingly decaying world. In particular, we are living in a time when it appears that man is inventing new ways to demonstrate his sinful depravity. We see the decay now more than ever. Humanity, in spite of the advances in medicine, media, technology, and science, is becoming more corrupt and contaminated by sin.

This should not surprise it, because Paul tells us in 2 Timothy 3:13 that in the last days: *"Evil men and impostors will grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived"* (NKJV). This is a decaying and darkening culture, dangerous and deadly times, when evil and the of evil men will become more evil. Just when you think you have seen or heard it all, something else explodes, describing or demonstrating the enormity of evil in our times: for every crime there now seems to be a greater crime; for immorality there seems to be now greater immorality; if we have war, there seems to be greater war; if there's perversion, there seems to be greater perversion. Everything is becoming worse and worse as we spiral downward into decadence, decay, and darkness.

General Omar Bradley in his armistice speech of 1948 said this: *"We have grasped the mystery of the atom but we've forgotten The Sermon on the Mount. Our world has achieved brilliance, without conscience. Our world is a world of nuclear giants and ethical pygmies."*

At the end of the twentieth century, there was some sense of optimism in America regarding our future. We were certainly flourishing economically, and the stock market was soaring. Our national security seemed impregnable, but then came 9/11. We were barely in to the twenty-first Century when our world exploded, America was attacked, and once again we recognized the face of evil, and the weight of sin. If you doubt the enormity of evil, then read Romans 1. It reads like headlines in the local newspapers. So what are we to do? Some would say we should pack it in, go to our churches, worship, wait for the next bus to heaven. Some would say the world is going to hell, and there's isn't anything that we can do about it. I strongly disagree! There is something we can and must do about it—for future generations, and our own children and grandchildren. For their sake and for the kingdom of God, we must make a difference for the cause of our King.

Now, if we're going to make a difference, then we must be different. I know that's an obvious statement; yet, it seems there is so little difference between the way professing Christians live today, and the way the world lives. For example, our divorce rate is as high as the divorce rate outside the church and outside the kingdom of God. The way we live and behave is viewed by many to be no different than the way of this world.

But, Peter tells us in 1 Peter 2:9 that we've been called out of darkness into the kingdom of Jesus, which is the kingdom of holiness and righteousness. We are to seek first His kingdom and His righteousness. We

do that, not by retreating into some Christian subculture, but by penetrating the decay of our culture and illuminating the darkness of our culture with the mission and vision of our King.

It seems that in our time, the world wants to hear every view except our view, and then have the audacity to blame the problems of the culture and society on us. We have been called, in recent days, terrorists and bigots. "You are the problem," they say, "and you are the national scapegoat." That's okay because it reminds me of Israel when Ahab the wicked king and idolater said to Elijah, "You are the troubler of Israel," and Elijah shot back, "It's not me, it's you, O king. You are the troubler of Israel because of your idolatry." We face opposition—even our missionaries experience persecution around the world because of Christian faith. But, we will not retreat or run from the battle.

Boniface, who is the great Celtic missionary of yesteryear, said this: *"Let us stand fast in what is right and prepare our souls for trial. Let us neither be dogs who do not bark, nor silent onlookers, nor paid servants who run away before the wolf. Instead, where the battle rages let us find ourselves there. Let us run towards the roar the battle. That is where Christ's most glorious victories shall be won."*

We will not retreat and we will not relent, but we will run to the roar of our King and we will win the day. May God give us the lion heart of our King. Southern Baptists, let's run to the roar! Paul said, "You are the message." When Jesus said, *"You are the salt of the earth... You are the light of the world,"* He used the emphatic **you**, as if He were putting His finger on our noses and saying **you**, emphatically **you**, yes **you**, be salt and light. And He is saying to you, and to Southern Baptists around the world, be salt and be light. How do we do that?

1. As **SALT** we are to **PENETRATE** a decaying culture. Today we use salt on the table, but in the day of Jesus it was used very differently. Salt was used in the ancient world as a preservative. There was no refrigeration, so they would take salt and rub it into meat or rub it into fish if there was a big catch on the Sea of Galilee. They would rub the salt solutions in, and then carry it to the market. Salt must penetrate to be effective. Rather than keeping our faith to ourselves, it is to be public. It is always private and personal, but it is also public. There are forces that would attempt to silence us saying, "Don't intrude on our lives, and suggest that our lifestyle or our way of life is wrong." They argue that truth is relative or subjective, and they say, "Don't intrude upon our schools, don't bring your faith to work, and don't talk about your Christianity." They tell us, "Just keep it to yourself... just keep it in your saltshaker and in your sanctuary. Don't try to convert anyone." But we cannot resist the rub and the call of God to penetrate our world.

It's a scary thought to consider what the world would be like without the preservative of God's church, His people, and His kingdom. We're told that in the final hours of human history, Jesus will come for His church and take us away to glory. Then, the preserving and protecting agency of God's people will be gone. And according to the book of Revelation, the great tribulation will come, and all hell will break loose on earth. Satan will rule, the antichrist will be in power, and the world will get what it's always wanted—life without God and the King. The Restraint will one day be removed, as Paul said in 2 Thessalonians 2:7: *"The mystery of lawlessness is already at work; only He who now restrains will do so until He is taken out of the way"* (NKJV).

