

STATE OF

*Presidential
Credibility*

Center for American Progress Action Fund



STATE OF PRESIDENTIAL CREDIBILITY

*A Review of Distortions and Misrepresentations By President George W. Bush
In Previous State of the Union Addresses*

HEALTH CARE

Prescription Drugs

“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.” [2003]

“By strengthening Medicare and adding a prescription drug benefit, you kept a basic commitment to our seniors: You are giving them the modern medicine they deserve.” [2004]



Administrative Glitches Have Plagued the New Medicare Drug Program: Even if a patient has enrolled in a plan that covers their drugs, delays and mistakes have kept some from receiving their prescriptions. “Problems include patients turned away because computers don’t show they are covered, confusion when a patient’s drug isn’t covered by an insurer’s plan, and the erroneous overcharging of low-income patients who qualify for program subsidies.” [USA Today, [1/17/06](#)]

Seniors Find the Program Confusing: Now that open enrollment for the program has been going on for nearly two months, seniors have come to their own determinations and believe the program is anything but “simple.” By an overwhelming 73 percent to 15 percent, seniors say the new drug benefit is “too complicated and confusing.” In a survey conducted in late October by the Kaiser Family Foundation, only 35 percent of people 65 and older said they understood the new drug benefit. [NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll, [December 2005](#); New York Times, [1/1/06](#)]

Members of Both Political Parties Have Criticized the Program’s Implementation: “The new federal program is too complicated for many people to understand, and the implementation of the new program by the federal government has been awful,” Gov. Tim Pawlenty (R-MN) said. Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-NY) described the administration’s efforts as “slow, inept and dangerous.” “Right now, the new Medicare Part D prescription drug program is not working as intended,” added Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger (R-CA). [New York Times, [1/16/06](#); Associated Press, [1/16/06](#); Washington Post, [1/18/06](#)]

Costs/Access

“Members of Congress, we must work together to help control those costs and extend the benefits of modern medicine throughout our country.” [2004]

Health Care Costs Continue to Sky Rocket: “The premium growth rate this year [2005] – 9.2 percent – outpaced by miles both the growth in wages (2.7 percent) and inflation (3.5 percent), according to a Kaiser Family Foundation survey released Wednesday. For people whose premiums are deducted from their paychecks, that means less take home each week. The survey, which focused on employer-sponsored health insurance plans, noted that since 2000 premiums for family coverage have gone up 73 percent. During the same

<p>“By keeping costs under control, expanding access, and helping more Americans afford coverage, we will preserve the system of private medicine that makes America’s health care the best in the world.” [2004]</p>	<p>period, wages rose just 15 percent.” [CNN, 9/14/05]</p> <p>Health Care Costs Consume Highest Percentage of Economic Output: “Rising health care costs, already threatening many basic industries, now consume 16 percent of the nation's economic output -- the highest proportion ever.” [Washington Post, 1/10/06]</p> <p>Family Health Care Premiums Rose By Double-Digits: Health care premiums have jumped by double-digits four years in a row, to \$9,950 per family annually in 2004. [Kaiser Family Foundation]</p> <p>46 Million Uninsured Americans: “The number of Americans without health insurance rose by 800,000 last year, reaching a record high of nearly 46 million, the U.S. Census Bureau reported Tuesday.” [CBS News, 8/30/05]</p>
---	---

ECONOMY

ECONOMY	
<i>Deficits</i>	
<p>“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.” [2002]</p>	<p>Bush’s Presidency Has Been Marked By Sustained, Record Deficits: “Like a person packing on pounds, the United States keeps adding to its flabby budget deficits, endangering the nation’s economic health and the pocketbooks of ordinary Americans. The government’s budget deficit last year (2005) was \$319 billion. While smaller than the record \$413 billion in 2004, it still was the third-highest ever.” [AP, 1/15/06]</p> <p>White House Estimate Budget Deficit to Be Above \$400 Billion: The White House told reporters “the federal budget deficit is expected to balloon back above \$400 billion for the fiscal year that ends in September, reversing the improvements of 2005.” The new deficit projections are “complicating President Bush's vow to cut the deficit in half by 2009.” [Washington Post, 1/13/06; New York Times, 1/13/06]</p>
<p>“We will not deny, we will not ignore, we will not pass along our problems to other Congresses, to other presidents, and other generations.” [2003]</p>	<p>Budget Deficits Would Expand If Bush Tax Cuts Made Permanent: “The Administration’s policies would expand the deficit over the next five years, mostly because the budget cuts that the Administration has proposed in domestic programs are more than outweighed by its proposed tax cuts and increases in defense and homeland security spending.” [Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 1/6/06]</p>
<p>“I will send you a budget that funds the war, protects the homeland, and meets important domestic needs, while limiting the growth in discretionary spending to less than 4 percent. This will require that Congress focus on priorities, cut</p>	<p>Bush Budgets Only Meet Projections By Omitting Key Factors: According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the White House’s budget numbers are “true only if one does not count future costs that are very likely to be incurred, such as additional funding for Iraq, Afghanistan, and relief from the Alternative Minimum Tax.” [Center on Budget and</p>

