

**CONTENT ANALYSIS
OF
OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF PRESIDENT BUSH'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION
by
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President's Address to the Nation
The Oval Office

9:01 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good evening. Three days ago [proposition of fact], in large numbers [proposition of fact], Iraqis went to the polls to choose their own leaders [proposition of fact] -- a landmark day in the history of liberty [proposition of value]. In the coming weeks, the ballots will be counted [proposition of fact], a new government formed [proposition of fact], and a people who suffered in tyranny for so long will become full members of the free world [proposition of fact].

This election will not mean the end of violence [proposition of fact]. But it is the beginning of something new: constitutional democracy at the heart of the Middle East [proposition of fact]. And this vote -- 6,000 miles away [proposition of fact], in a vital region of the world [proposition of fact]-- means that America has an ally of growing strength in the fight against terror [proposition of fact].

All who had a part in this achievement -- Iraqis, and Americans and our coalition partners -- can be proud [proposition of value]. Yet our work is not done [proposition of fact]. There is more testing and sacrifice before us [proposition of fact]. I know many Americans have questions about the cost and direction of this war [proposition of fact]. So tonight I want to talk to you about how far we have come in Iraq, and the path that lies ahead [proposition of fact].

From this office, nearly three years ago, I announced the start of military operations in Iraq [proposition of fact]. Our coalition confronted a regime that defied United Nations Security Council resolutions [proposition of fact], violated a cease-fire agreement [proposition of fact], sponsored terrorism [proposition of fact], and possessed, we believed, weapons of mass destruction [proposition of fact]. After the swift fall of Baghdad, we found mass graves [proposition of fact] filled by a dictator [proposition of fact]; we found some capacity to restart programs to produce weapons of mass destruction [proposition of fact], but we did not find those weapons [proposition of fact].

It is true that Saddam Hussein had a history of pursuing and using weapons of mass destruction [proposition of fact]. It is true that he systematically concealed those programs

[proposition of fact], and blocked the work of U.N. weapons inspectors [proposition of fact]. It is true that many nations believed that Saddam had weapons of mass destruction [proposition of fact]. But much of the intelligence turned out to be wrong [proposition of fact]. As your President, I am responsible for the decision to go into Iraq [proposition of fact]. Yet it was right to remove Saddam Hussein from power [proposition of value].

He was given an ultimatum [proposition of fact]-- and he made his choice for war [proposition of fact]. And the result of that war was to rid a -- the world of a murderous dictator who menaced his people [proposition of fact], invaded his neighbors [proposition of fact], and declared America to be his enemy [proposition of fact]. Saddam Hussein, captured and jailed, is still the same raging tyrant [proposition of fact]-- only now without a throne [proposition of fact]. His power to harm a single man, woman, or child is gone forever [proposition of fact]. And the world is better for it [proposition of value].

Since the removal of Saddam, this war, like other wars in our history, has been difficult [proposition of fact]. The mission of American troops in urban raids and desert patrols, fighting Saddam loyalists and foreign terrorists, has brought danger and suffering and loss [proposition of fact]. This loss has caused sorrow for our whole nation [proposition of fact]-- and it has led some to ask if we are creating more problems than we're solving [proposition of fact].

That is an important question [proposition of value], and the answer depends on your view of the war on terror [proposition of fact]. If you think the terrorists would become peaceful if only America would stop provoking them, then it might make sense to leave them alone [proposition of policy].

This is not the threat I see [proposition of fact]. I see a global terrorist movement that exploits Islam in the service of radical political aims [proposition of fact]-- a vision in which books are burned [proposition of fact], and women are oppressed [proposition of fact], and all dissent is crushed [proposition of fact]. Terrorist operatives conduct their campaign of murder with a set of declared and specific goals [proposition of fact]-- to de-moralize free nations [proposition of fact], to drive us out of the Middle East [proposition of fact], to spread an empire of fear across that region [proposition of fact], and to wage a perpetual war against America and our friends [proposition of fact]. These terrorists view the world as a giant battlefield [proposition of fact]-- and they seek to attack us wherever they can [proposition of fact]. This has attracted al Qaeda to Iraq [proposition of fact], where they are attempting to frighten and intimidate America into a policy of retreat [proposition of fact].

The terrorists do not merely object to American actions in Iraq and elsewhere [proposition of fact], they object to our deepest values and our way of life [proposition of fact]. And if we were not fighting them in Iraq, in Afghanistan, in Southeast Asia, and in other places, the terrorists would not be peaceful citizens [proposition of fact], they would be on the offense, and headed our way [proposition of fact] [Appeal to Fear, must determine if this qualifies as a logical fallacy].