Can you imagine the moral condition of our world if it were not for Bible-believing, kingdom-living Christians? Can you imagine where we would be, for example, on the abortion issue in our times, were it not for the salty influence and penetration of God's people? This is a rotting world and we must penetrate the decadent of our times. I'm not talking about simply making better men through social programs. We know that more education, more legislation, and even electing the right president will not change the world or our culture. There is only one way to change the world, and it is by changing people's hearts through the life-changing, unique, and only message of truth—the message of Jesus Christ. The kingdom

will not come by electing better public officials; the cultural and moral solution of our times is a salt solution. You, Christian, must be salt.

2. Not only does salt penetrate, SALT IRRITATES, stings, and is like an antiseptic. When was a kid, I would skin my knee, and my mother would come with a bottle of red stuff that was called Mercurochrome. If it was really bad, she'd come at me with the iodine bottle. Do any of you remember that? That stuff was liquid fire, and she would always say, "If it stings and hurts—it helps." I don't know if I ever really believed that, but I do know that salt stings, and the influence of salt stings a wounded world.

3. SALT not only stings, it STIMULATES. Salt is a seasoning agent that brings out the flavor and freshness of food. As salt, we are to season and flavor our lives with the real joy that we know in Jesus, and the grace of our God who is in us. Jesus has called us to be salt, to be flavorful. It's not the bland leading the bland, but flavorful, fresh believers full of the Spirit of God pouring out the salty, tasty, and fresh love and grace of God.

I was behind someone the other day at one of these coffee shops where you can get all kinds of drinks and coffee, and this particular person ordered a non-fat, no sugar, decaf coffee. And I thought to myself—why? Where's the zip? Where's the flavor? Where's the life in that? And we have to ask that same question of ourselves sometimes. There are too many decaffeinated Christians in our world today. But, salt will stimulate thirst, and it will season.

Are we making people thirsty for God? Whether it is a stinging rebuke or a season of flavor, we are to influence our world. Salt penetrates, irritates, and stimulates. Therefore, we live salty lives as believers and followers of Christ. The one commonality of whether salt penetrates, irritates, or stimulates the thirst is that it must make contact in order to fulfill its purpose. Throughout this year, I have been overjoyed to hear of the contact "salty" Southern Baptists are making in the world through intentional evangelism within our churches, training people in personal witness, unleashing the laity, and mobilizing. Our president of the United States talks about mobilizing armies of compassion across America and around the world. I pray that God will help us as Southern Baptists to mobilize armies of compassion, to get out of our sanctuaries and into the streets as salty believers sharing Jesus Christ.

As believers, if we lose our saltiness, we're worth nothing. There are two main ways that lose our saltiness: **One is BY COMPROMISE**, when salt becomes diluted with other things. Perhaps in Jesus' time, salt became diluted when it was thrown out the door on the dirty street path. When we lose our distinctiveness and purity because of compromise, either in our personal lives or in our doctrinal lives, we are not worth our salt. That's why I'm so thankful that this Southern Baptist Convention has determined, without compromise, to seek the purity of faith and the holiness and righteousness that is ours in Jesus Christ. We preach His salty truth without compromise, but with courage and conviction.

Another way that we lose saltiness is **BY CONTAINMENT**. Perhaps the biggest way is by containing the salt, and keeping it in one place. Too many see the church as one huge saltshaker that we call sanctuaries, or worship centers. So, we gather together, the salt salting the salt, the light lighting up the light, and containment keeping the salt all in one place rather than penetrating the culture. Containment keeps us from fulfilling the mission and the vision of the kingdom of God. As salt we are to penetrate a decaying culture.

As **LIGHT** we are to **ILLUMINATE** a dark culture. You, yes you, Jesus said: *"...are the light of the world."* You, emphatically you, should illuminate and radiate in a dark culture for Christ. We mission and a ministry of illumination to light the night, to be radiant and real. How are we to

do that? How are we to be light in an ever increasingly dark culture? We do that **BY BEING CONSPICUOUS**.

Jesus said a light is like a city, a brilliant and beautiful city set on a hill. Perhaps you've seen those cities across Israel—little towns, hamlets, and cities on hills lighting the night. (*And, on a side note, we need to pray for the peace of Jerusalem in these days.*) Jesus must have pointed to one of those cities and said: "...like a city set on a hill." He said we are to be like a light or a candle on a candlestick that is there for everyone it. We are to be conspicuous in our witness. We're to be audiovisual for Jesus Christ so everyone can see and hear the message, and shine with the light of Christ.

In the first century, there was a young terrorist by the name of Saul. He persecuted murdered Christians. One day as he was partnering with persecutors to kill Stephen and finally shut him up, he listened as Stephen delivered a powerful, salty message about the truth that is only found in Jesus Christ. Then, he watched and held the cloaks of those who stoned him. But, as Stephen was dying and the stones were bludgeoning his body, Acts 7 tells us that his face shone like the face of an angel. He died glowing in the presence of Jesus who was standing at the right hand of the Father. He looked into the face of Jesus, and he glowed with the glory of God. This is a beautiful picture of how we are to shine, glowing not glaring, but glowing on our countenances and most especially in our character with the light of God. Jesus said: "*I am the light of the world.*"

And then He said: "*You are the light of the world.*" We make the connection, according to 2 Corinthians 4:6, in this way: "*For it is the God who commanded light to shine out of darkness, who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ*" (NKJV). When we bathe our hearts and souls in the presence of our King day-by-day, the glow of presence and the character of His life are formed in us, and people will see the love of Jesus and the light of our Savior. They will see it in our faces as we articulate and communicate the powerful message.