<p>wasteful spending, and be wise with the people’s money. By doing so, we can cut the deficit in half over the next five years.” [2004]</p>	<p>Policy Priorities, 1/6/06]</p>
--	---

Tax

“The tax relief is for everyone who pays income taxes.” [2003]

“Year after year, Americans are burdened by an archaic, incoherent federal tax code. I’ve appointed a bipartisan panel to examine the tax code from top to bottom. And when their recommendations are delivered, you and I will work together to give this nation a tax code that is pro-growth, easy to understand, and fair to all.” [2005]



Bush Appointed Tax Reform Panel To “Get Something Done”; Panel Recommended Scaling Back Popular Tax Breaks: Bush signed an Executive Order establishing the President’s Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform. Bush said, it is “my desire to get something done.” The tax reform panel’s final report included a laundry-list of reforms, including narrowing “two of the nation’s most popular tax breaks — for home mortgage interest and employer-paid health insurance.” “The deduction on home mortgage interest, a sacred cow cherished by millions of homeowners, may become far less generous,” the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported. [White House Personnel Announcement, [1/7/05](#); Bush, [1/7/05](#); USA Today, [10/11/05](#); Seattle Post-Intelligencer, [10/14/05](#)]

Bush Dropped Tax Reform Issue: “President George W. Bush will delay a major push for revamping the tax code because administration officials concluded the changes are too tough to sell to the public and lawmakers, two people familiar with the matter said. Bush instead will spend next year attempting to lay the political groundwork for fundamental changes in 2007 or 2008, the people said, and leave to Congress the task of tackling incremental tax code simplification in 2006, an election year.” [Bloomberg, [12/5/05](#)]

Unemployment

“Our first goal is clear: We must have an economy that grows fast enough to employ every man and woman who seeks a job.” [2003]

Job Creation During Bush Administration’s Lowest Since World War II: The current business cycle has had the lowest average job creation since World War II. From March 2001 through December 2005, monthly employment growth average 0.03 percent – about one seventh of the average from 1945 to 2001. [Calculations Based on National Income and Product Accounts, Table 1.1.6 Real Gross Domestic Product, Chained Dollars, Washington, D.C. [Bureau of Economic Analysis](#)]

	<p>Total Increase In Weekly Wages Have Been 0.2 Percent: After adjusting for inflation, hourly and weekly earnings in December 2005 were barely higher than those in March 2001. The total increase in hourly earnings was 1.2% and the total gain in weekly earnings was 0.2%. [Calculations Based on Bureau of Labor Statistics]</p>
<p>“Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage.” [2002]</p>	<p>Middle Class Families Lost Benefits: The share of workers with a pension declined from 50.3 percent in 2000 to 46.3 percent in 2004. The share of people without health insurance rose from 14.2 percent in 2000 to 15.7 percent in 2004. [Congressional Research Service, 9/2005; U.S. Census Bureau, 8/2005]</p>
<p>Poverty</p>	
<p>“By all these actions, we’ll help more and more Americans to join in the growing prosperity of our country.” [2004]</p>	<p>Poverty Rate Has Risen Each Year Since the End of the Recession: Poverty has risen from 11.7% in 2001 to 12.7% last year as 4 million people fell into poverty. [Census, Aug. 2005, Table B-1]</p> <p>African American Poverty Has Jumped: African American poverty has risen from 22.7% in 2001 to 24.7% in 2004 as nearly 1 million (864,000) African Americans have fallen under the poverty line. [Census, Aug. 2005, Table B-1]</p> <p>Child Poverty Rate On the Rise: Child poverty has risen from 16.3% in 2001 to 17.8% in 2004. As 1.3 million children under 18 have fallen into poverty. [Census, Aug. 2005, Table B-2]</p>
<p>Social Security</p>	
<p>“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.” [2002]</p> <p>“The goal here is greater security in retirement, so we will set careful guidelines for personal accounts.” [2005]</p>	<p>Public Skeptical of Social Security Private Accounts: “[Bush’s] proposal to add private accounts in a major remake of Social Security, intended to be his focus in 2005, was shelved after an aggressive sales campaign yielded little support, even among Republicans.” [Associated Press, 1/18/06]</p> <p>Bush Forced to Admit Defeat on Social Security: Bush said “his plan to restructure Social Security, once his top second-term domestic priority, is moribund because he has been unable to build public support for it.” In a press conference, Bush said, “There seems to be a diminished appetite in the short term” for dealing with Social Security. [LA Times, 10/5/05]</p>

