



UNIVERSITAS INDONESIA

**PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO
POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK
PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN AMERIKA SERIKAT
GEORGE W. BUSH**

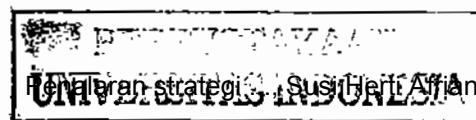
TESIS

Diajukan sebagai salah satu syarat untuk memperoleh gelar
Magister Humaniora dalam bidang Linguistik

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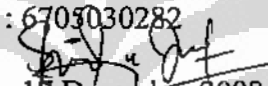
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**FAKULTAS ILMU PENGETAHUAN BUDAYA
PROGRAM STUDI LINGUISTIK
DEPOK
DESEMBER 2008**



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Tesis ini adalah hasil karya saya sendiri, dan semua sumber baik yang dikutip maupun dirujuk telah saya nyatakan dengan benar

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Telah berhasil dipertahankan di hadapan Dewan Penguji dan diterima sebagai bagian persyaratan yang diperlukan untuk memperoleh gelar Magister Humaniora pada Program Studi Linguistik, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Indonesia

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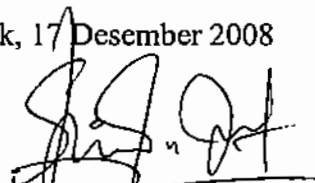
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Depok, 17 Desember 2008



Susi Herti Afriani

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(Susi Herti Afriani)

ABSTRAK

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Judul : Penalaran Strategi Bertutur dalam Pidato Politik Berbahasa
Inggris: Studi atas Tindak Pengancam Muka Presiden Amerika
Serikat George W. Bush

Penelitian ini memiliki dua tujuan, yaitu pertama mendeskripsikan dan menjelaskan strategi kesantunan yang digunakan oleh Presiden George Walker Bush sepanjang tahun 2006; kedua, mengidentifikasi pertalian antara strategi kesantunan yang digunakan Presiden Bush dan implikaturinya. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan ancangan pragmatik. Ancangan pragmatik digunakan untuk menganalisis bagaimana tuturan tersebut memengaruhi penutur dan petuturnya di dalam komunikasi.

Hasil penelitian memperlihatkan bahwa Presiden Bush di dalam teks pidato politik berbahasa Inggris menggunakan empat strategi dari lima strategi yang dirumuskan Brown dan Levinson, yaitu strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB); bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif (BTBKP); bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif (BTBKN), dan bertutur secara samar-samar (BS). Secara keseluruhan, strategi yang paling sering digunakan adalah strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif (62, 96 %) karena Presiden Bush ingin menunjukkan penghargaan, rasa solidaritas, simpati, dan persahabatan serta keinginan yang sama. Tujuannya adalah untuk mempertahankan stabilitas di antara sesama sehingga dapat terjalin persahabatan dan kedekatan diantara Presiden Bush dengan mitra tutur baik di dalam maupun di luar negeri.

Pertalian strategi bertutur ini dengan implikaturinya, yaitu strategi bertutur dengan menggunakan strategi BTTB, BTBKP, BTBKN, dan BS (sarat dengan kesantunan) memiliki implikatur yang kuat, artinya petutur dari Presiden Bush bisa memahami maksud tuturan Presiden Bush. Selain itu, tuturan Presiden Bush mengandung efek kontekstual yang banyak, yang diperoleh dengan mengeluarkan usaha paling sedikit atau dengan waktu paling pendek. Secara politis, dalam urusan dalam negeri, tuturan Presiden Bush memiliki maksud meminta dukungan, dan memengaruhi petutur. Ia juga ingin menunjukkan bahwa kebijakannya sesuai dengan kepentingan rakyat Amerika Serikat. Dalam urusan luar negeri, tuturannya menginformasikan bahwa ia sebagai Presiden dari sebuah negara adidaya memiliki kebijakan yang ditujukan untuk kebaikan seluruh manusia di dunia.

Kata kunci: Kesantunan, Tindak Pengancam Muka, Implikatur, Teori Relevansi, Pidato Politik Presiden.

ABSTRACT

Name : Susi Herti Afriani
Study Program: Linguistics
Title : The Reasoning of Speech Strategy(ies) of Political Speech (es) in English: A Study on the Face Threatening Acts of United States President George W. Bush

This research has two aims: firstly to describe and elaborate President George Walker Bush's politeness strategies during 2006; secondly to identify the relation between the strategy and its implicatures. This research is a qualitative with pragmatic approach. This approach is adopted to analyze how an utterance can influence the speakers and hearers in a communication.

The result shows that the English texts of President Bush's politics speeches adopted four of the five strategies formulated by Brown and Levinson. Those strategies are direct language without compliments or bald on record without redressive action (BTTB), direct language with positive politeness or FTA on record with redressive action (BTBKP), and direct language with negative politeness or FTA on record with redressive action (BTBKN), and FTA of record (BS) strategies. Overall, President Bush mostly adopted direct language with positive politeness strategy (62.96%) to show the hearers his appreciation, sense of solidarity, sympathy and friendship as well as common intention. His aim is to maintain the stability among conversational participants in order to form friendship and establish close relations with the hearers both domestically and internationally.

The relations of those strategies, i.e. the strategies using BTTB, BTBKP, BTBKN, and BS (politeness laden) have strong implicature. This suggests that the hearers understand the meaning of President Bush's speeches. In addition, his speeches contain many contextual effects with minimum efforts or shortest time. Politically, in his domestic policy, President Bush's speeches have a meaning to get support, and influence the hearers. He also needs to show that his policy is appropriate with United States's needs. In his international policy, his speeches inform that he has a beneficial policy which is purposed for all persons in the world.

Key Words: *Politeness, Face Threatening Acts, Implicatures, Relevance Theory, President's Politics Speeches.*