I don't understand how people can be ashamed of the gospel of our King. Pardon me if I just don't get it. How can someone say he is a follower of the One who said, "*I am the way and the truth and the light,*" and never tell anyone? Those who live in the light of His presence share the light of His love and the power of His presence with others. Now, I'm not talking about turning the spotlight on us, because that would be self-righteousness. We need to get out of the spotlight and turn our personal agenda over to the kingdom agenda and let the King get in the spotlight. We're to shine so they can see Jesus, so the Father may be glorified, Jesus magnified, and the kingdom multiplied. We are to be conspicuous.

If we are to be light in a darkening culture we are to also BE CONSISTENT so, as Jesus says "*...they may see your good works and glorify the Father in heaven.*" "Kalos" — good works! Jesus went about, according to the Scripture, doing good. You know the world does not expect perfection of us, but they should expect consistency in us, 24/7 shining for Him.

Let me give you a few illustrations as to how Southern Baptists are shining and glowing for God. At the end of Operation Iraqi Freedom, who was first in line, in the name of Jesus, with packages of love and food for the Iraqi people? Our Southern Baptist missionaries and missionary personnel—that's who! They were right there, being salt and light in the darkness.

I wrote our chaplains before the battles began in Iraq to let them know Southern Baptists praying for them. We received a wonderful response from our Southern Baptist chaplains serving not only in this mission, but also all over the world. Our chaplains were there in the battle. They would run to the roar. What were they doing? They were shining for Jesus, and salting the culture around them. The military culture and many of our young soldiers came to faith in Jesus Christ before and during the battle because

of the faithful witness of Southern Baptist chaplains who were there doing good in Jesus' name. God bless them and we salute them.

I never will forget the story of Private James Keil, who was baptized there in the desert hole in the ground. Bottled water was poured into that hole in the ground in the desert. He professed his faith in Jesus Christ, and was baptized as a follower of Christ by a chaplain. Then, on that fateful night in the opening salvos of the war, he and the maintenance group that turned the wrong way were ambushed, and Private James Keil went out into eternity. But, he went out into eternity with Jesus Christ in his heart forever, because God's men were there sharing the love, hope, and gospel of Jesus. That's being salt and light.

America was attacked on 9/11 and our world was rocked, our nation was terrorized, and New York City was left in shambles. I will never forget going to ground zero and seeing the devastation. If you saw it, you know that it takes your breath away to know the pain, loss, and suffering—families whose dads didn't come home and whose lives are forever changed because of the attack of murderous thugs and terrorists. But Southern Baptists were there being salt and light in the aftermath.

Our North American Mission Board mobilized hundreds of men and women to go to ground zero. Our own minister of missions, Ross Robinson, went with them. Ross could hardly talk without weeping for the next month, having seen the work of evil in that place. But, Southern Baptists were there in the love and name of Jesus, loving families, taking care of kids, and most of all sharing the good news of Jesus Christ, the gospel. So, several weeks after the initial crush of that ministry, the *New York Times* ran an article that said: *"In the aftermath of 9/11 ...send us more of those Southern Baptists. They have come up here and made a difference in our city."*

Those are Christians being salt and light. It's better to light a candle than to curse. Every ounce and every inch of me wants to shout out at the darkness and the depravity that we see around us.

The lives of little babies have been lost, an entire generation. An entire generation, my generation, has been impacted by two events. In 1963, there was death in the streets of Dallas, and the killing of John Kennedy changed the generation. Then, in 1973, *Roe v. Wade* occurred, and the darkness set in. So what are we to do? We become salt and light, we work for legislation, and we will continue to do that.

We're thankful that our president is ready to sign a ban on partial birth abortion. We're inroads, and abortions are down. But, the best way, in my opinion, is not to out-shout the darkness, but to out-live the darkness. Pregnancy centers all across Southern Baptist life have started to be a light in the darkness. Men and women on the cutting edge of this dramatic social issue of our times are changing a culture of death to a culture of life and bringing men, women, boys, and girls into the kingdom of God. Jesus lives in us in order to accomplish His good work through us. Be consistent.

BE COMPELLING. A light brings welcome and warmth, and it shows the way out of a dark place. That's why we're to shine in the darkness, and the darker it gets, the closer we need to get to the darkness. O'Henry, the famed short story writer, died, and his last words were: *"Turn on the light; I don't wanna go home in the dark."* How many in our world are saying, "Turn on the light I don't want to go home alone in darkness?" We must be compelling in shining the light.

Remember that the church of Jesus Christ is not a safe harbor, not a club or a resort, and not a place to bask in the sun, get a good tan, or look good and go home. The church of Jesus Christ, a colony of the kingdom, is a lighthouse on a dark and dangerous shore. I thank God for the privilege of simply being just a little light, just a sunbeam for Jesus. You may say, "Well, I can't do much, I'm just a little light." Oswald Chambers, the great devotional writer said: *"Never allow the thought that I'm of no use where I am; you certainly are of no use where you're not. You're of use where you are."*

Finally, **BE CONSUMED**. Just as a candle burns and consumes itself, we are to be consumed in shining and sharing the light. John the Baptist described himself as a burning and shining light. Why? Because he said, "Jesus must increase and I must decrease." John burned, he shone, and he burned out for God. Ultimately, his stand for truth and righteousness cost him his life. In these days we need to max out for God. This is not a time for less salt, limited light, emaciated faith. We're to focus on the King and His kingdom every day. It is to be our magnificent obsession, our clear focus, our compelling mission, and our holy ambition. When we are real, we will be radiant, and the world will know Jesus is Lord because our life is His life.