Education	
<p>“We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood development programs.” [2002]</p>	<p>President Bush Proposed Drastic Cuts To Head Start: “Bush’s FY 2006 budget provided no new money for Head Start. This freeze means that 25,000 children will be cut from the program next year and programs will have to trim back critical services. The Budget again proposes a radical state block grant program that will begin to dismantle Head Start and gives Governors \$45 million for unproven experiments with no accountability.” [Minority Staff, Committee on Education and the Workforce]</p>
<p>“And we’ll make it easier for Americans to afford a college education, by increasing the size of Pell Grants.” [2005]</p>	<p>Pell Grant Funding Has Decreased Under President Bush: In his 2000 election campaign, President Bush promised to increase the maximum Pell Grant amount to \$5,100. But instead, he has frozen or cut Pell Grants since 2002. “From 2004 to 2005, 24,000 students lost their Pell grants, according to a report pre-pared by the Congressional Research Service. This was the first drop in the number of students receiving the grants in several years; the number had been growing steadily since 1999.” [St. Petersburg Times, 12/24/04; Brownsville Herald, 1/9/06]</p> <p>Federal Government Cuts Student Loans By \$12.7 Billion: Congress passed \$12.7 billion in cuts to student loans, signaling “the largest single cut in dollar terms” to the student-aid program. Vice President Cheney passed the tie-breaking vote in favor of the package and President Bush is expected to sign the bill. [Wall Street Journal, 12/22/05]</p>
SECURITY	
War on Terror	
<p>“First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice.” [2002]</p> <p>“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.” [2003]</p>	<p>Bin Laden Still Alive More Than Four Years After 9/11: President Bush claimed shortly after 9/11, “I want justice. There’s an old poster out west, as I recall, that said, ‘Wanted: Dead or Alive.’” Bush missed an opportunity to capture bin Laden in the Tora Bora mountain region of Afghanistan in December 2001. Since that time, bin Laden has continued to release video and audiotapes warning of attacks against America. Bin Laden’s deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, also has not been killed or captured, nor has Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader who once ruled Afghanistan. [Bush, 9/17/01; Financial Times, 1/4/06; Christian Science Monitor, 10/10/01]</p> <p>Bin Laden Forming Training Camps In Iraq: “Taliban leaders tell Newsweek that the Afghan conflict is entering a new phase, with help from Iraq. According to them, Osama bin Laden has opened an underground railroad to and from jihadist training camps in the Sunni Triangle. Self-described graduates of the program say they’ve come home to</p>



Afghanistan with more-effective killing techniques and renewed enthusiasm for the war against the West.” [Newsweek, [9/26/05](#)]

Al Qaeda Has Expanded Globally: “No longer able to enjoy a centralized sanctuary in Afghanistan after 2002, Al Qaeda’s leadership opted for an elastic defense strategy relying on mobile forces, scaled-up international operations, and expanded global tactical relationships. It encouraged the proliferation of mini Al Qaedas, able to act on their own within a regional context.” [Boston Globe, Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, [9/14/05](#)]

Terrorism Spike In 2005: Terrorism hit record levels in 2005, according to data from the Department of Homeland Security-funded Terrorism Knowledge Base. The sum of “international” and “domestic” terrorist attacks in 2005 was 3991, up 51% from the previous year’s figure of 2639. The number of deaths that resulted from those attacks was 6872, which is 36% higher than the 5066 that occurred in 2004. [tkb.org]

“Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries.” [2002]


Al Qaeda Resurging In Afghanistan: “Osama bin Laden’s al-Qaida network has increased its activities in Afghanistan , smuggling in explosives, high-tech weapons and millions of dollars in cash for a resurgent terror campaign, the [Afghanistan] defense minister said.” [AP, [11/16/05](#)]

Suicide Bombings Emerge In Afghanistan: “The new Taliban are deploying tactics that have torn Iraq to shreds and Afghanistan is seeing a surge in the previously unknown practice of suicide bombings - 25 in four months. This is seen as the re-introduction of al-Qa’ida into Afghanistan - a devastating example of how over-extending the ‘War on Terror’ into Iraq is rebounding on the West with vengeance.” [Independent, [1/17/06](#)]

Iraq New Breeding Ground For Terrorists: “Iraq has replaced Afghanistan as the training ground for the next generation of ‘professionalized’ terrorists, according to a report released yesterday by the National Intelligence Council, the CIA director’s think tank.” [Washington Post, [1/14/05](#)]

“So America is pursuing a forward strategy of freedom in the greater Middle East. We will challenge the enemies of reform, confront the allies of terror, and expect a higher standard from our friend.” [2004]

Defense Intelligence Head Said U.S. Policies Fueling Middle East Resentment: “Our policies in the Middle East fuel Islamic resentment,” Vice Adm. Lowell E. Jacoby, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, said. “Overwhelming majorities in Morocco, Jordan and Saudi Arabia believe the U.S. has a negative policy toward the Arab world.” [Washington Post, [2/17/05](#)]