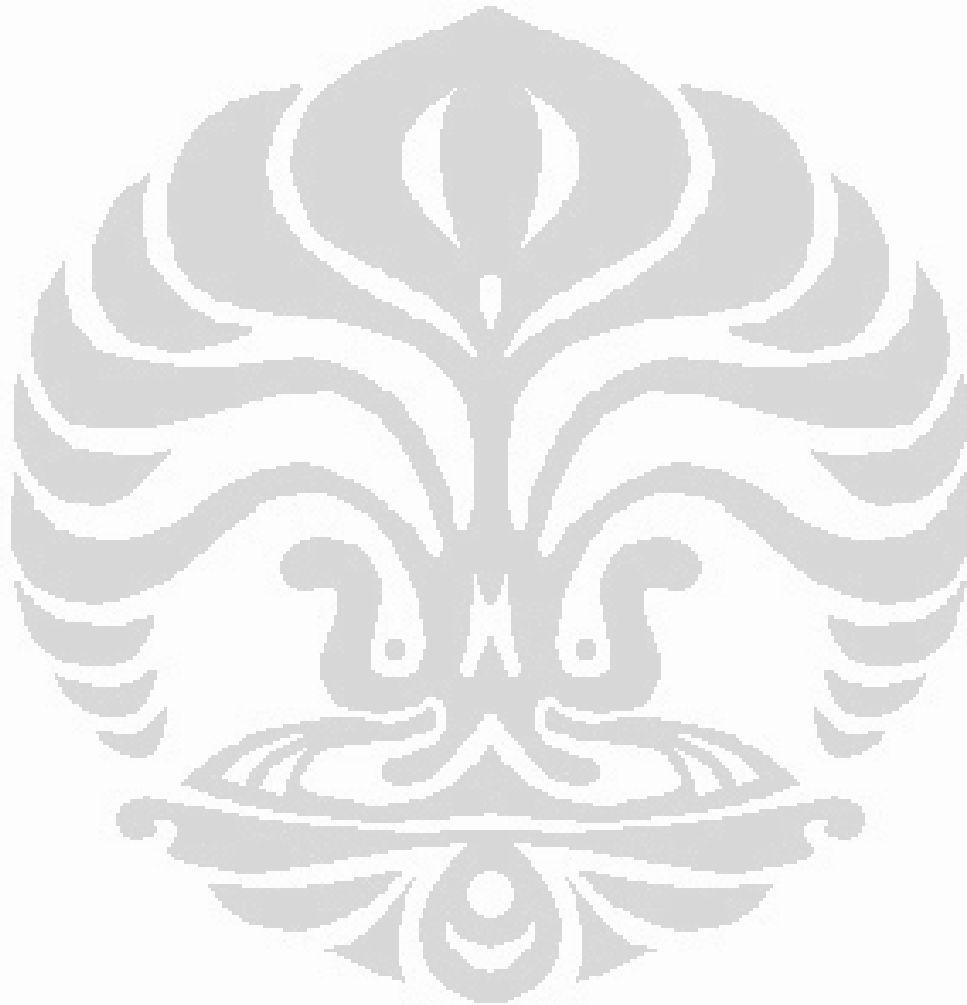
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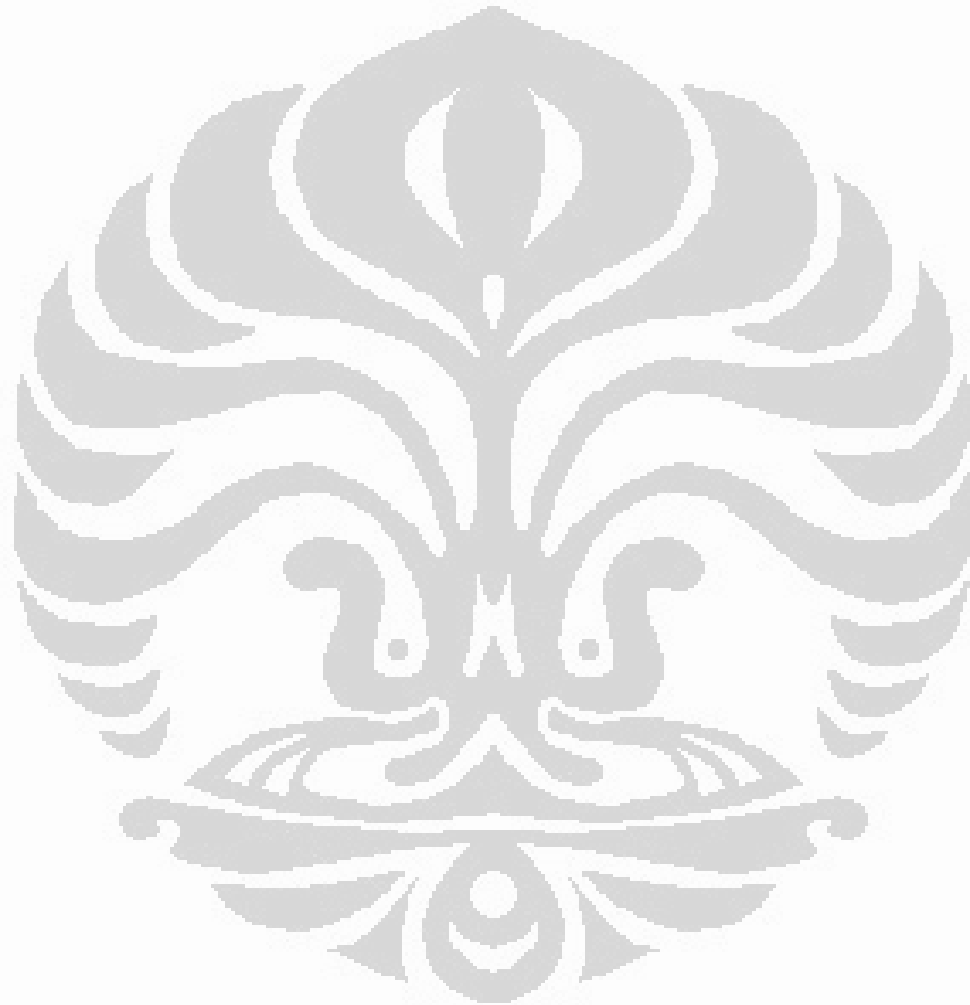
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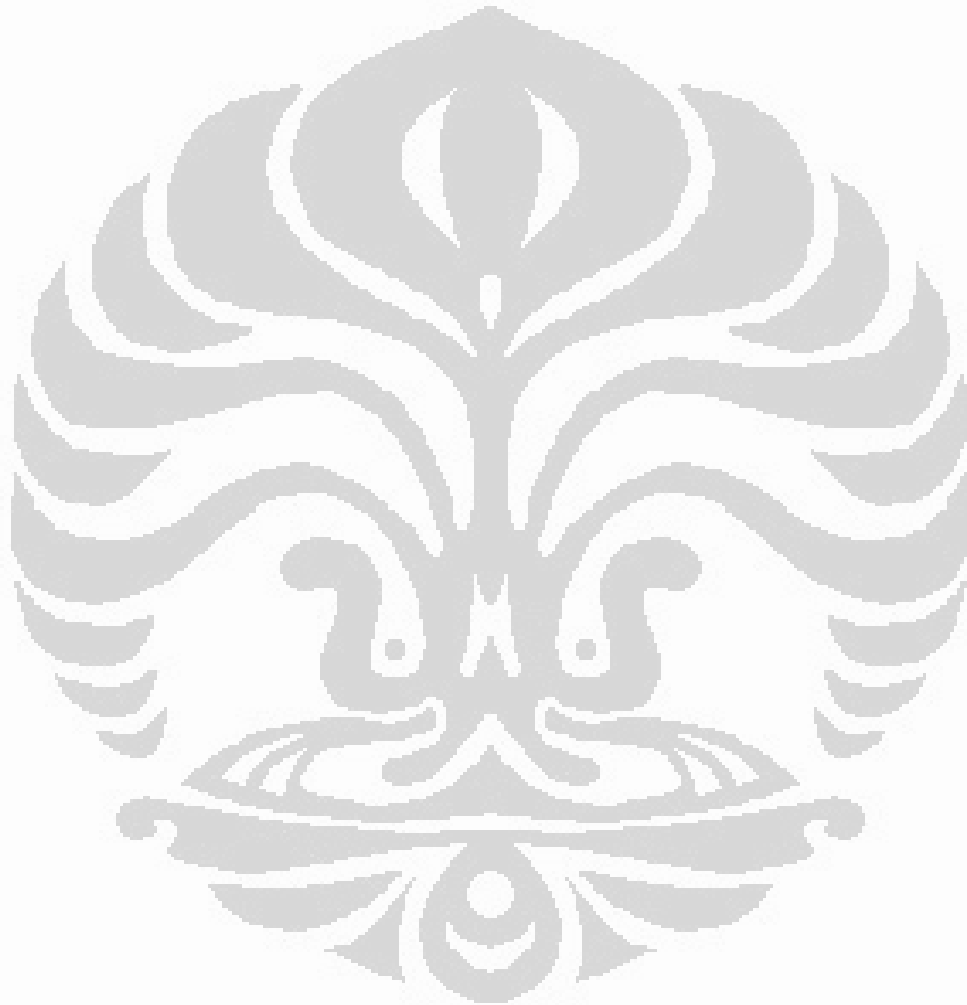
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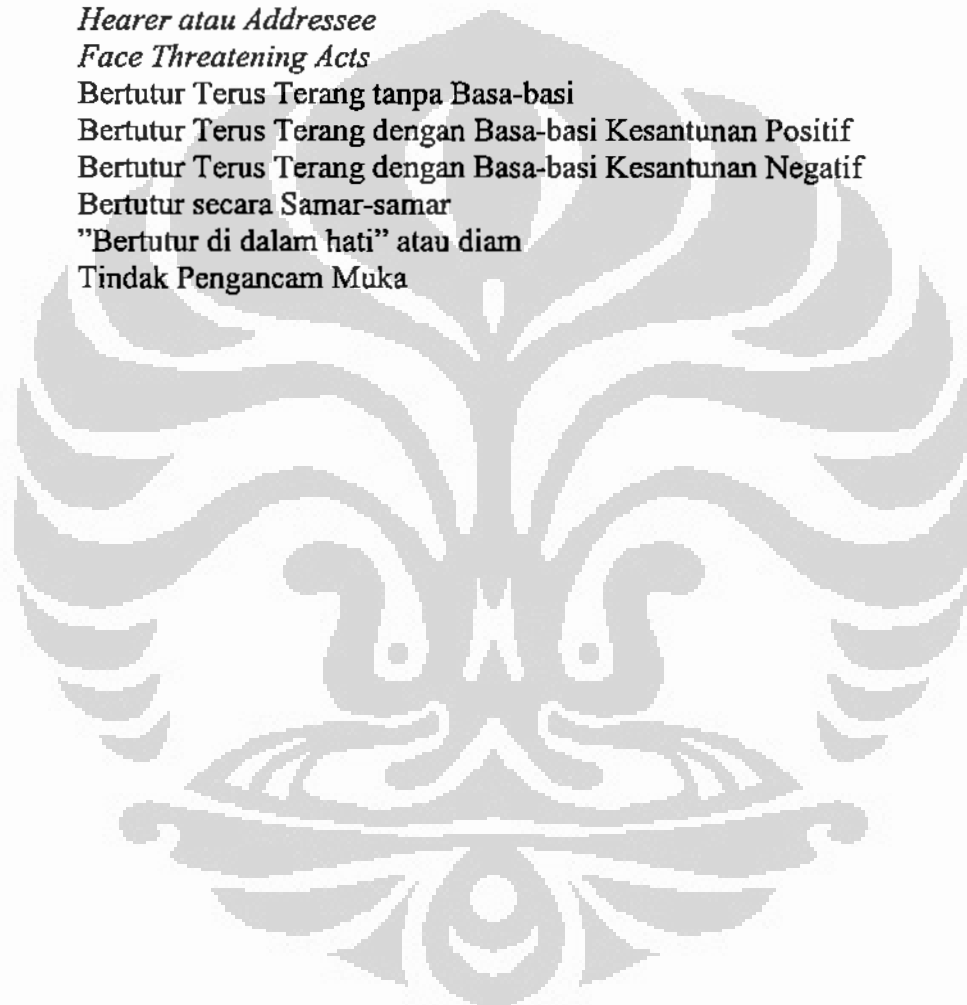
DAFTAR LAMBANG

- +K Penutur berkuasa atas petutur
- K Penutur tidak berkuasa atas petutur
- +S Solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur tinggi
- S Solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur rendah
- +P Tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur.
- P Tindak tutur dilakukan tidak di tempat publik atau tidak ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur.



DAFTAR SINGKATAN DAN AKRONIM

K	Kekuasaan
S	Solidaritas
P	Publik
<i>W</i>	<i>Weight</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>Power</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>Social Distance</i>
<i>R</i>	<i>Ranking</i>
<i>H</i>	<i>Hearer atau Addressee</i>
<i>FTA</i>	<i>Face Threatening Acts</i>
BTTB	Bertutur Terus Terang tanpa Basa-basi
BTBKP	Bertutur Terus Terang dengan Basa-basi Kesantunan Positif
BTBKN	Bertutur Terus Terang dengan Basa-basi Kesantunan Negatif
BS	Bertutur secara Samar-samar
BDH	"Bertutur di dalam hati" atau diam
TPM	Tindak Pengancam Muka



GLOSARIUM

Ancangan. Beberapa teori yang berbeda tentang hakikat bahasa dan bagaimana bahasa-bahasa dipelajari. (Richards dan Schmidt 2002: 15)

Kesantunan. Kesadaran memelihara “muka” dan kesadaran yang menunjukkan perlindungan muka atau harga diri, terutama muka petutur (Brown dan Levinson 1978: 59-70 dan Yule 1996: 132).

Muka. Face. (dalam arti kiasan). Citra diri yang ingin ditampilkan oleh seseorang di dalam suatu interaksi. Muka memiliki dua aspek, yaitu muka positif dan muka negatif. Konsep muka dicetuskan pertama kali oleh Goffman (1967) yang kemudian dipakai oleh Brown dan Levinson (Brown dan Levinson 1978: 61-62).

Muka negatif. Citra diri yang dimiliki seseorang agar dia dibiarkan bebas melakukan apa saja yang diinginkannya. Kebebasan yang diberikan kepadanya akan membuat dirinya dihargai (Brown dan Levinson 1978: 61-62)

Muka positif. Citra diri yang dimiliki seseorang agar apa yang dilakukannya atau diyakininya, atau apa yang diasosiasikan dengan dirinya diakui oleh orang lain sehingga patut dihargai (Brown dan Levinson 1978: 61-62)

Penalaran. Cara (hal) menggunakan nalar; pemikiran atau cara berpikir logis; jangkauan pemikiran. Hal mengembangkan atau mengendalikan sesuatu dengan nalar dan bukan dengan perasaan atau pengalaman; proses mental dalam mengembangkan pikiran dari beberapa fakta atau prinsip (KBBI edisi kedua: Tim Penyusun Kamus)

Pragmatik. Ilmu yang mengkaji maksud tuturan yang diproduksi oleh penutur dan ditafsirkan oleh petutur tanpa menghilangkan arti yang terkandung di dalam tuturan, secara eksplisit dan implisit (Thomas 1995: 22)

Strategi. Prosedur yang digunakan di dalam pembelajaran, berpikir, dan sebagainya yang berfungsi sebagai cara untuk mencapai tujuan (Richards dan Schmidt 2002: 274)

Tindak tutur. Tindakan yang dilakukan dengan mengungkapkan tuturan di dalam komunikasi (Yule 1995: 47)