What will they do? Praise the lamp? Praise the light? No! God has not called us to be chandeliers, but simply to be a light on a porch inviting people to find their way to Jesus. God may have put you in a distant, dark, or dangerous place, and the greater the night, the greater your need to be there. We must not put our light under a bushel. So the question is, will Southern Baptists shine and salt the culture, the extreme darkness, and the excessive decay of our times? I believe we need church leaders, pastors, and believers in our pews to adopt the kingdom agenda and mobilize companies of salt and light around the world. We need to grip every day with the mission and message of Jesus. We must be full throttle for Him in these last days. There's only one plan, one purpose, and one priority for believers in these days, and that is to seek first the King and His kingdom.

Rachel Shupe was a 19-year-old who just completed her first year at Ouachita Baptist University in Arkadelphia, Arkansas. On the road between Arkadelphia and Dallas, she stepped into eternity suddenly in a car accident. Every parent's worst nightmare is to hear of the death of a child—the accident, the call in the night, or that call in the darkness. So Deb and I, along with many others in our church family, were sitting together at the funeral service of Rachel Shupe. We were holding hands. We were quiet. I was rather numb to the whole idea of a 19-year-old, beautiful Christian girl taken out. Then, a young professor from Ouachita stood to bring a tribute to Rachel Shupe. In his tribute he described a study group in a class of his, and a project. He said he asked the students to write and keep a diary. Then, he asked them to write a prayer which would describe their purpose in life. What would be, in a single sentence, he asked them, your purpose and prayer for your life? And he read the words Rachel Shupe had written. She wrote: *"My purpose and prayer is to make daily decisions which have eternal significance."*

When I heard that, sitting stunned and silent in that funeral service, I thought to myself, "That is it!" That is the call of the kingdom, and the compelling cry of our King. It is that every day we would live in the light of eternity and make daily decisions that have eternal weight, significance, and consequence.

I want to live and die like that. I am thankful that Southern Baptist missionaries like missionaries who were killed in the line of duty for Jesus Christ made daily decisions that have eternal significance. I'm so thankful that my friend Rick Ferguson, a wonderful pastor who perished in a car accident last summer, lived his life making daily decisions that have eternal significance. So, whether you're a student, missionary, or pastor ...YOU! Yes YOU! All of you, and all of us, must be salt in a decaying culture and light in a darkening culture. May God help us to pray the words of David in 1 Chronicles 29:11 that says: *"Yours O Lord is the kingdom!"* It's not our kingdom. It's not the kingdom of Southern Baptists. It is the kingdom of our Redeemer.

Yours O Lord is the kingdom.

Let's all stand together and repeat the words that our Lord taught us in a prayer known *Lord's Prayer*. Let's pray out loud that the kingdom of God would come. *"Our Father in heaven, Hallowed be Your name. Your kingdom come. Your will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, As we forgive our debtors. And do not lead us into temptation, But deliver us from the evil one. Yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever"* (NKJV).

Again!

For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever and ever.

We look forward to that day when our King comes for us, and the kingdom of our God and Christ shall rule and reign. And that kingdom will cover the earth as the waters cover the seas
Until that day and kingdom come, may we be salt and light.

*Transcript provided by Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives. All emphasis is original to transcript.

Charles Stanley
A Nation at War
In Touch with Charles Stanley
February 16, 2004

Ecclesiastes 3:8 states that there is a "time for war and a time for peace." In these times of warfare, we often ask, "How should we respond? What should be our attitude?" We will find biblical answers for these questions when we explore the ultimate issue: What does the Word of God say about warfare?

When a nation goes to war, God's people need to fully understand their heavenly Father's viewpoint about this matter. Naturally, God is not excited about war. He does not enjoy bloodshed and vengeance. However, He is dealing with a world of people who have a fallen nature - sinful, wicked and vile. Romans 3:10-11, 15-17 describes mankind without God: "there is none righteous, not even one; there is none who understands, there is none who seeks for God. . . . Their feet are swift to shed blood, destruction and misery are in their paths, and the path of peace they have not known."

God battles with people who oppose Him, who fight against Him and His followers. So, even though He hates war, God is not against it. Throughout the Old Testament, there are examples of God using warfare to carry out His plans, to punish the wicked and preserve His people (Deut. 9:4-6; Deut. 20; Jer. 5; Numbers 33:55-56). You may think, "How could God do that?" He says in Isaiah 55:9, "My ways are higher than your ways and My thoughts are higher than your thoughts." God has divine reasons for choosing to use war as a vehicle to accomplish His will.

In Scripture, God clearly establishes the government's responsibilities and authority over us, as well. In Romans 13:1 and 4, Paul writes, "every person is to be in subjection to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those which exist are established by God. . .for it [the government] is a minister of God to you for good. But if you do what is evil, be afraid; for it does not bear the sword for nothing; for it is a minister of God, an avenger who brings wrath on the one who practices evil."