September the 11th, 2001 required us to take every emerging threat to our country seriously

[proposition of policy], and it shattered the illusion that terrorists attack us only after we provoke them [proposition of fact]. On that day, we were not in Iraq [proposition of fact], we were not in Afghanistan [proposition of fact], but the terrorists attacked us anyway [proposition of fact] -- and killed nearly 3,000 men, women, and children in our own country [proposition of fact]. My conviction comes down to this: We do not create terrorism by fighting the terrorists [proposition of fact]. We invite terrorism by ignoring them [proposition of fact]. And we will defeat the terrorists by capturing and killing them abroad [proposition of fact], removing their safe havens [proposition of fact], and strengthening new allies like Iraq and Afghanistan in the fight we share [proposition of fact].

The work in Iraq has been especially difficult [proposition of fact]-- more difficult than we expected [proposition of fact]. Reconstruction efforts and the training of Iraqi security forces started more slowly than we hoped [proposition of fact] [Distorting the Facts Fallacy: False Cause: US disbanded all Iraqi Security Forces without sufficient troop strength to replace them]. We continue to see violence and suffering [proposition of fact], caused by an enemy that is determined and brutal [proposition of fact], unconstrained by conscience or the rules of war [proposition of fact].

Some look at the challenges in Iraq and conclude that the war is lost [proposition of fact], and not worth another dime or another day [proposition of fact]. I don't believe that [proposition of fact]. Our military commanders do not believe that [proposition of fact]. Our troops in the field, who bear the burden and make the sacrifice, do not believe that America has lost [proposition of fact]. And not even the terrorists believe it [proposition of fact]. We know from their own communications that they feel a tightening noose [proposition of fact], and fear the rise of a democratic Iraq [proposition of fact].

The terrorists will continue to have the coward's power to plant roadside bombs and recruit suicide bombers [proposition of fact]. And you will continue to see the grim results on the evening news [proposition of fact]. This proves that the war is difficult [proposition of fact]-- it doesn't mean that we are losing [proposition of fact]. Behind the images of chaos that terrorists create for the cameras, we are making steady gains [proposition of fact] with a clear objective in view [proposition of fact].

America, our coalition, and Iraqi leaders are working toward the same goal -- a democratic Iraq that can defend itself [proposition of fact], that will never again be a safe haven for terrorists [proposition of fact], and that will serve as a model of freedom for the Middle East [proposition of fact].

We have put in place a strategy to achieve this goal [proposition of fact]-- a strategy I've been discussing in detail over the last few weeks [proposition of fact]. This plan has three critical elements [proposition of fact].

First, our coalition will remain on the offense [proposition of policy]-- finding and clearing out the enemy [proposition of policy], transferring control of more territory to Iraqi units [proposition of policy], and building up the Iraqi security forces so they can increasingly lead the fight [proposition of policy]. At this time last year, there were only a handful of Iraqi army

and police battalions ready for combat [proposition of fact]. Now, there are more than 125 Iraqi combat battalions fighting the enemy [proposition of fact], more than 50 are taking the lead [proposition of fact], and we have transferred more than a dozen military bases to Iraqi control [proposition of fact].

Second, we're helping the Iraqi government establish the institutions of a unified and lasting democracy [proposition of fact], in which all of Iraq's people are included and represented [proposition of fact]. Here also, the news is encouraging [proposition of value]. Three days ago, more than 10 million Iraqis went to the polls [proposition of fact] -- including many Sunni Iraqis who had boycotted national elections last January [proposition of fact]. Iraqis of every background are recognizing that democracy is the future of the country they love [proposition of fact]-- and they want their voices heard [proposition of fact]. One Iraqi, after dipping his finger in the purple ink as he cast his ballot, stuck his finger in the air and said: "This is a thorn in the eyes of the terrorists [proposition of fact]." Another voter was asked, "Are you Sunni or Shia?" And he responded, "I am Iraqi [proposition of fact]."

Third, after a number of setbacks [proposition of fact], our coalition is moving forward with a reconstruction plan to revive Iraq's economy and infrastructure [proposition of fact]-- and to give Iraqis confidence that a free life will be a better life [proposition of value]. Today in Iraq, seven in 10 Iraqis say their lives are going well [proposition of fact], and nearly two-thirds expect things to improve even more in the year ahead [proposition of fact]. Despite the violence, Iraqis are optimistic [proposition of fact]-- and that optimism is justified [proposition of fact].

In all three aspects of our strategy -- security, democracy, and reconstruction -- we have learned from our experiences [proposition of fact], and fixed what has not worked [proposition of fact]. We will continue to listen to honest criticism [proposition of fact], and make every change that will help us complete the mission [proposition of fact]. Yet there is a difference between honest critics who recognize what is wrong, and defeatists who refuse to see that anything is right [proposition of fact] [Distorting the Facts Fallacy: False Analogy: labels critics defeatists].