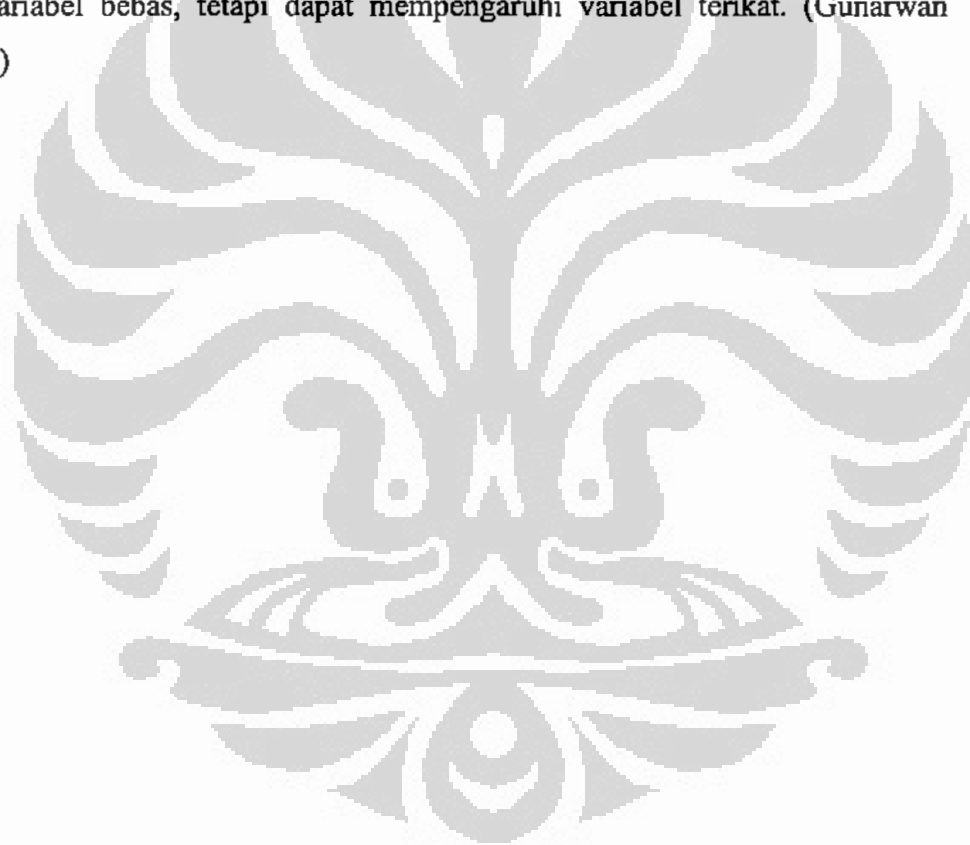
Tindakan menyelamatkan muka. Tindakan berupa tuturan yang menghindari ancaman potensial bagi citra diri partisipan lain di dalam interaksi. (Brown dan Levinson 1978: 61-62)

Tindakan pengancam muka. Tindakan berupa tuturan yang mengancam muka orang lain secara langsung (Brown dan Levinson 1978: 61-62)

Variabel. Sifat yang membedakan setiap anggota di dalam kelompok. Ada dua jenis variabel, yaitu variabel bebas dan terikat (Richards dan Schmidt 2002: 304)

Variabel bebas. Variabel yang menjadi penyebab, peramal (*predictor*), atau yang mempengaruhi di dalam penelitian (Richards dan Schmidt 2002: 304)

Variabel sela. *Intervening variable.* Variabel yang tidak dapat dimasukkan ke dalam variabel bebas, tetapi dapat mempengaruhi variabel terikat. (Gunarwan 2001: 17)



BAB 1

PENDAHULUAN

1.1. Latar Belakang Masalah

Salah satu fungsi komunikasi adalah mempertahankan hubungan sosial dengan bahasa sebagai sarannya. Bahasa sebagai alat komunikasi mempunyai aturan atau kaidah, yang mengatur bagaimana penutur bertutur agar hubungannya dengan mitra tutur lain (*others*) berjalan dengan baik. Secara tidak langsung dapat dikatakan bahwa seseorang yang disebut sosok model (*model person*) akan bertutur dengan strategi tertentu dengan memperhatikan status mitra tuturnya. Melalui pertimbangan itu, penutur dapat menunjukkan sikap hormat atau tidaknya kepada mitra tutur. Namun, tidak semua tuturan mempertimbangkan strategi bertutur tertentu; kadangkala, ada tuturan yang dapat mengancam “muka” penutur, atau yang disebut tindak tutur pengancam muka (*face threatening acts*), yang selanjutnya disebut Tindak Pengancam Muka (TPM). Untuk itu, penutur perlu berhati-hati sebelum bertutur. Salah satunya ialah dengan menggunakan strategi kesantunan. Strategi kesantunan merupakan hal yang esensial dalam bertutur, dengan tujuan agar penutur tidak mengancam muka mitra tutur (Brown dan Levinson 1978).

Tuturan seorang kepala negara seringkali menjadi perhatian masyarakat karena apa yang disampaikan melalui tuturannya adalah representasi kebijakan-kebijakan yang akan berpengaruh kepada khalayak. Tuturan seorang presiden yang menjadi perhatian biasanya tertuang dalam pidato politik. Pidato dan dialog politik memuat strategi bertutur tertentu, salah satunya berupa strategi kesantunan. Penelitian strategi kesantunan pada teks politik diperlukan karena selama ini, penelitian teks politik banyak berfokus pada metafora (perbandingan implisit antara entitas atau peristiwa yang memiliki fitur sama (Bonvillian 2003: 63-66)) seperti yang dibahas oleh Lakoff (2003), dan penelitian perilaku kebahasaan (*linguistic behaviour*) Perdana Menteri Tony Blair yang diterangkan oleh Watts (2003) dalam *Politeness: Key Topics in Sociolinguistics*.

Penelitian ini juga perlu dilakukan karena selama ini penelitian strategi kesantunan banyak bertumpu pada data lisan (lapangan) seperti yang dilakukan oleh Blum-Kulka (1983) dan (1978), Hong (1998), Gunarwan (1992), (1994), dan (2000), Azis (2002), dan Manaf (2005), tetapi ada juga penelitian kesantunan dalam data tulis seperti yang dilakukan oleh Mualimin (2002). Selain melihat penelitian dengan objek kajian berbeda (teks), penelitian ini juga menarik karena membuka “lahan baru” penelitian tindak tutur nonlisan melalui teks pidato politik. Singkatnya, pidato politik dalam penelitian ini akan melihat pidato seorang presiden yang sedang berkuasa, dan menjadi sorotan dunia. Dia adalah presiden Amerika Serikat ke-43¹, George W. Bush.

Presiden Bush sebagai "Tokoh Tahun 2004" versi majalah *TIME* memiliki masa jabatan sebagai presiden yang didominasi "perang melawan terorisme", yang mencuat setelah terjadinya peristiwa 11 September 2001 (serangan terhadap WTC). Dari beberapa peristiwa yang telah terjadi, Presiden Bush dapat dikatakan sebagai tokoh kontroversial baik di dunia internasional pada umumnya maupun di Indonesia, dengan beberapa program yang hingga kini belum terealisasi (*Harian Business Indonesia*, Senin 20 November 2006)².

Presiden Bush juga dapat dikatakan sebagai tokoh penting dari sebuah negara besar (adidaya). Pernyataan-pernyataannya mempengaruhi konstelasi politik dunia dan berdampak global; kadang-kadang pernyataannya juga terkesan “aneh” (provokatif) dan tidak biasa. Walaupun demikian, Presiden Bush tetap menjadi perhatian publik dan tetap menampilkan karakter yang tenang, kalem, dan tanpa rasa bersalah. Hal ini terlihat dalam pidato dan dialog-dialognya dengan presiden Indonesia; presiden negara lain; dan dengan wartawan di beberapa pertemuan dalam kunjungannya ke berbagai negara. Dalam pidato politik yang

¹ George Walker Bush lahir pada 6 Juli 1946. Ia adalah Presiden Amerika Serikat ke-43, yang dilantik pada 20 Januari 2001 dan terpilih kembali untuk masa jabatan kedua kali pada 2004. Jabatan kepresidenan keduanya berakhir pada 20 Januari 2009. (Dipungah dari http://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=George_W._Bush, [13 Desember 2006]).

² Beberapa janji yang belum dipenuhi Presiden Bush antara lain sebagai berikut: penyelesaian masalah Palestina, Irak dan Afghanistan. Bush juga pernah berjanji kepada pemerintahan Presiden Megawati Soekarno Putri untuk memberikan bantuan pendidikan senilai US\$ 157 juta, yang hingga kini belum terealisasi. Bantuan pendidikan itu merupakan inisiatif Bush sendiri dan bukan permintaan Indonesia. Dipungah dari (http://www.ilibrary.org/indexz.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3079&pop=1&page=0&Hemed=77), [3 Februari 2007]).

disaksikan banyak orang, konsep “muka” menjadi faktor utama, dan seperti yang telah dijelaskan sebelumnya, pidato politik presiden Bush telah menarik perhatian banyak orang, karena pada saat itulah ia dapat dilihat realisasi tindak tuturnya. Oleh karena itu, tesis ini bermaksud meneliti pidato politik secara ilmiah dengan berpegang pada konsep “muka” yang dikembangkan oleh Brown dan Levinson (1978).

Menurut Brown dan Levinson (1978), muka mempunyai dua komponen, yaitu (1) muka positif yang mengacu kepada citra diri setiap orang yang mempunyai keinginan agar apa yang dimiliki, dilakukan, dan dipercayainya selalu dihargai oleh orang lain dan (2) muka negatif yang mengacu kepada citra diri setiap orang yang berkeinginan agar ia bebas melakukan tindakan yang diinginkannya tanpa gangguan dari pihak lain dan bebas dari keharusan untuk melakukan sesuatu. Berdasarkan konsep muka yang dikemukakan oleh Goffman, Brown dan Levinson menunjukkan bahwa terdapat banyak cara untuk menghindari Tindak Pengancam Muka (TPM), yang dirumuskan menjadi lima strategi, yaitu: (1) bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi; (2) bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; (3) bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif; (4) bertutur secara samar-samar; dan (5) bertutur “di dalam hati” atau diam.

Jika dicermati lebih dalam, tuturan santun Presiden Bush memiliki “maksud” tertentu, dan jika fenomena strategi bertutur ini dikaitkan dengan konsep representasi Hall (1997: 3), sebagai pembentukan makna melalui wacana, maka pidato Bush tidak pernah lepas dari alasan tertentu. Strategi bertutur Presiden Bush memuat implikatur. Dalam pragmatik, implikatur adalah informasi yang tersirat, yang tidak dikatakan, tetapi terkomunikasikan oleh penutur di dalam suatu percakapan (Sperber dan Wilson 1995: 56). Asumsi saya dalam meneliti pidato presiden Bush adalah bahwa semakin santun tuturan Presiden Bush, semakin sarat tuturan itu dengan implikatur. Oleh karena itu, secara jelas, peneliti ini melihat permasalahan sebagai berikut: strategi bertutur dengan kesantunan apa saja yang digunakan presiden Bush, dan strategi apa yang paling sering muncul, serta apa yang direpresentasikan (implikatur) akan dijawab dalam penelitian ini.

1.2. Rumusan Masalah Penelitian

Dengan mengacu kepada latar belakang masalah di atas, diformulasikan satu pertanyaan utama yang menjadi rumusan masalah, yaitu berdasarkan strategi kesantunan yang dirumuskan Brown dan Levinson, **bagaimana penalaran strategi bertutur yang digunakan oleh Presiden Bush di dalam teks pidato politiknya**. Rumusan masalah tersebut dapat dijabarkan menjadi submasalah sebagai berikut:

1. Strategi bertutur apa saja yang digunakan oleh Presiden Bush di dalam teks pidato politik berbahasa Inggris?
2. Bagaimana pertalian antara strategi kesantunan yang digunakan Presiden Bush dengan implikaturinya?