God ordains the government with the right to promote good and restrain evil. This includes wickedness that exists within the nation, as well as any wicked persons or countries that threaten foreign nations. Obviously, there are times when a country should not go to war; but there are also times when, if a nation does not do so, they suffer the consequences. Therefore, a government has biblical grounds to go to war in the nation's defense or to liberate others in the world that are enslaved.

You may think, "Well, how do we reconcile that with what Jesus said about loving our enemies and turning the other cheek?" (Luke 6:27-30) In that passage, Jesus was speaking to us as individuals. If someone treats us badly, we should love him anyway. We can pray for our enemies, and do well to those who hate us. The way someone treats an individual is one thing; the way he treats an entire nation is a completely different issue. The Bible teaches that it is the responsibility of the government's leaders to protect the nation against those who would destroy it.

The Bible also instructs citizens in the proper way to respond when their country goes to war. For example, it is a violation of the Word of God to refuse to defend your country if ordered. Recall Romans 13:1-2: "every person is to be in subjection to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God. . .Therefore whoever resists authority has opposed the ordinance of God; and they who have opposed will receive condemnation upon themselves." According to this verse, we're to be submissive to the laws of the land. The only reason we have for disobeying the government is if it requires us to behave in a way that clearly violates some specific verse or command of God (Acts 5:27-32).

Someone might say, "But I can't go to war because shooting the enemy would be murder, and the Bible says 'you shall not murder'"(Exodus 20:13). Actually, when a man in combat shoots his enemy under the command of the government, without personal hatred, he is not committing murder. Instead, he is simply being obedient to the purpose for which he is fighting. To commit murder, a person must have vengeance and hatred against another. Many men have died on the battlefield without animosity toward anyone--they were fighting for a cause, defending or freeing their land. Therefore, if called, it is a citizen's national and biblical responsibility to defend his country.

Even if we do not actually participate in the fighting, we are also called to create unity and harmony within the country. We need to support whatever decisions our nation makes, as long as they do not directly violate the Word of God. How can we justify the protests and marches against war? I understand that, in America, for example, we have a right to express our different opinions. However, there comes a time when our personal opinion is not a priority. The only reason we have the freedom to protest in this country is because thousands were willing to die for that liberty in the past.

Instead of resisting, we should offer to serve the war effort in any way possible during this time, especially by encouraging and helping the families of our soldiers. And the most important and powerful thing we can do for our nation is pray. Pray for our President, leaders, military, and even our enemies. God honors the prayers of His children and expects us to support those in authority.

Despite the many different opinions and philosophies about war, the most important consideration is God's viewpoint. Throughout Scripture there is evidence that God favors war for divine reasons and sometimes uses it to accomplish His will. He has also given governments and their citizens very specific responsibilities in regards to this matter. This is a frightening time for all of the world's citizens, but it is also a time for God's people to rise up as a unified body against the global threat of evil and terror. I challenge you, as a child of God, to respond to this conflict as He desires: with an attitude of prayer, submission, and an unwavering dependence upon your heavenly Father.

*Transcribed from audio recording provided by In Touch ministries. Biblical citations also provided by In Touch ministries.

Charles Stanley

Charles Stanley: Satan Always Attacks the Mind.

<http://www.beliefnet.com/faiths/christianity/2004/10/charles-stanley-satan-always-attacks-the-mind.aspx>

October 8, 2004.

Dr. Charles Stanley is pastor of the 14,000-member First Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia and one of America's most popular televangelists. His sermons are broadcast on 850 channels in the U.S. and in 59 languages abroad. He spoke with Beliefnet recently about his new book, "When the Enemy Strikes."

You've written dozens of books, but few have focused on the devil or Satan specifically. Why is this subject important to you now?

Because we're living in a fearful time. Since 9/11 people have become more afraid than before, because of terrorism. There's a lot of confusion about evil, where it's all coming from. What is it? Is this something I'm just feeling inside or is there a devil, is there evil? What the book does is clarify that there is evil. There is someone behind the evil, and his motives and objectives are very clear to destroy us in many ways. Nations fight against nations, in marriages people fight against each other, children fight against each other. We are in warfare, in a national warfare, and in warfare with each other and with ourselves.

If they're confused or anxious about something, how can people know if it's the devil?

Well, there's naturally some attitudes that we would say are not from the devil. But think about this: If I'm discouraged about something, God would not get me discouraged. Disappointment is inevitable. But to become discouraged, there's a choice I make. God would never discourage me. He would always point me to himself to trust him. Therefore, my discouragement is from Satan. As you go through the emotions that we have, hostility is not from God, bitterness, unforgiveness, all of these are attacks from Satan. Satan takes a deliberate willful moment in our life to do anything and everything he can to destroy us. It's an assault upon our emotions and an assault upon our mind. He always attacks the mind. That's his battlefield.

You say that the devil can set up a series of good things in our life to lead us down the wrong path. But in the book you also say God wants us to live abundantly. How can we know what is a devil-orchestrated series of good things?

What we have to ask is, if I keep heading in this direction, where is he going to carry me? Is it going to carry me closer to God? One of Satan's most deceptive and powerful ways of defeating us is to get us to believe a lie. And the biggest lie is that there are no consequences to our own doing. Satan will give you whatever you ask for if it will lead you where he ultimately wants you.