Defeatism may have its partisan uses [proposition of fact], but it is not justified by the facts [proposition of fact] [Fallacy of Presumption: Evading the Facts: Question-begging Epithet: reinforces previous labeling of critics as defeatists]. For every scene of destruction in Iraq, there are more scenes of rebuilding and hope [proposition of fact]. For every life lost, there are countless more lives reclaimed [proposition of fact]. And for every terrorist working to stop freedom in Iraq, there are many more Iraqis and Americans working to defeat them [proposition of fact]. My fellow citizens: Not only can we win the war in Iraq, we are winning the war in Iraq [proposition of fact] [Fallacy of Presumption: Overlooking the Facts: Hasty Generalization].

It is also important for every American to understand the consequences of pulling out of Iraq before our work is done [proposition of Policy]. We would abandon our Iraqi friends [proposition of fact] and signal to the world that America cannot be trusted to keep its word [proposition of fact]. We would undermine the morale of our troops by betraying the cause

for which they have sacrificed [proposition of fact] [Fallacy of Presumption: Distorting the Facts: Irrelevant Thesis: Citing troop morale is irrelevant to the policy question whether withdrawing troops is in United States' best interest]. We would cause the tyrants in the Middle East to laugh at our failed resolve, and tighten their repressive grip [proposition of fact]. We would hand Iraq over to enemies who have pledged to attack us [proposition of fact] and the global terrorist movement would be emboldened [proposition of fact] and more dangerous than ever before [proposition of fact]. To retreat before victory would be an act of recklessness and dishonor [proposition of value], and I will not allow it [proposition of policy].

We're approaching a new year [proposition of fact], and there are certain things all Americans can expect to see [proposition of fact]. We will see more sacrifice [proposition of fact] -- from our military [proposition of fact], their families [proposition of fact], and the Iraqi people [proposition of fact]. We will see a concerted effort to improve Iraqi police forces [proposition of fact] and fight corruption [proposition of fact]. We will see the Iraqi military gaining strength and confidence [proposition of fact], and the democratic process moving forward [proposition of fact]. As these achievements come, it should require fewer American troops to accomplish our mission [proposition of fact]. I will make decisions on troop levels based on the progress we see on the ground and the advice of our military leaders -- not based on artificial timetables set by politicians in Washington [proposition of policy]. Our forces in Iraq are on the road to victory [proposition of fact] -- and that is the road that will take them home [proposition of fact].

In the months ahead, all Americans will have a part in the success of this war [proposition of fact]. Members of Congress will need to provide resources for our military [proposition of policy]. Our men and women in uniform, who have done so much already, will continue their brave and urgent work [proposition of value]. And tonight, I ask all of you listening to carefully consider the stakes of this war [proposition of policy], to realize how far we have come [proposition of policy] and the good we are doing [proposition of value], and to have patience [proposition of policy] in this difficult, noble, and necessary cause [proposition of value].

I also want to speak to those of you who did not support my decision to send troops to Iraq [proposition of policy]: I have heard your disagreement [proposition of fact], and I know how deeply it is felt [proposition of fact]. Yet now there are only two options before our country -- victory or defeat [proposition of fact] [Fallacy of Presumption: Overlooking the Facts: Bifurcation: this is a classic example]. And the need for victory is larger than any president or political party, because the security of our people is in the balance [proposition of fact] [Appeal to Fear]. I don't expect you to support everything I do [proposition of fact], but tonight I have a request [proposition of fact]: Do not give in to despair [proposition of policy], and do not give up on this fight for freedom [proposition of policy].

Americans can expect some things of me, as well [proposition of policy]. My most solemn responsibility is to protect our nation [proposition of fact], and that requires me to make some tough decisions [proposition of fact]. I see the consequences of those decisions when I meet wounded servicemen and women who cannot leave their hospital beds, but

summon the strength to look me in the eye and say they would do it all over again [proposition of policy]. I see the consequences when I talk to parents who miss a child so much -- but tell me he loved being a soldier, he believed in his mission [proposition of fact], and, Mr. President, finish the job [proposition of policy].

I know that some of my decisions have led to terrible loss [proposition of fact] -- and not one of those decisions has been taken lightly [proposition of fact]. I know this war is controversial [proposition of fact] -- yet being your President requires doing what I believe is right [proposition of value] and accepting the consequences [proposition of policy]. And I have never been more certain that America's actions in Iraq are essential to the security of our citizens [proposition of fact], and will lay the foundation of peace for our children and grandchildren [proposition of fact].

Next week, Americans will gather to celebrate Christmas and Hanukkah [proposition of fact]. Many families will be praying for loved ones spending this season far from home -- in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other dangerous places [proposition of fact]. Our nation joins in those prayers [proposition of policy]. We pray for the safety and strength of our troops [proposition of policy]. We trust, with them, in a love that conquers all fear [proposition of value], in a light that reaches the darkest corners of the Earth [proposition of value]. And we remember the words of the Christmas carol, written during the Civil War: "God is not dead, nor [does] He sleep; the Wrong shall fail, the Right prevail, with peace on Earth, goodwill to men [proposition of value]."

Thank you, and good night.

END 9:18 P.M. EST