	<p>Bush Failing To Win Hearts and Minds In the Middle East: “It’s worse than failing. Failing means you tried and didn’t get better. But at this point, three years after September 11, you can say there wasn’t even much of an attempt, and today Arab and Muslim attitudes toward the U.S. and the degree of distrust in the U.S. are far worse than they were three years ago. Bin Laden is winning by default,” said Shibley Telhami, a member of a White House-appointed advisory group on public diplomacy and Brookings Institution scholar. [Washington Post, 8/20/04]</p>
<p>Iraq</p>	
<p>“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.” [2003]</p>	<p>Duelfer Report: Saddam Was Not Planning to Restart Nuclear Program: “Saddam Husayn ended the nuclear program in 1991 following the Gulf war. ISG found no evidence to suggest concerted efforts to restart the program. Although Saddam clearly assigned a high value to the nuclear progress and talent that had been developed up to the 1991 war, the program ended and the intellectual capital decayed in the succeeding years.” [Duelfer Report, Key Findings]</p>
<p>“Our intelligence officials estimate that Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard and VX nerve agent.” [2003]</p>	<p>David Kay Said No WMD Stockpiles In Iraq: Weapons Inspector David Kay told the US Senate that “... it is highly unlikely that there were large stockpiles of deployed militarized chemical and biological weapons there... I think there were no large stockpiles of WMD.” [Kay Testimony, 1/28/04]</p>
<p>“From three Iraqi defectors we know that Iraq, in the late 1990s, had several mobile biological weapons labs.” [2003]</p> 	<p>Intelligence Community Disproved Defectors’ Claims: The Los Angeles Times reported that at least three Iraqi defectors such as those cited by Bush were suspected as frauds by both the CIA and State Department. “One, an Iraqi engineer, told the [Defense Intelligence Agency] in 2001 that he knew the location of biological weapons. However, no bioweapons have been found at the sites he named. A second defector...described what he said were mobile labs that could produce several hundred tons of biowarfare agents per year. U.S. intelligence authorities dismissed the third defector, who claimed to be an expert in nuclear isotope separation, as a fraud.” [Los Angeles Times, 8/28/03]</p>
<p>“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</p>	<p>Bush Was Warned Not To Cite Uranium Evidence: The White House was warned on three separate occasions by the CIA not to include the specific claim that Iraq was acquiring uranium from Africa. The CIA specifically argued that the British intelligence had exaggerated the evidence. Moreover, the State Department’s INR reported in the October 2002 NIE</p>

<p>nuclear weapons production.” [2003]</p>	<p>that the uranium claim was “highly dubious.” Lastly, the CIA had communicated significant doubts about the forged documents suggesting a sale of uranium from Niger to Iraq. [Hadley Press Briefing, 7/22/03; Guardian, 7/10/04; Key Judgments from October 2002 NIE; Washington Post, 3/22/03]</p>
<p>“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.” [2003]</p>	<p>Bush Administration Was Warned That Iraq Had No WMD: The AP reported that before the war, “Some 30 family members of Iraqis made trips to their native country to contact Iraqi weapons scientists, and all of them reported that the programs had been abandoned.” And according to an unclassified CIA report sent to Congress in February 2001, Iraq was not reconstituting its WMD programs. The report explicitly said, “We do not have any direct evidence that Iraq has used the period since Desert Fox to reconstitute its WMD programs...” In September 2002, the Defense Intelligence Agency issued a classified assessment of Iraq’s chemical weapons. It concluded: “There is no reliable information on whether Iraq is producing and stockpiling chemical weapons...” [AP, 1/2/06; DIA Report; American Progress]</p>
<p>“Having broken the Baathist regime, we face a remnant of violent Saddam supporters. Men who ran away from our troops in battle are now dispersed and attack from the shadows. These killers, joined by foreign terrorists, are a serious, continuing danger. Yet we’re making progress against them.” [2004]</p>	<p>Bush Administration Agency Laid Out Pessimistic View of Iraq: The U.S. Agency for International Development recently released an official assessment depicting the situation in Iraq as “dire,” amounting to a “social breakdown” in which criminals have “almost free rein.” The report said, “In the social breakdown that has accompanied the defeat of Saddam Hussein’s regime criminal elements within Iraqi society have had almost free rein. In the absence of an effective police force capable of ensuring public safety, criminal elements flourish ... Baghdad is reportedly divided into zones controlled by organized criminal groups-clans.” [Guardian, 1/18/06]</p>
<p>“Month by month, Iraqis are assuming more responsibility for their own security and their own future.” [2004]</p> <p>“At the recommendation of our commanders on the ground, and in consultation with the Iraqi government, we will increasingly focus our efforts on helping prepare more capable Iraqi security forces -- forces with skilled officers and an effective command structure. As those forces become more self-reliant and take on greater security responsibilities, America and its coalition partners will increasingly be in a supporting role.” [2005]</p>	<p>Iraqi Army Engaged In Sectarian Conflict: “Instead of rising above the ethnic tension that’s tearing their nation apart, the mostly Shiite troops are preparing for, if not already fighting, a civil war against the minority Sunni population.” [Knight-Ridder, 10/12/05]</p> <p>Iraqi Army Facing Equipment Problems: “Even as American forces are relying more on Iraqis to fight the insurgency, the Iraqi Army is facing some of the same procurement problems that American troops have experienced in getting adequate armor and other equipment.” [New York Times, 10/30/05]</p> <p>U.S. Forces Hesitant To Provide Advanced Weaponry To Iraqi Army: “Even though President George W. Bush keeps saying U.S. forces will not leave Iraq until its forces can fight on their own, the United States is not rushing to give the Iraqi military heavy weapons... Simply put, Iraq remains too fragile</p>

for any planner to know what shape the country will be in six months or a year from now - whether it will reach compromises and hold together or split apart in a civil war... In private, some officers acknowledge other concerns, too. 'We're worried about civil war or a coup,' said a senior U.S. officer in Baghdad charged with outfitting Iraq's new army." [New York Times, [8/29/05](#)]