You say that even when other humans mistreat us, it's always the devil working through them-our ultimate enemy is the devil. Does this give those people a pass on personal responsibility?

No. If I am angry at you about something, I can't excuse myself. Satan will maneuver us to wrong each other. If he can divide our relationship and separate us in some fashion-get me to feel like you did me wrong or I did you wrong, now we're at odds with each other. I can't be right with God and wrong with you. If I have an unforgiving spirit towards you, I can't be right with God. So anything [Satan] can stir up

between us is to his benefit and destroys us. It steals our joy, because you can't be bitter towards someone or unforgiving and then have inner peace. It separates us from God as well as the other person.

In the book you talk about your surgery and temporarily losing part of your sight. You talk about the understandable discouragement you felt then, and how some of that discouragement was probably the work of the devil. Have there been other low points in your life when you felt that the devil was attacking you in some way?

Oh, I've been attacked many, many times. And that attack, which has been the most recent one, I remember because I wanted to read the Bible but I couldn't. I knew it was all satanic as it could be, trying to get me discouraged, trying to get me to feel this hopeless, helpless feeling. After about three nights of that, I said, "OK, I can't do anything about this. But now I can pray." So I would start praying for my friends and people that I knew were on my prayer list. Prayer is the most powerful means of overcoming any kind of discouragement. It connects you with an omnipotent, omniscient Father who loves you unconditionally, who sees where you are and is going to help you in it.

You talked about this hopeless or helpless feeling. A lot of people in America are feeling that way about a variety of things, both personal and national. Do you see the devil bringing about this hopeless feeling?

There's no question he's behind that. Because when you feel helpless, there's fearfulness, uncertainty. The terrorism here and all the violence and the needs, that's enough to give anybody a nervous breakdown in about 30 seconds. But if our focus is on God, then I see everything from this perspective-He's my heavenly Father, I'm eternally secure in Him. I'm His child, He loves me unconditionally and whatever He allows in my life, He's going to turn it to my good every time. I've lived long enough to watch that in my own life.

You talk about creating a hedge of protection against the devil. How does this work?

Number one is that I surrender my life to Him, to the Lord Jesus, to walk in obedience to Him day by day. Secondly, I'm in His Word, talking to Him and asking Him for direction each day-that's part of that hedge. I'm filling my mind with the truth of God's Word, I'm thinking the way He thinks-that's part of that hedge. Recognizing that I can cry out to God to protect me in any given situation. That hedge of protection ultimately is my relationship to Him, and the most powerful part of that relationship is my intimate, personal, private time with Him. Spending time alone with the Lord Jesus in prayer and being quiet and talking to Him. For me, that time is primarily somewhere around 3:30 in the morning or 4 o'clock or 4:30, usually that's about the time I wake up. Everything is quiet, and that's when I sort of see how God sets the rudder for me for the day. When I think about all the things that put a hedge around me, it's all of that. Now somebody says does it mean that Satan can't get you? No. Any moment I allow his negative thinking or sinful thinking to come into my mind, then I open a door. God has a hedge around all of His children and so the only way anything can get to me is if God must open a door and let it in. If He lets it in, He's going to turn it to my good. [But] if I'm over here letting it in, then I bear the consequences. Satan always plays with the mind, so when one of his flaming missiles-as Paul says in sixth chapter of Ephesians-when he fires some temptation at me, he can hit my mind and I can say I'll just let that go, I don't have to accept that. But if I take that and listen to Satan's thoughts and various subtle lies, I set myself up. He's going to fire that one again and again until finally it becomes a stronghold, an area of weakness. I just got off of an interview and the first three men that called were all talking about the same problem.

What problem was that?

Sexual problems. And one was about alcoholism. These are strongholds that each person has allowed in their life. It all began with a thought and now they have repeated that thought. That thought becomes compulsive in their life and now they're saying, how did I do this? I'm helpless. Well, you're not helpless. We all have a mind and a will. I may have to depend upon God in ways that I've never depended upon Him before, but God will deliver anyone who truly wants to be delivered from any stronghold, any sin.

In addition to things like prayer, the support of a Christian community, and Bible study, would you approve of more secular psychotherapy for such men?

No. If it's not based on the word of God, all you have is just somebody's opinion, you have some ways or some steps, but apart from God, they're still depending upon themselves. If you leave God out of it, it's "what can I do?"

When a person gets into a habit, it takes more than just self-will to get it done. We can rely upon Him. Now I know some people who say, "So-and-so's helped me." But long-term, is there peace and contentment and security? I don't know if you're going to find that.

What do you think about Alcoholics Anonymous?

I think they do a lot of good. But you know what? They talk about God. He's right in the center of it. They've noticed the fact that they need Him.

Moving on to faith-based organizations, what do you think of Bush's faith-based plans?

We have responsibility to help people who are in need. What I think we have to ask is, are those people helping themselves? Oftentimes, we contribute to their slothfulness by doing to them what they could do for themselves. We have to be discerning to know, does this person just want to live off of this? Or is it true that they genuinely, desperately need help and it's our responsibility to help them? We have to be careful we don't just hand it out freely in the name of Jesus, to contribute to someone else's lack of discipline and slothful living when the Bible is very strong about slothfulness, that God hates that kind of thing. I believe in helping anybody and being generous toward people. But if I see somebody who doesn't care, who is not going to try, I think the people who have the resources in these faith-based initiatives, they're responsible for making wise choices.