1.3. Tujuan Penelitian

Tujuan utama penelitian ini adalah mendeskripsikan dan menjelaskan penalaran strategi bertutur dalam teks pidato politik berbahasa Inggris oleh Presiden Bush. Tujuan utama itu dirinci menjadi subtujuan sebagai berikut.

1. mendeskripsikan dan menjelaskan strategi kesantunan yang digunakan oleh Presiden Bush;
2. mengidentifikasi pertalian antara strategi kesantunan yang digunakan Presiden Bush dan implikaturinya.

1.4. Variabel Penelitian

Variabel independen atau variabel penentu penelitian ini adalah budaya *Anglo Saxon* dengan variabel sela (*intervening variable*) sebagai berikut: (1) teks pidato politik dengan topik urusan dalam negeri dan (2) teks pidato politik dengan topik urusan luar negeri. Teks politik yang dimaksud ini ialah teks yang berhubungan dengan urusan kehidupan publik, serta meliputi kekuasaan dan pemerintahan. Hal ini dapat dilihat melalui topik serta hal-hal yang menyertai pidato politik tersebut. Variabel-variabel itu dirinci atas kategori berikut ini. Teks pidato dengan topik urusan dalam negeri dirinci atas kategori pertahanan citra diri (*the maintenance of self-image*) dan peningkatan kesejahteraan rakyat Amerika Serikat (*well being of*

the people of America), sedangkan variabel teks pidato politik dengan topik urusan luar negeri dirinci atas kategori diplomasi global (*global diplomacy*) dan kerja sama internasional (*international cooperation*). Variabel dependen atau variabel yang ditentukan di dalam penelitian ini adalah penalaran strategi bertutur Presiden Bush di dalam pidato dan dialog politiknya sepanjang tahun 2006.

1.5. Lingkup Penelitian

Dalam penelitian ini, masalah dibatasi pada pidato dan dialog Presiden Bush sepanjang tahun 2006. Hal yang akan dibicarakan dalam penelitian ini adalah strategi kesantunan sesuai dengan derajat keterancaman potensial muka petutur menurut Brown dan Levinson (1978), yang mencakupi lima strategi utama kesantunan berbahasa. Tindak tutur yang dikaji dalam penelitian ini adalah tindak tutur direktif, karena menurut Brown dan Levinson (1978: 65-74), tindak tutur direktif paling berpotensi mengancam muka petutur. Tindak tutur direktif meliputi tindak tutur memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan.

1.6. Hipotesis penelitian

Berdasarkan teori yang dijadikan landasan di dalam penelitian ini, peneliti ini mengajukan pemecahan masalah penelitian dengan memberikan jawaban sementara atas masalah penelitian ini. Jawaban sementara ini dirumuskan dalam bentuk hipotesis penelitian berikut ini. Hipotesis utama penelitian ini adalah **Tuturan Presiden Bush menggunakan beberapa strategi kesantunan dalam setiap pidatonya dan memuat implikatur.**

1.7. Kemaknawian Kajian

Hasil penelitian ini memiliki kemaknawian kajian sebagai berikut:

1. Hasil penelitian ini dapat digunakan untuk menambah, mengembangkan, dan memperkaya khazanah penelitian pragmatik.
2. Hasil penelitian ini dapat menjelaskan secara ilmiah konsep penalaran strategi bertutur dalam pidato politik berbahasa Inggris, dan dapat menjadi dokumentasi ilmiah penalaran strategi bertutur dalam teks pidato politik berbahasa Inggris.

3. Hasil penelitian ini adalah bukti bahwa teori kesantunan berbahasa (1978) yang dikemukakan oleh Brown dan Levinson dan tilikan implikatur dari teori relevansi Sperber dan Wilson (1995) dapat menjelaskan penalaran strategi bertutur seseorang (presiden) dalam posisi kuasa.

1.8. Metodologi Penelitian

Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif dengan ancangan pragmatik, yang merupakan studi kasus terhadap penalaran strategi bertutur dalam pidato politik berbahasa Inggris: studi atas tindak pengancam muka Presiden Amerika Serikat George Walker Bush. Sumber data yang saya pilih adalah pidato politik Presiden Bush sepanjang tahun 2006. Pemilihan pidato tahun 2006 sebagai sumber data didasarkan kepada kenyataan bahwa telah terjadi banyak fenomena yang dianggap kontroversial sejak masa dilantiknya Presiden Bush pada 20 Januari 2001, dan terpilih kembali pada pemilu Presiden tahun 2004. Fenomena yang dianggap kontroversial tersebut antara lain invasi ke Irak, penyerangan ke Afganistan, pengeboman menara kembar WTC, dan lain sebagainya.

Metode analisis data dalam penelitian ini bersifat deskriptif argumentatif, yaitu peneliti harus mampu memberikan alasan logis dan tepat terhadap argumen serta analisis yang dihasilkannya. Dalam analisis, saya menggunakan beberapa video sebagai bantuan, dan kamus bahasa Inggris. Langkah-langkah yang saya lakukan dalam analisis data adalah pertama, dari 329 pidato sepanjang tahun 2006, dipilih 33 pidato yang bersifat *impromptu* (dilakukan langsung secara mendadak dengan tanya jawab dan wawancara). Peneliti perlu memberi catatan bahwa pidato yang dipilih dalam penelitian ini bukan murni *impromptu*, melainkan kombinasi antara pidato dengan persiapan dan pidato *impromptu*; kedua, dari 33 pidato yang menjadi data mentah dicari tindak tutur direktifnya, yang berupa tindak tutur memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati atau menyarankan; ketiga, Setelah semua pidato diklasifikasi, data pidato dikelompokkan berdasarkan variabel sela (*intervening variable*), yaitu: teks pidato politik dengan topik urusan dalam negeri dan teks pidato politik dengan topik urusan luar negeri. Setiap topik akan memperlihatkan kekerapan kemunculan strategi bertutur; keempat, untuk melihat pertalian antara strategi

bertutur Presiden Bush dengan implikasinya, data yang telah menunjukkan jenis strategi kesantunannya diklasifikasi, untuk selanjutnya dianalisis dengan teroi kesantunan Brown dan Levinson (1978), serta implikatur dalam teori relevansi Sperber dan Wilson (1995).

1.9. Sistematika Penyajian

Penelitian ini terdiri atas lima bab. Bab satu merupakan pendahuluan, yang terdiri atas latar belakang masalah, rumusan masalah penelitian, tujuan, variabel penelitian, lingkup penelitian, hipotesis, kemaknawian penelitian, metodologi penelitian, dan sistematika penyajian.

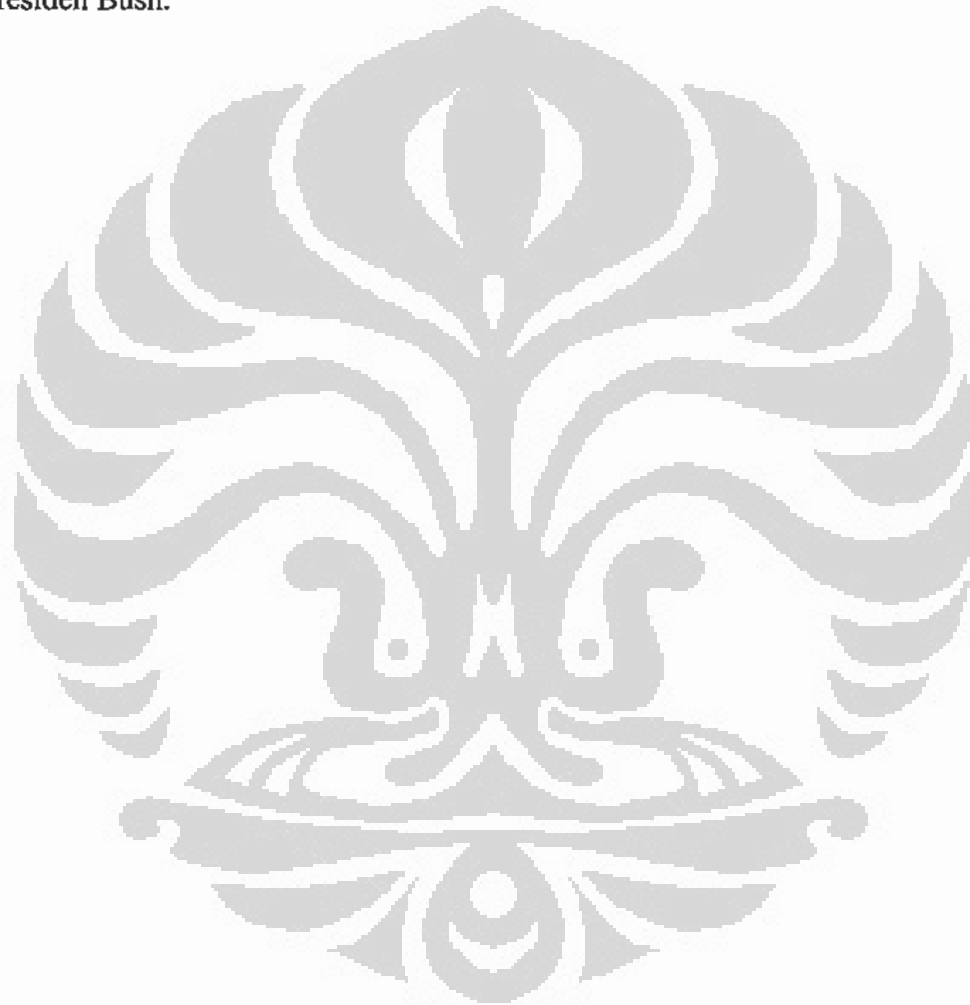
Bab 2 terdiri atas dua bagian, yaitu tinjauan pustaka dan penelitian terkait. Tinjauan pustaka berisi ulasan dan uraian singkat mengenai teori dan penelitian yang telah dilakukan. Tinjauan pustaka membantu peneliti untuk memahami masalah dan rumpang di dalam penelitian yang dipilih. Penelitian terkait adalah penelitian yang sudah dilakukan oleh peneliti lain dan terkait dengan penelitian yang akan diadakan.

Bab tiga terdiri atas kerangka acuan teoretis dan metodologi penelitian. Kerangka acuan teoretis membahas konsep dasar dan cara kerja teori yang digunakan sebagai kerangka acuan di dalam penelitian ini. Metodologi penelitian menjelaskan ancangan penelitian, sumber data, metode pengumpulan data, korpus data, metode analisis data, serta satu contoh analisis.

Bab empat terdiri atas analisis data dan temuan hasil penelitian. Bagian ini menjelaskan temuan dan uraian mengenai penalaran strategi bertutur di dalam teks pidato politik Presiden George W. Bush berdasarkan variabel teks pidato dengan tujuan urusan politik dalam negeri dan teks pidato dengan tujuan urusan politik luar negeri. Melalui variabel tersebut, teks pidato luar negeri dan penalaran strategi bertutur dalam teks pidato politik berbahasa Inggris dibagi lagi menjadi empat strategi dari lima strategi yang dikemukakan Brown dan Levinson, yaitu bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB), bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif (BTBKP), bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif (BTBKN), dan bertutur secara samar-samar (BS), sedangkan teks pidato dalam negeri dan penalaran strategi bertutur dalam teks pidato politik

berbahasa Inggris dibagi menjadi tiga strategi dari lima strategi yang dikemukakan Brown dan Levinson, yaitu bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB), bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif (BTBKP), dan bertutur secara samar-samar (BS)

Bab lima terdiri atas kesimpulan dan saran. Kesimpulan penelitian ini didasarkan kepada hasil analisis data secara kualitatif. Sebagai lampiran, saya memasukkan daftar pustaka, lampiran klasifikasi data, dan lampiran teks pidato politik Presiden Bush.