Military

"Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training -- and they also deserve another pay raise. ... Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay." [2002]

"[M]y administration, and this Congress, will give you the resources you need to fight and win the war on terror." [2004]

"During this time of war, we must continue to support our military and give them the tools for victory." [2005]



Failure To Provide Body Armor Hast Cost Lives: The New York Times reported that a "secret Pentagon study has found that as many as 80 percent of the marines who have been killed in Iraq from wounds to the upper body could have survived if they had had extra body armor." Body armor "has been available since 2003, but until recently the Pentagon has largely declined to supply it to troops despite calls from the field." [New York Times, [1/7/06](#)]

Marine Corps Units Lacking Equipment: "Marine Corps units fighting in some of the most dangerous terrain in Iraq don't have enough weapons, communications gear, or properly outfitted vehicles, according to an investigation by the Marine Corps' inspector general provided to Congress yesterday." [Boston Globe, [6/21/05](#)]

Army Not Fully-Equipped With Bullet-Proof Vests Until 14 Months After The Iraq Invasion: Associated Press, 6/8/04: "The Army's top supply commander said Monday that all American troops in Iraq are now equipped with bullet-resistant vests, after a shortage that led many soldiers to pay for costly body armor themselves." [AP, [6/8/04](#)]

Pentagon Won't Reimburse Troops Forced To Purchase Their Own Body Armor: "Nearly a year after Congress demanded action, the Pentagon still hasn't figured out a way to reimburse U.S. troops for body armor and equipment they purchased to better protect themselves while serving in Iraq... Under the law Congress passed in October [2004], the Defense Department had until Feb. 25 [2005] to develop regulations for the reimbursement, which is limited to \$1,100 per item. Pentagon officials called it "an unmanageable precedent that will saddle the DOD with an open-ended financial burden." [AP, [9/30/05](#)]

Troops Dig Through Scrap Heaps To Uparmor Vehicles: "One soldier, identified by The Associated Press as Army Spc. Thomas Wilson of the 278th Regimental Combat Team, a Tennessee National Guard outfit, asked Rumsfeld why more military combat vehicles were not reinforced for battle conditions. 'Why do we soldiers have to dig through local

	<p>landfills for pieces of scrap metal and compromised ballistic glass to uparmor our vehicles?’ Wilson asked. The question prompted cheers from some of the approximately 2,300 troops assembled in the large hangar to hear Rumsfeld deliver a pep talk at what the Pentagon called a town hall meeting.” [CNN, 12/9/04]</p>
<p><i>Proliferation</i></p>	
<p>“And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world.” [2002]</p> <p>“Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction.” [2002]</p> <p>“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.” [2002]</p> <p>“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.” [2002]</p> <p>“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.” [2003]</p>	<p>Bush Administration Has Not Made Increased Commitment to Secure Loose Nuclear Material: In the 2004 presidential debate, Bush said unsecured nuclear material was the most dangerous threat facing the nation. “So far, however, that rhetoric has not been followed with action. Although the 2005 Department of Defense budget included \$2.5 billion for the Nunn-Lugar initiative, the goal of finally securing all materials at risk in the distant future is unchanged from the one set nearly 15 years ago. The world has changed since 1991. The risk presented by this unsecured weapons material has increased as have the obstacles to successfully securing it. We cannot afford business as usual.” [Asheville Citizen-Times, Tom Coulson, 1/19/06]</p> <p>North Korea Nuclear Threat Has Grown Exponentially During Bush’s Term In Office: “North Korea has said it plans to finish building a 50-megawatt nuclear reactor in as little as two years, allowing it to produce enough weapons-grade plutonium for 10 weapons annually. ... Before North Korea restarted its reactor in 2003, the United States believed North Korea possessed enough plutonium for only one or two weapons.” [Washington Post, 11/9/05]</p> <p>Spending To Secure Nuclear Materials Down Under Bush Administration: A Harvard University study found that “the [Bush] administration on average has requested less money to control nuclear materials and technology than was sought in the final Clinton administration budget, adjusted for inflation.” [Washington Post, 5/24/04]</p> <p>Less Fissile Material Secured After 9/11 Than Before: A Harvard University study found that “less fissile material was secured in the two years after September 11, 2001, than in the two years just before.” In many cases, the administration is allowing bureaucratic problems to slow progress. [WP, 5/24/04]</p> <p>Bush Administration Has Failed To Safeguard the Nation Against Weapons Of Mass Destruction: The 9/11 commission’s December 2005 report concluded that the White House’s “current efforts fall far short of what we need to do. The President should request the personnel and resources, and provide the domestic and international leadership, to secure all weapons grade nuclear material as soon as possible. There is</p>