I'm sure that you've heard that President Bush reads your work. Do you know which of your books he reads? Have you spoken to him about it?

Somebody called me and told me about it. I didn't even know it. I was at the NRB [National Religious Broadcasters' meeting] on one occasion and he had spoken. I happened to be sitting in the front row, and after he walked off the platform he shook hands with a whole bunch of folks and he got to me and looked at me and just hugged me. I thought that security is going to think I grabbed him! Anyway, he never said a word, he just hugged me tight and looked at me good and walked on. And I prayed for one of the rallies they had in Atlanta, a Republican rally. So afterwards I walked up and [Bush] started talking about the fact that he'd been reading a devotional book [of mine]. He said, "I can't quite remember the day," but there's one particular day that impressed him most of all. He says, "I'm going to let you know what that is." And about a week later I got a handwritten note telling me what day it was. And it was one of my

devotional books, "Seeking His Face."

Can you tell us which devotional means the most to him?

No. Let me just say it was one of the messages in October.

Did you pray with him?

No. I talked to him and then we spoke again. I was in a group and as he walked straight across the platform, straight to me, and thanked me for coming. And when the whole issue of the war was going on and I preached the message, "A Nation at War," we got 865,000 phone calls. The whole theme of it was why it's biblical for a nation to go to war. everybody was up saying, you shouldn't do this for this reason, God hates this. so I thought, what does the word of God say? Anyway, I got mail and letters and calls from people from the military, you name it.

Were the majority positive? Did they agree with you?

Oh, absolutely. All these people who called and wrote emails, we sent them a little brochure that had a section in it, how to pray each day for the president and the serviceman and so forth. Then there was a part you can tear off and fill out-a note to the president. I'm sure that somewhere along the way, [Bush] must have found out about that, because he got thousands and thousands of them, which I'm sure was an encouragement to him.

What's an example of one of the prayers in it?

One of them was praying for [the president] and his family, that God would protect him and give him wisdom and surround him with the kind of people that would give him wise counsel. That was one of them.

If John Kerry is elected president, what kind of prayers would you come up with for him?

I would pray for God to bring him into a closer relationship with Jesus Christ, number one. I would pray for God to surround him with wise counsel. And I would certainly pray for God to change his attitude about some things.

Which things?

About same-sex marriage, about abortion for two to start with. I personally believe that when the time comes to vote, people are going to stop and ask, what is the most important thing right now? Our safety. Who has demonstrated unquestionably-unwavering in his conviction and his commitment to protect this country? President Bush is that man.

I've heard people abroad saying they feel less safe. So you think that God wants us to watch out for our safety, primarily?

God has blessed America as no other nation on earth. He's given us an awesome sense of responsibility and when people say that the world hates us, some people do, naturally, but you know what? We're the most generous nation in the world, many of our men have lost their lives protecting other people.

So even though people hate us, the issue is why? It would be hard for someone to come up with genuine reasons why they hate Americans. On what basis?

So they wouldn't consider the war perhaps unilateral-saying it was unwarranted aggression?

Well, there are lots of folks who think we shouldn't have gone to war in Iraq and that's their conviction. No matter what we do in that part of the world, it's going to be difficult. I've been around since Roosevelt, and no president has been so hated and despised as President Bush. And neither has any president been so open about his faith.

What about Jimmy Carter?

Well, I'll include him for the simple reason that no president has been so open about his faith, and lived it out, in the big basic issues, as President Bush. He's not ashamed of that. He talks about Jesus Christ and his faith, and it's interesting that people are so totally opposed to him and talk about him wearing his religion on his sleeve. President Reagan was a Christian, and President Carter certainly claimed to be a Christian. And you never heard all that kind of just horrible statements and accusations about either one of them, though Reagan had his time. But President Bush, it's a whole different story. I think God put him there, that's my conviction. God placed him there.

God put him in the White House?

I believe he did. In spite of every opposition, God placed him there and he certainly brought a position of dignity, morality, and godliness to the White House.

Appendix B: ERLC Sources with Unstable Internet Links

Contending with the “Cults of Death”

Richard Land

<https://erlc.com/article/contending-with-the-cults-of-death>.

September 19, 2007

It is now clear that a “death cult” has taken root within Islam. These fanatical enemies of freedom will as soon rain death and mayhem upon a schoolyard of innocent children (Muslim as well as non-Muslim) as they will attack a military vehicle.

Yet while we denounce these zealots who seek to destroy in the name of religion, we should also acknowledge that a “death cult” has arisen in our own society as well. Many in this group worship at the altar of secularism. They have devalued life, and their handiwork is memorialized in the ignominious *Roe v. Wade* decision as well as in those state statutes that allow for euthanasia and lethal experimentation on embryonic stem cells.

In his 1995 encyclical *Evangelium Vitae* (The Gospel of Life), Pope John Paul II noted as the twentieth century came to a close that a full-blown “Culture of Death” had established itself within Western civilization.

Clear marks of this “culture of death” are seen in a hideous September 12 decision by the New Jersey Supreme Court. It held that a physician has “no legal duty” to inform a pregnant woman consenting to an abortion that what is within her womb is a “complete, separate, unique and irreplaceable human being.” The case primarily focused on the “theory of lack of informed consent.”