BAB 2

TINJAUAN PUSTAKA DAN PENELITIAN TERKAIT

2.1. Pengantar

Tinjauan Pustaka ini bertujuan menjelaskan pentingnya pragmatik untuk menganalisis bahasa, tepatnya strategi bertutur seorang dalam posisi kuasa, yaitu pengguna bahasa Inggris. Untuk tujuan tersebut, saya mengawali tinjauan ini dengan pembahasan mengenai analisis wacana dan perkembangan pragmatik, menjelaskan teori dan topik-topik bahasan lain, yang dapat membantu saya menyelesaikan masalah dan rumpang penelitian yang dipilih.

Bab dua ini tidak hanya terdiri atas tinjauan pustaka seperti yang dijelaskan di atas, tetapi juga penelitian terkait. Tinjauan pustaka berbicara mengenai analisis wacana dan perkembangan pragmatik, tindak tutur, strategi kesantunan dan implikatur, sedangkan penelitian terkait adalah penelitian yang sudah dilakukan oleh peneliti lain dan terkait dengan penelitian yang akan diadakan, diantaranya sebagai berikut: Blum-Kulka (1983), Hong (1998), Gunarwan (1992, 1994, 2000), Kartika (1996), Azis (2002), dan Manaf (2005). Berikut penjelasannya.

2.1.1. Analisis Wacana dan Perkembangan Pragmatik

Komunikasi biasanya terdiri atas serangkaian tindakan yang membentuk pesan atau wacana tertentu (Littlejohn 2002: 76). Melalui analisis wacana kita dapat memahami dengan lebih baik bagaimana pesan ditata, digunakan, dan dimengerti. Analisis wacana merupakan studi mendalam tentang struktur wacana (Littlejohn 2002: 76), atau lebih jelasnya studi tentang hubungan antara bentuk (*form*) dan fungsi (*function*) dalam komunikasi verbal (Renkema 2004: 1). Dari pengertian ini, dapat dilihat lebih jelas relevansi pendapat Scott Jacobs (dalam Littlejohn 2002: 77) yang membagi tiga masalah utama dalam analisis wacana, meliputi: pertama, mengetahui bagaimana cara orang memahami pesan (*problem of meaning*); kedua, mengetahui apa yang hendak dilakukan (disampaikan) lewat suatu pembicaraan (*problem of action*); dan ketiga, menggambarkan bahwa suatu pola pembicaraan dapat dianggap pantas dan logis (*problem of coherence*). Untuk

dapat mendekati apa yang dikemukakan Jacob secara lebih baik, dalam tinjauan pustaka ini, saya akan menguraikan teori tindak-tutur (*speech-act*) dan kesantunan (*politeness*) yang pada dasarnya merupakan bagian dari teori pragmatik.

Para pakar pragmatik mendefinisikan istilah pragmatik secara berbeda-beda. Thomas (1995: 2) menyebut dua kecenderungan dalam pragmatik terbagi menjadi dua bagian, pertama, dengan menggunakan sudut pandang sosial, menghubungkan pragmatik dengan makna pembicara (*speaker meaning*); dan kedua, dengan menggunakan sudut pandang kognitif, menghubungkan pragmatik dengan interpretasi ujaran (*utterance interpretation*). Selanjutnya Thomas (1995: 22), dengan mengandaikan bahwa pemaknaan merupakan proses dinamis yang melibatkan negosiasi antara pembicara dan pendengar serta antara konteks ujaran (fisik, sosial, dan linguistik) dan makna potensial yang mungkin dari sebuah ujaran, mendefinisikan pragmatik sebagai bidang yang mengkaji makna dalam interaksi (*meaning in interaction*).

Leech (1983: 6) melihat pragmatik sebagai bidang kajian dalam linguistik yang mempunyai kaitan dengan semantik. Keterkaitan ini ia sebut semantisisme, yaitu melihat pragmatik sebagai bagian dari semantik; pragmatisisme, yaitu melihat semantik sebagai bagian dari pragmatik; dan komplementarisme, atau melihat semantik dan pragmatik sebagai dua bidang yang saling melengkapi. Yule (1996: 3), memiliki pendapat yang berbeda pula. Ia menyebutkan empat definisi pragmatik, yaitu (1) bidang yang mengkaji makna pembicara; (2) bidang yang mengkaji makna menurut konteksnya; (3) bidang yang, melebihi kajian tentang makna yang diujarkan, mengkaji makna yang dikomunikasikan atau terkomunikasikan oleh pembicara; dan (4) bidang yang mengkaji bentuk ekspresi menurut jarak sosial yang membatasi partisipan yang terlibat dalam percakapan tertentu.

Mey (1998), seperti dikutip oleh Gunarwan (2004: 5), mengungkapkan bahwa pragmatik tumbuh dan berkembang dari empat kecenderungan atau tradisi, yaitu: (1) kecenderungan antisintaksisme; (2) kecenderungan sosial-kritis; (3) tradisi filsafat; dan (4) tradisi etnometodologi. Kecenderungan yang pertama, yang dimotori oleh George Lakoff dan H. John Robert Ross, menolak pandangan

sintaksisme Chomsky, yaitu bahwa dalam kajian bahasa yang sentral adalah sintaksis, dan bahwa fonologi, morfologi, dan semantik bersifat perifer. Menurut Lakoff dan Ross, keapikan sintaksis (*well-formedness*) bukanlah segalanya, sebab, seperti sering kita jumpai, komunikasi tetap dapat berjalan dengan penggunaan bentuk yang tidak apik secara sintaksis (*ill-formed*), bahkan semantik (Gunarwan 2004: 6). Kecenderungan kedua, yang tumbuh di Eropa, tepatnya di Britania, Jerman, dan Skandinavia (Mey 1998: 717 (dalam Gunarwan 2004: 6)), muncul dari keperluan terhadap ilmu bahasa yang secara sosial relevan, bukan yang sibuk dengan deskripsi bahasa semata-mata secara mandiri.

Tradisi yang ketiga, yang dipelopori oleh Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein, dan terutama John L. Austin dan John R. Searle, adalah tradisi filsafat. Para pakar tersebut mengkaji bahasa, termasuk penggunaannya, dalam kaitannya dengan logika. Leech (1983: 2), seperti dikutip Gunarwan (2004: 7), mengemukakan bahwa pengaruh para filsuf bahasa, misalnya Austin, Searle, dan Grice, dalam pragmatik lebih besar daripada pengaruh Lakoff dan Ross. Tradisi yang keempat adalah tradisi etnometodologi, yaitu cabang sosiologi yang mengkaji cara para anggota masyarakat tutur (*speech community*) mengorganisasi dan memahami kegiatan mereka. Dalam etnometodologi, bahasa dikaji bukan berdasarkan aspek kegramatikalannya, melainkan berdasarkan cara para peserta interaksi saling memahami apa yang mereka ujar. Dengan kata lain, kajian bahasa dalam etnometodologi lebih ditekankan pada komunikasi, bukan tata bahasa (Gunarwan 2004: 6).

2.1.2. Tindak Tutur

Secara filosofis, Habermas, seorang ilmuwan Frankfurt menggunakan pendekatan komunikasi melalui teori tindak tutur (*speech act*), yang disebutnya *universal pragmatics*. Teori tindak tutur dibangun oleh seorang filsuf Jerman, Ludwig Wittgenstein dan John Searle Austin, yang akhirnya disebut bapak tindak tutur. Tindak tutur merupakan unit dasar dari penggunaan bahasa untuk memperlihatkan makna, sebuah ujaran yang mengungkapkan suatu maksud. Ketika seseorang berbicara, berarti seseorang melakukan tindakan. Tindakan tersebut berupa *stating*, *questioning*, *commanding*, *promising*. Tindakan penutur yang

mengharapkan penutur (mitra tutur) memahami maksudnya atau niatnya dan bertindak sesuai dengan maksud penuturnya disebut *perlocutionary act*, sedangkan tindakan dimana fokus penutur adalah mitra tutur dapat memahaminya disebut *illocutionary act*. Searle dalam Littlejohn membagi lima tipe *illocutionary acts*, yaitu: (1) *assertives*; (2) *directives*; (3) *commissives*; (4) *expressives* dan (5) *declaration*.

Teori tindak-tutur bersandar pada hipotesis performatif (*performative hypothesis*) Austin. Austin (1962) melalui dua orang muridnya Urmson, J.O. dan Marina Sbisa menulis buku *How to Do Things with Words*. Buku ini dianggap sebagai pemicu minat paling utama dalam kajian pragmatik. Ia seperti dikutip oleh Thomas (1995: 29-30), bermaksud menyanggah pendapat filosof positivisme logis, seperti Russel dan Moore, yang berpendapat bahwa bahasa yang digunakan sehari-hari penuh kontradiksi dan ketaksaan, dan bahwa pernyataan hanya benar jika bersifat analitis atau jika dapat diverifikasi secara empiris, seperti terlihat pada contoh di bawah ini.

- (1) a. Ada enam kata dalam kalimat ini
b. *There are seven words in this sentence* (Thomas 1995: 30)
- (2) Presiden Amerika Serikat ke-43 adalah George Walker Bush

Dari contoh di atas, dapat dipahami bahwa para filsuf yang dikritik Austin ini mengevaluasi pernyataan berdasarkan benar atau salah (*truth condition*), yaitu sesuai contoh di atas, kalimat (1a) dan (1b) benar secara analitis dan kalimat (2) benar karena sesuai dengan kenyataan. Persyaratan kebenaran ini kemudian diadopsi oleh linguistik sebagai *truth conditional semantics* (Thomas 1995: 30).

Ditilik dari sejarahnya, seperti yang saya kemukakan sebelumnya, hipotesis performatif menjadi landasan teori tindak tutur (*speech act*). Austin berpendapat bahwa dengan berbahasa kita tidak hanya mengatakan sesuatu (*to make statements*), melainkan juga melakukan sesuatu (*perform actions*). Hal ini didukung oleh Searle (1969), yang menjelaskan bahwa tuturan adalah sebuah tindakan, yaitu tindak bertutur atau tindak tutur. Tuturan yang bertujuan mendeskripsikan sesuatu disebut konstatif dan tuturan yang bertujuan melakukan

sesuatu disebut performatif. Yang pertama tunduk pada persyaratan kebenaran (*truth condition*) dan yang kedua tunduk pada persyaratan kesahihan (*felicity condition*) (Gunarwan 2004: 8). Contoh.

(3) Dengan ini saya nikahkan kalian (performatif)

(4) Rumah Joni terbakar (konstatif)

Selanjutnya Austin, seperti juga ditekankan lebih lanjut oleh Searle (dalam Gunarwan 2004: 9), memasukkan ujaran konstatif, karena memiliki struktur dalam yang mengandung makna performatif, sebagai bagian dari performatif (Austin 1962: 52 dan Thomas 1995: 49). Dalam contoh (4), struktur dalam ujaran tersebut dapat saja berbunyi *Saya katakan bahwa rumah Joni terbakar*.