	<p>simply no higher priority on the national security agenda.” There are also “100 nuclear-research facilities worldwide that contain highly enriched uranium that could be used to make a bomb—yet many of these sites still lack basic security.” [Washington Post, 9/30/04; 9/11 Public Discourse Project, 12/5/05; Newsweek, 12/12/05]</p>
<p>“We’re strongly supporting the International Atomic Energy Agency in its mission to track and control nuclear materials around the world.” [2003]</p>	<p>Bush Administration Tried To Undermine IAEA Chief: The Bush administration led a campaign to try to oust Mohamed El Baradei from his position as head of IAEA; they also tapped his phones. El Baradei assessed prior to the Iraq war that Iraq did not have uranium or aluminum tubes to create a nuclear weapon. He was right; the Bush administration was wrong. [AP, 2/14/03; WP, 12/12/04, 6/20/05]</p>
<p>Homeland Security</p>	
<p>“We’ll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters.” [2002]</p>	<p>Funding To Train And Equip First Responders Has Fallen Short: While President Bush in 2002 asked for \$3.5 billion for first responders, only \$1.3 billion was provided to local governments to combat terrorism. The administration also rejected House Appropriations Committee Chairman Bill Young’s (R-FL) request to “allow appropriators to spend more on homeland security in the fiscal year 2003 budget.” [Century Foundation, 4/24/03]</p>
<p>“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.” [2002]</p>	<p>Administration Has Made ‘Minimal Progress’ On Information Sharing: The 9/11 Public Discourse Project issued a Dec. 2005 report that stated, “We need improved information sharing not only within the federal government, but especially with state and local authorities. Disasters, whether natural or man-made, happen in localities. They happen in states. Their officials need the best information the federal government can provide. Right now, they are not getting it.” [9/11 Public Discourse Project]</p> <p>Border Patrols Have Increased, But So Have Illegal Border Crossings: Under the Bush administration, illegal border crossings have soared to an all-time high, even though Border Patrol agents now spend eight times as many hours patrolling the border. [Stanford Law & Policy Review, 11/2004]</p>
<p>“But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance.” [2002]</p>	<p>President Bush Reserved The Right To Bypass Human Dignity And The Rule Of Law: When President Bush signed McCain’s anti-torture amendment in late Dec. 2005, he “quietly reserved the right to bypass the law under his powers as commander in chief” by issuing a signing statement. A senior administration official said the “president intended to reserve the right to use harsher methods in special situations involving national security.” [Boston Globe, 1/4/06]</p> <p>Vice President Cheney Openly Advocated Torture: Cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of prisoners is banned by international treaty. But Vice President Cheney has proposed</p>



“that Congress legally authorize human rights abuses by Americans. ... [and he has] been a prime mover behind the Bush administration’s decision to violate the Geneva Conventions and the U.N. Convention Against Torture and to break with decades of past practice by the U.S. military.” [Washington Post, [10/26/05](#)]

Bush Administration Has Sought Expansions, Not Limitations, On The Power Of The State: President Bush personally authorized a secret warrantless domestic surveillance program more than three dozen times since October 2001. Bush’s actions run contrary to the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which forbids “unreasonable searches” and sets out specific requirements for warrants, including “probable cause.” The nonpartisan Congressional Research Service rejected the Bush administration’s justifications for its grab at federal power. [Presidential Radio Address, [12/5/05](#); AP, [12/16/05](#); [Fourth Amendment](#); New York Times, [1/7/06](#)]

“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...” [2003]



9/11 Commission Gives Administration’s Airline Passenger Screening Efforts an ‘F’: The members of the former 9/11 Commission gave the administration an “F” for poor airline passenger pre-screening. “It is scandalous that airline passengers are still not screened against all names on a terrorist watch list,” said Thomas H. Kean. [CNN, [12/5/05](#)]

Administration Failing To Make Progress: James Thompson, 9-11 Commission member: “The results were dismal: five F’s, 12 D’s, nine C’s and only one A (an A-minus). Progress in many important areas has been slow or non-existent. While the terrorists have been learning and adapting, we have been moving at a bureaucratic crawl.” [Chicago Tribune, [12/16/05](#)]

“Inside the United States, where the war began, we must continue to give our homeland security and law enforcement personnel every tool they need to defend us.” [2004]

Homeland Security Personnel Still Lack Essential Tools: The administration still has “no system in place that allows emergency response personnel to communicate reliably and effectively in a crisis.” “From the standpoint of responding to a disaster, the key responders must be able to talk with one another,” said former Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN). “They could not do it on 9/11, and as a result of that, lives were lost. They could not do it at Katrina. They still cannot do it.” “Four years after 9/11 it is scandalous that police and firefighters in large cities still cannot communicate reliably in a major crisis,” said Thomas H. Kean. [American Progress, [9/9/05](#); Meet the Press, [12/4/05](#); CNN, [12/5/05](#)]