The New Jersey justices affirmed a lower court ruling that a woman who consented to an abortion of her six- to eight-week-old unborn child but claimed she did not understand it was a child she was aborting was not entitled to the disclosure that she was carrying a child, nor was she entitled to damages for emotional distress or wrongful death. This is in spite of the medical fact that a baby’s heart begins to beat 24 days after conception and a baby has measurable brain waves at 42 days gestation.

“On the profound issue of when a life begins, this Court cannot drive public policy in one particular direction by the engine of common law when the opposing sides, which represent so many of our citizens, are arrayed along a deep societal and philosophical divide,” said the court in *Rosa Acuna v. Sheldon C. Turkish*.

The court had previously interpreted the state’s Wrongful Death Act as not including a “fetus within the definition of a ‘person’ covered by the Act.”

The plaintiff, Rosa Acuna, said when her physician, Sheldon Turkish, told her she was pregnant, she asked “if it was a baby in there.” Acuna claims Turkish responded, “Don’t be stupid. It’s

only blood.” Turkish denies making that statement, but speculates he might have told her that a “seven-week pregnancy is not a living human being” but rather “just tissue at this time.”

Some weeks after her abortion, Acuna experienced unexpected complications. She was admitted to a local hospital where she was told she had had an “incomplete abortion” and that “the doctor had left parts of the baby inside” of her. At that point Acuna was horrified to realize her earlier decision to terminate her pregnancy meant not simply the removal of “blood” but the destruction of a real human being.

While expressing sympathy for the “deep pain” the plaintiff was enduring because of the abortion, the justices said informed consent extends only to doctors providing “their pregnant patients seeking an abortion only with material medical information, including gestational state and medical risks involved in the procedure.”

In essence the court held that while a physician has an obligation to inform a patient about the known (agreed-upon) risks from a particular medical procedure or drug regimen, that same doctor has no obligation to tell a person considering abortion that the “thing” that is to be aborted is a preborn human being, in this case a baby with a beating heart and a functioning brain. The court’s reasoning in this assertion is that there is a lack of agreement over the nature of the pregnancy itself within society.

In applauding the ruling the ACLU said the case was an “underhanded attempt to turn doctors into ideological mouthpieces and subject women to non-medical moral judgments.”

Why are pro-abortion groups afraid to let an unsuspecting woman know that the “thing” growing within her is a human life? Even with that information, under current law the woman would still have the “right” (wrong though it may be) to have that life flushed out of her system.

Planned Parenthood, the ACLU, and other members of this cult of death don’t want women to know this is a human life we are talking about. It is not only a truth revealed in Scripture (Psalm 139; Jeremiah 1:5); it is a fact agreed upon by most in the medical community.

It is a fact that the plaintiff in this case consented in writing to this procedure. (Although it is her contention that she did not fully comprehend its ramifications.) It is difficult to fathom that any woman would not understand that what was growing within her is a child —particularly if this was the woman’s third child (as it was for Acuna).

Nonetheless, we cannot make such assumptions about the population.

That is why the paper cup you are handed at your local coffee shop has a warning imprinted upon it to tell you that the coffee in the cup is hot and may burn you if you pour it on yourself.

And it is why there is a label on hair dryers that warns that you if you want to dry your hair immediately after washing it you should step out of the shower spray before you take hold of the dryer.

This case rises to a much higher level because a human life faced immediate and deadly risk.

The ACLU said the court's decision is a message that citizens of New Jersey will not "tolerate backdoor efforts to curtail reproductive rights or free speech."

It is easy to perch haughtily on the right to freedom of speech embedded in our Constitution's First Amendment, but is there not at least a moral obligation for that speech to be truthful and complete?

Should a patient not expect her physician to tell her everything about a pending medical procedure? The law, in fact, requires as much. Yet the law in New Jersey does not recognize the unborn child—the target of the abortion—as a patient (or a victim). So the doctor has no obligation to inform the baby's legal guardian of the risks of the procedure.

While those who value human life—born and preborn—may be disgusted by the New Jersey Supreme Court's ruling, we should be more disgusted with a society that contends that an unborn human baby is just a mass of tissue until some subjective, magical time in-utero when the tissue is transformed into a human being.

We had a similar issue earlier in our nation's history when we regarded the color of a person's skin as a determinant of their value as a human being. African-Americans had been regarded "as beings of an inferior order" by U.S. Supreme Court justices writing in the Dred Scott decision.

We should be motivated by this decision (as well as many other similar decisions before it) to assist our citizenry in understanding when life begins and that, especially at two months of pregnancy, this baby is not simply a cluster of random cells. The baby not only had a heartbeat when the doctor performed the "incomplete abortion"—the baby had measurable brain waves, the legal definition of human life in most states.

We should also encourage Christian young people to pray about whether God might call them to ministries in medicine and the life sciences, so as to "season" the medical community with Truth.

We should ensure there is an amply funded pregnancy care center in every city and town across our nation and that every center has ultrasound equipment that allows women in crisis pregnancies to marvel at the life that God is growing within them. Women who see a sonogram of their unborn babies are five times less likely to snuff out their babies' lives.

Finally, we should, with all the earnestness and seriousness the Spirit will provide us, be "salt" and "light" in our families, churches, communities, and nation. It is not an option; the Gospel demands it, lives depend on it, and the survival of our civilization hangs in the balance.

The death cults abroad and at home must be confronted.