Tindakan yang dihasilkan dengan tuturan ini mengandung tiga tindakan lain yang berhubungan, yaitu lokusi (*locutionary act*), ilokusi (*illocutionary act*), dan perlokusi (*perlocutionary act*) (Yule 1996: 48). Seperti yang telah dijelaskan di atas, tindak lokusional bertalian dengan produksi ujaran yang bermakna, tindak ilokusional bertalian dengan intensi atau maksud pembicara, dan tindak perlokusional bertalian dengan efek pemahaman pendengar terhadap maksud pembicara yang terwujud dalam tindakan (Thomas 1995: 49). Tindak tutur, seperti dikembangkan lebih jauh oleh Searle (dalam Gunarwan 2004: 9), dapat berupa tindak tutur langsung (*direct speech act*) dan tindak tutur tidak langsung (*indirect speech act*). Dalam tindak tutur langsung terdapat hubungan langsung antara struktur kalimat dengan fungsinya, sedangkan dalam tindak tutur tidak langsung hubungannya tidak langsung atau menggunakan (bentuk) tindak tutur lain (Gunarwan 2004: 9; dan Yule 1996: 54-55). Untuk melihat contoh tindak tutur dengan urutan tingkat ketidaklangsungan yang semakin meningkat, marilah kita perhatikan tabel di bawah ini.

Tabel. 1. Daftar jenis strategi bertutur dengan tingkat ketidaklangsungan yang semakin meningkat

No.	Tindak Tutur	Contoh	Skala Ketidaklangsungan
			Lebih Langsung
1.	Imperatif	"Bersihkan dapur." "Pindahkan mobil kamu."	↓
2.	Performatif	"Saya minta mobil kamu dipindahkan."	
3.	Performatif Berpagar	"Saya meminta mobil kamu dipindahkan."	
4.	Pernyataan Keharusan	"Kamu harus memindahkan mobilmu."	
5.	Pernyataan Keinginan	"Saya ingin kamu membersihkan dapur." "Saya ingin mobil kamu dipindahkan."	
6.	Rumusan Saran	"Bagaimana kalau kita membersihkan sampah ini?"	
7.	Pertanyaan	"Dapatkah kamu membersihkan peralatan yang kotor di dapur?" "Apakah Anda keberatan memindahkan mobil Anda?"	
8.	Isyarat Kuat	"Kamu meninggalkan dapur dalam keadaan sangat berantakan."	
9.	Isyarat Halus	"Kami tidak ingin kegaduhan."	
			Lebih tidak langsung

(Sumber Blum-Kulka 1987: 133)

Selain itu, Searle (1976: 1-24) juga menyebut lima jenis fungsi tindak tutur, yaitu asertif (*assertive*), direktif (*directive*), komisif (*comissive*), ekspresif (*expressive*), dan deklarasi (*declaration*) yang pula dikutip oleh Littlejohn (2002: 80) dan Yule (1996: 53-54). Asertif atau representatif merupakan tindak tutur yang menyatakan sesuatu yang dipercayai pembicaranya benar; direktif merupakan tindak tutur yang menghendaki pendengarnya melakukan sesuatu; komisif merupakan tindak tutur yang digunakan pembicaranya untuk menyatakan sesuatu yang mengikatnya untuk dilakukannya; ekspresif merupakan tindak tutur yang menyatakan perasaan

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dan pemikiran pembicaranya; dan deklarasi merupakan tindak tutur yang mengubah status sesuatu. Selanjutnya, Tindak tutur direktif terdiri atas tindak tutur memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati dan menyarankan. Untuk tindak tutur memohon, Trosborg secara jelas membagi ketidaklangsungan strategi tindak tutur memohon menjadi empat kategori, yang dirinci menjadi delapan strategi. Daftar strategi memohon menurut Trosborg tersebut dapat dilihat dalam tabel di bawah ini.

Tabel 2. Daftar Strategi memohon dengan urusan tingkat kelangsungan yang semakin meningkat menurut Trosborg

Strategi Memohon (tingkat kelangsungan yang semakin meningkat)		
Situasi: penutur memohon untuk meminjam mobil petutur		
Kat. I Permohonan tidak langsung		
Strategi 1	Isyarat (halus)	“Saya harus tiba di bandara udara setengah jam lagi.”
	(kuat)	“Mobil saya rusak.” “Apakah kamu akan menggunakan mobilmu nanti malam.”
Kat. II Tidak langsung secara konvensional (Kondisi yang diorientasikan pada petutur)		
Strategi 2	Kemampuan	“Dapatkah kamu meminjamkan mobilmu kepada saya?”
	Kesediaan	“Maukah kamu meminjamkan mobilmu kepada saya?”
	Izin	“Bolehkah saya meminjam mobilmu?”
Strategi 3	Rumusan saran	“Bagaimana kalau kamu meminjamkan mobilmu kepada saya?”
Kat. III Tidak langsung secara konvensional (Kondisi yang didasarkan pada penutur)		
Strategi 4	Kehendak	“Saya mau meminjam mobilmu.”
Strategi 5	Keinginan/kebutuhan	“Saya ingin/butuh meminjam mobilmu.”
Kat. IV Permohonan langsung		
Strategi 6	Keharusan	“Kamu harus meminjamkan mobilmu kepada saya.”
Strategi 7	Performatif (berpagar)	“Saya mau minta kamu untuk meminjamkan mobilmu kepada saya.”
	(tak berpagar)	“Saya minta kamu untuk meminjamkan mobilmu kepada saya.”
Strategi 8	Imperatif	“Pinjami saya mobilmu.”
	Pelesapan frasa	“Mobilmu, sini.”

(Sumber Trosborg 1995: 205)

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2.1.3. Strategi kesantunan

Seorang sosiolog bernama Ervin Goffman mengemukakan konsep “muka” pada tahun 1956, yang kemudian dikembangkan oleh Brown dan Levinson (Renkema 2004: 24-25). Menurut Goffman (1967: 5) dalam Jaszczolt (2002: 318), “*face* merupakan gambaran citra diri dalam atribut sosial yang telah disepakati”. Dengan kata lain, *face* dapat diartikan kehormatan, harga diri (*self-esteem*), dan citra diri di depan umum (*public self-image*). Menurut Goffman (1956), seperti dikutip oleh Renkema (2004: 25), setiap partisipan memiliki dua keperluan dalam setiap proses sosial: yaitu keperluan untuk diapresiasi dan keperluan untuk bebas (tidak terganggu). Keperluan yang pertama disebut *positive face*, sedangkan yang kedua disebut *negative face*. Untuk menjaga perasaan setiap petutur, setiap penutur harus (1) memperhatikan harga diri lawan tutur, dengan memperlakukannya sebagai orang yang memiliki kedudukan yang sama, termasuk dalam kelompok pembicara (*insider*), atau (2) memperlakukan sedemikian rupa sehingga tidak mengurangi kebebasannya dalam bertindak. Cara pertama disebut strategi positif dan cara kedua disebut strategi negatif.

Berdasarkan konsep muka yang dikemukakan oleh Goffman ini, Penelope Brown dan Stephen Levinson (1978) membangun teori tentang hubungan intensitas *FTA* dengan kesantunan yang terealisasi dalam bahasa (Renkema 2004: 25). Intensitas *FTA* diekspresikan dengan bobot atau *weight* (W) yang mencakup tiga parameter sosial, yaitu: pertama, tingkat gangguan atau *rate of imposition* (R), berkenaan dengan bobot mutlak (*absolute weight*) tindakan tertentu dalam kebudayaan tertentu, misalnya permintaan “*May I borrow your car?*” mempunyai bobot yang berbeda dengan permintaan “*May I borrow your pen?*”; kedua, jarak sosial atau *social distance* (D) antara pembicara dengan lawan bicaranya, misalnya bobot kedua permintaan di atas tidak terlalu besar jika kedua ungkapan tersebut ditujukan kepada saudara sendiri; dan ketiga, kekuasaan atau *power* (P) yang dimiliki lawan bicara (Renkema 2004: 26). Marilah kita perhatikan contoh di bawah ini.

- (5) a. Maaf, Pak, boleh tanya?
- b. Numpang tanya, Mas?

Dalam contoh di atas terlihat jelas, tuturan (5a) mungkin diucapkan pembicara yang secara sosial lebih rendah dari lawan bicaranya, misalnya mahasiswa kepada dosen atau yang muda kepada yang tua; sedangkan tuturan (5b) mungkin diucapkan kepada orang yang secara sosial jaraknya lebih dekat (5a).

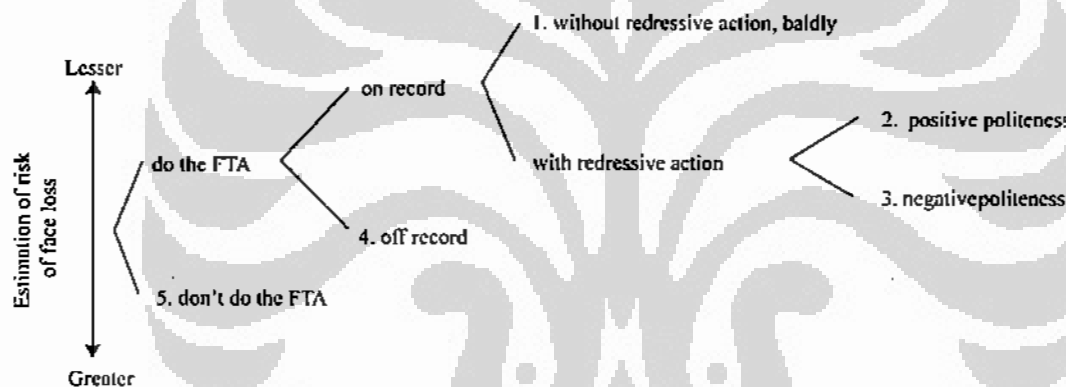
Kesantunan berbahasa bukan ditentukan oleh tinggi rendahnya nada tuturan (intonasi), melainkan mengacu kepada konsep yang dipahaminya. Pendapat para ahli tentang konsep tersebut berbeda-beda; ada yang dirumuskan dalam bentuk kaidah, ada pula yang diformulasikan dalam bentuk strategi. Konsep kesantunan yang dirumuskan dalam bentuk kaidah membentuk prinsip kesantunan; sedangkan konsep yang diformulasikan dalam bentuk strategi membentuk teori kesantunan. *Politeness* (kesantunan) dalam hal ini dapat dipahami sebagai upaya pencegahan dan atau perbaikan dari kerusakan yang ditimbulkan oleh FTA; semakin besar intensitas FTA mengancam stabilitas komunikasi, *politeness strategy* semakin dibutuhkan. *Politeness, face work technique*, yang bertujuan untuk mendapatkan *positive face* disebut *solidarity politeness*. Hal ini dapat dilakukan dengan pujian; sedangkan *politeness* yang dilakukan untuk tujuan sebaliknya disebut *respect politeness*. Hal ini dapat dilakukan dengan melakukan tindakan yang tidak kooperatif dalam komunikasi (Renkema 2004: 25).