“In the three and a half years since
www.thinkprogress.org/sotu

White House Has Ignored the 9/11 Commission’s

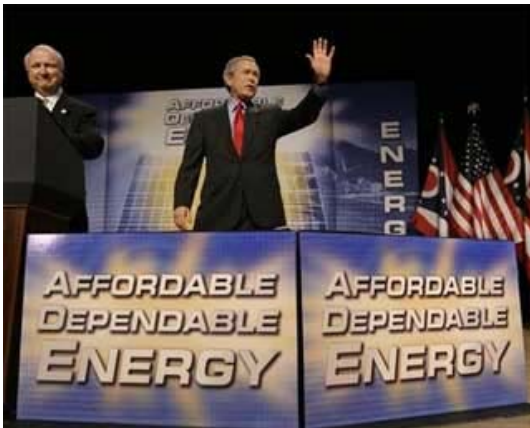
September the 11th, 2001, we have taken unprecedented actions to protect Americans. We've created a new department of government to defend our homeland, focused the FBI on preventing terrorism, begun to reform our intelligence agencies, broken up terror cells across the country, expanded research on defenses against biological and chemical attack, improved border security, and trained more than a half-million first responders. Police and firefighters, air marshals, researchers, and so many others are working every day to make our homeland safer, and we thank them all." [2005]

Recommendations For Securing The Nation: The 9/11 Public Discourse Project challenged the White House's assertion that it has carried out the "vast majority" of the commission's recommendations. Thomas H. Kean said that homeland security is "not a priority for the government right now. You don't see the Congress or the president talking about the public safety is number one, as we think it should be, and a lot of the things we need to do really to prevent another 9/11 just simply aren't being done by the president or by the Congress." [9/11 Public Discourse Project; Newsweek, 12/12/05; Meet the Press, 12/4/05]

FBI Reform Has Lagged: 9/11 Public Discourse Project: "There are still significant deficiencies in the FBI's analytic capabilities and in information sharing with other agencies and with local law enforcement. There is still too much turnover in management. There are shortfalls in human capital – in recruiting, hiring, training, and career development. The Bureau still struggles to make the intelligence mission the dominant mission of the agency." [9/11 Public Discourse Project]

ENERGY

"Our third goal is to promote energy independence for our country, while dramatically improving the environment." [2003]



U.S. More Reliant On Foreign Oil: American dependence on foreign oil has increased from 53 percent in 2000 to 66 percent today. [U.S. Department of Energy, [Net Imports](#)]

Department of Energy Said Bush Plan Would Have "Negligible" Impact: "The Bush Department of Energy says the proposal would have a 'negligible' impact to lower gasoline prices, save consumers money or cut our dangerous oil dependence." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 5/7/05; EIA, "Summary Impacts of Modeled Provisions of the 2003 Conference Energy Bill," 2/04]

Energy Bill Will Not Reduce Our Dependence on Foreign Oil: The energy bill failed to take any steps that will substantively reduce America's dependence on foreign oil. Specifically, the final version "rejected a Senate provision that required reduction of oil consumption by one million barrels per day by 2015." Under the bill "our need for imported oil will continue to grow for as long as models are able to project." [House Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff, Report on Energy Bill, [July 2005](#)]

Energy Bill Contained Little on Renewable Energy: The final legislation dropped a provision that would have required utilities "to generate at least 10 percent of their electricity through renewable fuels by 2020." The proposal, championed by Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D-NM) was "was a low-cost, market-driven approach to cutting demand for fossil fuels and easing air pollution." On this issue, we are officially less progressive

than China. Starting with far less capacity than the United States, the Asian nation has committed “to supply 10 percent of its needs from so-called renewable energy sources, including wind, solar energy, small hydroelectric dams and biomass like plant fibers and animal wastes” by 2020. [New York Times, [7/26/05](#); New York Times, [7/26/05](#)]

Energy Bill An Environmental Disaster: The bill contains a host of provisions that will wreak havoc on the environment. For example, the bill creates a loophole in the Safe Drinking Water Act allowing “oil and natural gas drilling companies to inject fluids laced with toxic chemicals and contaminants into oil and gas wells that penetrate underground aquifers, risking contamination of drinking water sources.” The bill also “creates a loophole in the Clean Water Act” for oil and gas companies which allows the industry to ignore regulations designed to limit “erosion and runoff into rivers and streams” at construction sites. Funding is also provided for “an inventory of oil and natural gas resources” in sensitive coastal areas, a move seen “by many coastal states as the first step toward reopening these areas to drilling.” [House Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff, Report on Energy Bill, [July 2005](#)]

Energy Bill Ignored Global Warming: The energy bill “like the Bush administration, is blind to global warming.” The final version “contains no substantive provisions to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions that are causing global warming,” such as a carbon tax or cap. The conferees even stripped out “a Senate provision acknowledging the threat of climate change.” As the world moves forward to deal with the problem, America continues to tread water. The bill merely calls for “further studies and research.” [Boston Globe Editorial, [7/27/05](#); House Committee on Government Reform, Minority Staff, Report on Energy Bill, [July 2005](#)]