Teori kesantunan yang dikemukakan oleh Penelope Brown dan Stephen Levinson berkaitan erat dengan linguistik dalam teori merancang pesan (*theories of message design*), dengan alasan yang cukup kuat, yaitu keterkaitan penggunaan teori kesantunan dalam pragmatik. Teori kesantunan ini menegaskan bahwa dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, kita merancang pesan yang “melindungi muka” dan memperoleh tujuan sebaik-baiknya. Brown dan Levinson percaya bahwa kesantunan merupakan suatu tujuan, karena hal ini merupakan nilai yang berharga secara budaya. Perbedaan budaya membuat tingkat kesantunan juga berbeda, sehingga ukuran santun atau tidak santun menjadi relatif. Seperti yang telah dikemukakan sebelumnya, Brown and Levinson mengemukakan tentang pentingnya praktik strategi kesantunan dalam bertutur agar tidak mengancam

muka atau disebut dengan *Face Threatening Act (FTA)*. *FTA* memiliki tingkat yang berbeda-beda diukur melalui rumus sebagai berikut:

$wFTA = Rate\ of\ Imposition$ (tingkat kenyamanan yang ada saat tuturan dihasilkan) + *Social distance* (jarak sosial antara penutur dan mitra tutur) dan *Power* (kuasa yang dimiliki oleh penutur dan mitra tutur).

Berkaitan dengan strategi kesantunan ini, Brown dan Levinson (1978) dalam penelitiannya menunjukkan bahwa terdapat banyak cara untuk menghindari Tindak Pengancam Muka (*FTA*) yang dapat direduksi menjadi lima macam cara yang terdapat dalam bagan di bawah ini.



Gambar 1. Strategi Kesantunan Brown dan Levinson

(Brown dan Levinson 1978: 69)

Lima strategi bertutur dalam gambar (1) di atas adalah pertama, bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi; kedua, bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; ketiga bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif; keempat, bertutur secara samar-samar; dan kelima tidak mengatakan apa pun atau tidak melakukan tindak pengancam muka. Kelima strategi tersebut diurut berdasarkan tingkat resiko "kehilangan muka"; semakin tinggi resiko kehilangan muka, maka semakin kecil kemungkinan pembicara melakukan Tindak Pengancam Muka. Dalam hal ini, Renkema (2004: 27) memberi contoh strategi tersebut.

- (6) a. *Hey, lend me a hundred dollars (baldly)*
 b. *Hey, friend, could you lend me a hundred bucks? (positive polite)*
 c. *I'm sorry I have to ask, but could you lend me a hundred dollars? (negative polite)*
 d. *Oh no, I'm out of cash! I forgot to go to the bank today (off record)*

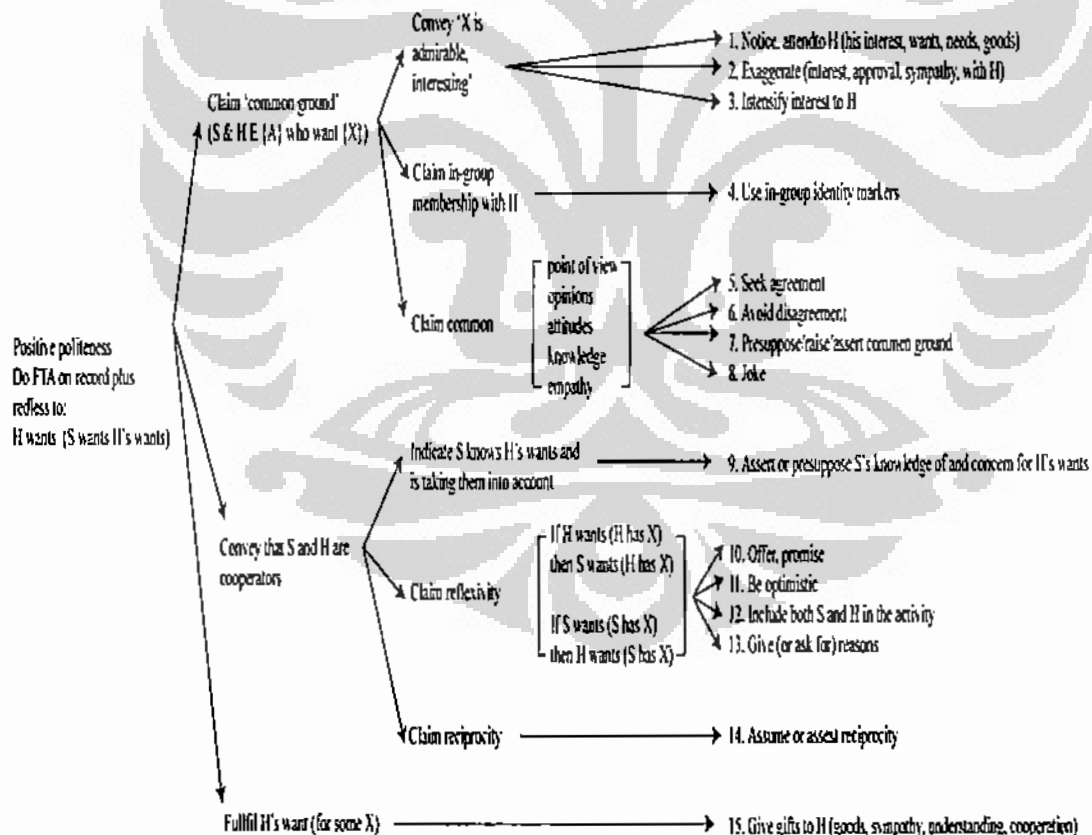
Tuturan (6a) merupakan contoh tuturan dengan strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi; (6b) ialah contoh strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; (6c), contoh strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif; dan (6d) ialah contoh tuturan dengan strategi bertutur secara samar-samar. Jika bobot *FTA* (Tindak Pengancam Muka) tinggi, maka penutur sebaiknya menggunakan strategi terakhir. Suatu permintaan yang kurang menyenangkan (seperti meminjam uang) biasanya diajukan secara tidak langsung (strategi 6d) untuk menghindari *FTA*. Di samping bobot *FTA*, kedekatan hubungan peserta tutur juga harus dipertimbangkan dalam menggunakan strategi (6a) sampai dengan (6d) tersebut. Apabila hubungan peserta tutur sangat dekat, misalnya teman dekat, dapat menggunakan strategi (6a). Apabila hubungannya jauh, sebaiknya menggunakan strategi (6c) atau (6d) untuk menghindari *FTA*. Jadi, *FTA* dapat dikurangi dengan menggunakan strategi kesantunan (*politeness strategy*). Secara rinci, lima strategi kesantunan menurut Brown dan Levinson (1978) dapat dijelaskan sebagai berikut:

1. *FTA on record* berupa *bald on record* tanpa *redressive action*

Bertutur dengan strategi pertama ini diungkapkan secara langsung atau tanpa ditutup-tutupi, dengan tuturan bermodus **imperatif**; Trosborg (1995: 200-205) membedakan bentuk imperatif berdasarkan kelengkapan unsur sintaksis suatu ujaran, yaitu: (1) imperatif lengkap dan (2) imperatif pelepasan frasa. Bertutur dengan strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi ini juga diungkapkan dalam keadaan darurat tanpa memperhatikan status mitra tutur. Hal ini sering digunakan oleh penutur yang memiliki **status** atau kekuatan yang lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan mitra tuturnya. Strategi ini acapkali disebut dengan **superstrategies**.

2. FTA on record dengan *redressive action (positive politeness)*

Bertutur dengan kesantunan positif berarti digunakan untuk menunjukkan penghargaan, rasa solidaritas, simpati, dan persahabatan serta keinginan yang sama. Tujuannya adalah untuk mempertahankan stabilitas di antara sesama sehingga dapat terjalin persahabatan dan kedekatan di antara penutur dan mitra tutur. Hal ini disebut *solidarity strategy* dengan penggunaannya menggunakan nama panggilan, dialek yang sama dengan mitra tutur dan ungkapan-ungkapan slang serta basa basi terlebih dahulu sebagai usaha pengakraban diri. Strategi ini juga dipakai untuk meminta persetujuan dan menghindari tendensi terjadinya ketidaksetujuan yang mengarah pada munculnya argumen. Oleh karena itu, tuturan yang dihasilkan diupayakan sedemikian rupa agar memberi “keuntungan” bagi pihak petutur. Secara jelas Brown dan Levinson menggambarkan model bertutur ini dengan lima belas strategi, seperti terlihat di bawah ini:



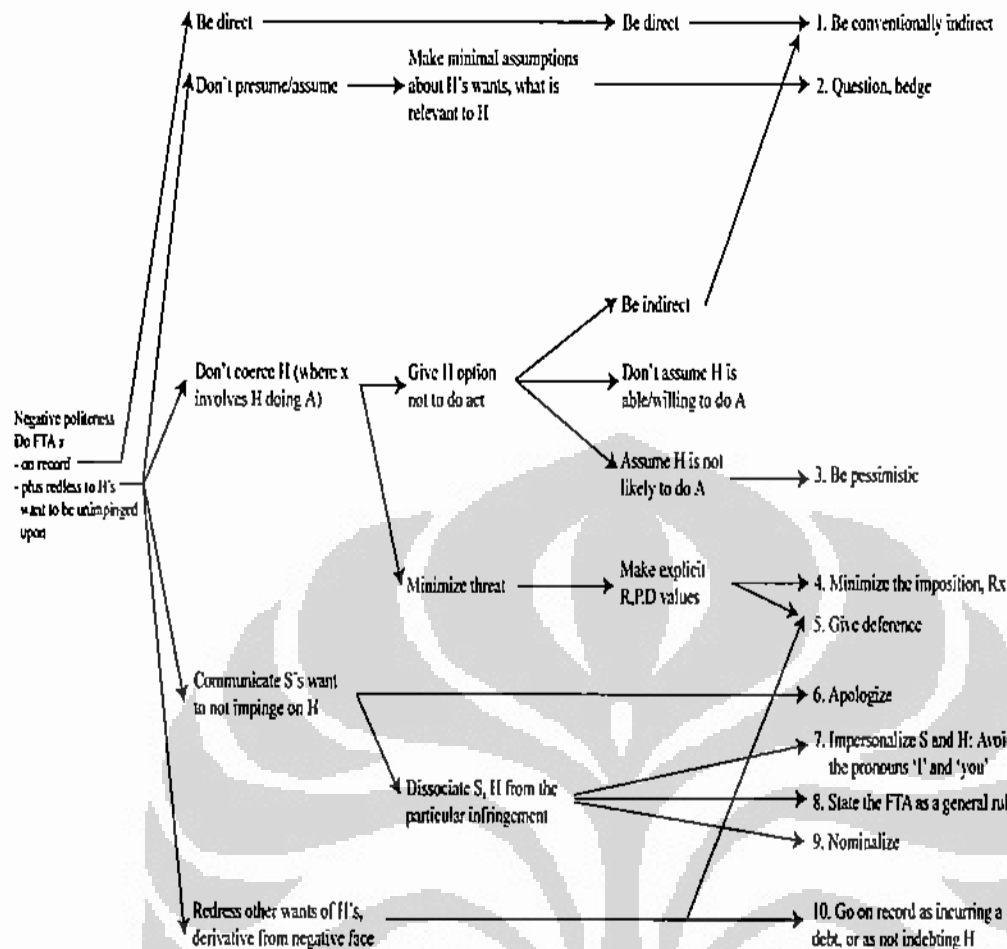
Gambar 2. Strategi Kesantunan Positif Brown dan Levinson