IMMIGRATION

“My temporary worker program will preserve the citizenship path for those who respect the law, while bringing millions of hardworking men and women out from the shadows of American life.” [2004]

White House Has Dropped Immigration Reform: Since 2004, “the White House has done little to advance immigration reform on Capitol Hill” and has “been conspicuously absent from the debate for nearly four years.” Under the Bush administration, illegal border crossings have soared to an all-time high, even though Border Patrol agents now spend eight times as many hours patrolling the border. [American Progress, [11/28/05](#); Stanford Law & Policy Review, [11/2004](#)]

White House Has Abandoned Its Temporary Worker Program: In his November 2005 speech on immigration, Bush called for a series of border-security measures that made “his guest-worker plan look like an afterthought in his immigration policy,” focusing instead on a plan to “promptly return every illegal entrant we catch at the border, with no

exceptions.” [Time, [12/5/05](#); White House, [11/28/05](#)]

STEM CELLS

“To build a culture of life, we must also ensure that scientific advances always serve human dignity, not take advantage of some lives for the benefit of others.” [2005]

“I will work with Congress to ensure that human embryos are not created for experimentation or grown for body parts, and that human life is never bought and sold as a commodity. America will continue to lead the world in medical research that is ambitious, aggressive, and always ethical.” [2005]

Bush Administration Has Held Up Scientific Advances To Please Right Wing Base: In 2001, Bush bowed to the far right and limited all federally-approved stem cell research to the lines which had already been established. Under his plan, no money could be spent on creating new lines. But while Bush claimed more than 60 lines were available, in reality, there were only a handful of viable lines. Second, all of the lines Bush approved turned out to be contaminated with mouse cells, making them unable to ever be used in human medical therapies. Third, thousands of embryonic cells which could be used for research are simply destroyed every year; about 400,000 unused embryonic cells are awaiting incineration after being created, then not used for in vitro fertilization. [Washington Post, [5/25/05](#)]

Bush Administration Has Put Ideology Over Facts In Scientific Research: In 2004, 60 scientists – including 20 Nobel Prize winners, 19 recipients of the National Medal of Science, and other former federal researchers – noted that Bush has politicized science: “When scientific knowledge has been found to be in conflict with its political goals, the administration has often manipulated the process through which science enters into its decisions.” [USA Today, [2/19/04](#)]

JUDICIARY

“The Constitution also gives the Senate a responsibility: Every judicial nominee deserves an up or down vote.” [2005]



President Bush Denied His Own Nominee Harriet Miers An Up Or Down Vote: “Therefore, according to the catechism, Harriet Miers deserved an up-or-down vote. She didn’t get one. Her nomination, for Sandra Day O’Connor’s seat on the Supreme Court, didn’t even get a hearing from the Senate Judiciary Committee.” [New Yorker, [11/14/05](#)]

Constitution Does Not Mandate An Up Or Down Vote: Nowhere in the text of the Constitution is there a requirement for a simple majority for vote on nominations – or for a vote at all. What the Constitution does say expressly is that the Senate holds the sole power to make its rules, which certainly must include the rules governing debate on the Senate floor. [PFAW, [5/2005](#)]

Over 60 Clinton Nominees Were Blocked: From 1995 to 2000, over 60 of President Clinton’s judicial nominees were blocked in the Senate, sometimes by the action of only one Senator, and were rejected without an up or down vote. [U.S. Senator Patrick Leahy, [11/13/03](#)]

Senate Has Confirmed 98 Percent Of Bush’s Nominees:

The Senate has confirmed 214 of Bush's nominees and blocked only five. [PFAW](#)

ETHICS

“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.” [2002]



Poll Shows Americans Distrust Bush: “For the first time, more than half of the public thinks Bush is not honest and trustworthy -- 52 percent to 46 percent.” [CNN, [11/14/05](#)]

Vice President’s Chief of Staff Indicted: For the first time in 135 years, a sitting White House staffer – I. Lewis “Scooter” Libby, Vice President Dick Cheney’s chief of staff – was indicted. Libby was charged with one count of obstruction of justice, two of perjury and two of making false statements. [Salon.com, [11/3/05](#); AP, [10/28/05](#)]

Rove Leaked Name of Undercover CIA Agent: In a conversation with Time magazine reporter Matt Cooper, Rove identified Valerie Plame as “Wilson’s wife” who “works at the agency on wmd [weapons of mass destruction].” According to Cooper, his conversation with Karl Rove was the first time he had heard anything about Wilson’s wife. In a July 2003 conversation with Rove, Novak brought up Plame’s role at the CIA, and Rove confirmed for the reporter that Plame worked at the CIA: “I heard that too,” said Rove. [Time, [7/25/05](#); NYT, [7/15/05](#)]

White House Procurement Official Wrapped Up In Abramoff Probe: “The Bush administration’s top federal procurement official resigned Friday and was arrested yesterday, accused of lying and obstructing a criminal investigation into Republican lobbyist Jack Abramoff’s dealings with the federal government. It was the first criminal complaint filed against a government official in the ongoing corruption probe related to Abramoff’s activities in Washington.” [WP, [9/20/05](#)]