(Brown dan Levinson 1978: 102)

Kemudian Brown dan Levinson merumuskan 15 strategi untuk menghindari kemungkinan mengancam muka positif ini, yaitu: (1) perhatikan *H* (minat, keinginan, keperluan, benda); (2) lebih-lebihkan (kesetujuan, simpati dengan *H*: (3) ungkapkan pengamatan tentang apa yang menjadi minat *H*; (4) pakailah pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok. Strategi ketiga ini terdiri atas (i) tutur sapa (*address terms*); (ii) gunakan bahasa orang dalam (*in-group language/dialect*); (iii) gunakan jargon atau slang; (5) carilah kesetujuan, artinya bicaralah tentang topik yang aman dan ulangilah apa yang dikatakan *S* (penutur); (6) hindari ketidaksetujuan, yang terdiri atas (i) gunakan kesetujuan “di bibir”; (ii) gunakan kesetujuan semu; (iii) gunakan *hedge* (pagar); (7) praduga atau ciptakan dasar bersama *common ground*; (8) bergurau; (9) tekankan pengetahuan atau kepedulian *S* atas keinginan *H*; (10) beri tawaran dan janji (tawarkan kompensasi sebagai pengganti keterancaman muka, terdiri atas (i) permintaan dan (ii) tawaran; (11) bersikaplah optimistik; (12) ikutkan *S* dan *H* ke dalam aktivitas; (13) berikan (atau minta) alasan; (14) tunjukkan resiprositas; (15) berikan sesuatu kepada *H* (barang, simpati, pengertian).

3. *FTA on record* dengan *redressive action (negative politeness)*

Strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif digunakan sebagai permintaan maaf atas terganggunya ruang lingkup dan kenyamanan mitra tutur atas tuturan yang akan dihasilkan sehingga meminimiliasi imposisi. Misalnya tuturan yang diawali dengan *hedges* (pagar), seperti *I'm sorry to bother you but..., I was wondering if...* dan sebagainya. Secara pragmatik, *I was wondering if...* lebih memperlihatkan kedekatan antara penutur dan mitra tutur dibanding *I'm sorry to bother you but....* Pada lain kesempatan, strategi ini juga diungkapkan melalui tuturan yang memiliki tata bahasa berkonstruksi pasif atau dengan upaya menghilangkan ungkapan yang mengacu kepada penutur maupun mitra tutur, dan seringkali penggunaan modalitas juga digunakan. Strategi ini acapkali disebut juga dengan *formal politeness*. Brown dan Levinson merumuskan substrategi dari strategi kesantunan negatif ini, seperti terlihat pada bagan di bawah ini:



Gambar 3. Strategi Kesantunan Negatif Brown dan Levinson

(Brown dan Levinson 1978: 131)

Bagan di atas dapat dijelaskan sebagai berikut: (1) ungkapkan secara tidak langsung atau mengungkapkan permintaan atau permohonan dalam bentuk pertanyaan, misalnya: *why are you painting your house purple?*; *why paint your house purple?*; *why the hell are you painting your house purple?*; (2) menggunakan pagar (*hedge*), seperti *It was amazing, wasn't it?*; *as you know...*; (3) bersikaplah pesimistik atau menjadikan tuturan tidak langsung secara konvensional, misalnya (*Could, would, might*) *you do X?*; (4) meminimalkan keharusan, seperti *I just want to ask you if you could lend me a tiny bit of paper*; (5) tunjukkan hormat, misalnya *we look forward very much to dining with you*; (6) mintalah maaf seperti *I'm sure you must be very busy, but...*; (7) impersonalkan S dan It (*I tell you that it is so*); ganti pronomina (*One shouldn't do things like that*; *Ok, folks, let's get on with it*); pemanjangan jarak (*It was kind of interested in*

knowing if...; (8) Ungkapkan TPM sebagai kaidah umum, misalnya *Passengers will please refrain from flushing toilets on the train;* (9) nominalkan. Contoh: (a) *you performed well on the examinations...;*(b) *your performing well on the examinations...;* (c) *your good performance on...*

4. *FTA off record*

Bertutur secara samar-samar diformulasikan secara tidak langsung dalam tuturannya karena tingginya level TPM yang ada. Formulasi tersebut dilakukan melalui beberapa cara antara lain: menggunakan sindiran, metafor, atau lewat tuturan bermakna ambigu atau samar-samar. Strategi ini acapkali pula dilakukan dengan cara tidak menyelesaikan suatu tuturan atau bertutur dengan terbata-bata seperti *I know about that but...* atau dengan menggunakan elipsis. Strategi ini dipakai dengan praktik kepura-puraan penutur seakan-akan ia tidak mengerti dengan jelas akan hal yang sedang ia tuturkan. Realisasi strategi ini memiliki substrategi dengan isyarat. Menurut Trosbog (1995: 192-197), ada dua kelompok substrategi isyarat, yaitu: pertama, isyarat kuat, yang mengacu kepada tuturan yang mempunyai daya ilokusi kuat, isyarat kuat ditandai dengan ungkapan atau yang lebih transparan dapat diasosiasikan dengan maksud penutur; kedua, isyarat lunak, yang mengacu kepada tuturan yang daya ilokusinya lemah. Isyarat lunak ini ditandai dengan tidak adanya ungkapan yang secara transparan dapat diasosiasikan dengan maksud penutur.

5. Tidak mempraktikkan *FTA* atau *say nothing*

Strategi bertutur di dalam hati (BDH) atau diam adalah strategi yang dilakukan penutur berupa tindakan menahan diri untuk tidak menyatakan secara verbal permohonannya kepada mitra tutur, karena faktor situasi yang tidak memungkinkan. Strategi ini adalah strategi yang paling tidak langsung dalam menyampaikan pesan dari penutur kepada petutur. Tidak ada satu katapun dari mulut penutur. Ini berarti bahwa strategi kesantunan ini tidak mengandung daya ilokusi sehingga tidak ada Tindak Pengancam Muka, atau rusaknya muka petutur. Strategi ini diimplementasikan saat komunikasi verbal dirasakan terlalu beresiko dan tidak memungkinkan untuk dipakai. Akibatnya, tuturan lebih cenderung

menggunakan bahasa tubuh atau diam saja tanpa menghasilkan tuturan apapun. Strategi kesantunan dapat pula dipraktikkan lewat *pre-request* yang terdiri atas *pre-invitations* dan *pre-announcement*. Praktik jenis ini dilakukan dengan upaya memastikan apakah tuturan yang akan dihasilkan lebih lanjut akan mengancam muka atau tidak. Salah satu contoh *pre-announcement* terdapat pada contoh di bawah ini:

- (7) (a) *Daughter: Mom, guess what?*
 (b) *Mother: What?*
 (c) *Daughter: I'm pregnant*
 (d) *Mother: What???*

Seperti yang terlihat pada contoh (7) di atas, (7a) merupakan “*go-ahead*” *pre-announcement*, (7b) ialah *response*, sedangkan (7c) adalah *announcement*.

2.1.4. Implikatur

Ada beberapa pakar yang mengemukakan teori implikatur, yaitu Paul Grice (1975), Leech (1983), dan Sperber dan Wilson (1986). Berikut pemikiran mereka tentang implikatur.

Grice dalam Mey (1993: 35) mendefinisikan implikatur sebagai apa yang dimaksudkan seorang penutur berbeda dari apa yang dikatakan penutur. Ia menyebut dua macam implikatur, yaitu implikatur konvensional dan implikatur konversasional. Implikatur konvensional merupakan implikatur yang dihasilkan dari penalaran logika, tuturan yang mengandung implikatur jenis ini, seperti diungkap oleh Gunarwan (2004: 14), dapat dicontohkan dengan penggunaan kata *bahkan*. Implikatur konversasional merupakan implikatur yang dihasilkan karena tuntutan konteks tertentu (Thomas 1995: 58). Contoh dua macam implikatur tersebut terlihat seperti di bawah ini.

(8) Bahkan Ibu Menteri Kesehatan menghadiri pesta pernikahan saya

(9) Saya kebetulan ada rapat dan akan dimulai sebentar lagi

Contoh (8) di atas merupakan implikatur konvensional yang berarti Ibu Menteri Kesehatan biasanya tidak menghadiri pesta pernikahan saya, sedangkan contoh (9) merupakan implikatur konversasional yang bermakna 'tidak'. Selain mengemukakan implikatur, Grice juga menjabarkan empat bidal (*maxim*) dalam prinsip kerjasama (*cooperative principle*), yaitu: (1) bidal kuantitas: Buatlah sumbangan anda seinformatif mungkin sesuai dengan keperluan; (2) bidal kualitas: Jangan katakan sesuatu yang Anda yakin tidak benar dan jangan katakan sesuatu yang menurut Anda tidak ada buktinya; (3) bidal relevansi: katakan haal yang relevan; dan (4) bidal cara: Hindarkan ketidakjelasan tuturan, hindarkan ketaksaan, bicara dengan singkat, tertib, dan teratur. Hal yang paling penting untuk dicatat dalam teori Grice adalah bahwa implikaturnya mengandung teori inferensi, artinya inferensi apa yang dapat ditarik dari tuturan yang melanggar bidal, karena di dalam kenyataan terbukti ada tumpang tindih di antara rumusan bidal-bidal tersebut.

Leech (1983) adalah ahli pragmatik dari Britania, yang dapat dikatakan sebagai ahli yang menyelamatkan teori Grice. Menurutnya, kesantunan bertalian dengan suatu hubungan antara dua partisipan, yang disebut *self* dan *other* (1983: 131). Dalam percakapan sehari-hari, penutur menggunakan strategi linguistik yang berbeda dalam mencapai suatu tujuan. Misalnya dalam suatu kelompok, teman sepermainan kita dapat mengatakan "*shut up!*", akan tetapi tuturan tersebut akan sangat berbeda bila kita berada dalam situasi formal, misalnya "*I'm sorry, I don't mean to interrupt, but I am not able to hear the speaker in the front of the room*". Dua tuturan tersebut berarti meminta diam, tetapi tuturan kedua jelas terdengar lebih santun.

Leech berusaha menyelamatkan teori Grice dengan mengajukan prinsip kesantunan yang berisi bahwa setiap petutur tidak hanya bertutur untuk bekerjasama dalam komunikasi dengan mematuhi prinsip kerjasama, akan tetapi juga perlu menggunakan prinsip kesantunan sehingga percakapan tidak terkesan "lurus" dan kaku. Prinsip kesantunan menurut Leech berisi bidal-bidal sebagai berikut: (1) *maxim of tact* (bidal kebijaksanaan) yang berisi (a) minimalkan biaya bagi petutur dan (b) maksimalkan keuntungan bagi petutur atau pihak lain, misalnya tuturan dengan modus impertif *makan kuenya*; (2) *maxim of generosity*

(bidal kedermawanan) berisi (a) minimalkan kegunaan bagi diri dan (b) maksimalkan biaya bagi diri; (3) *maxim of approbation* (bidal pujian) berisi (a) minimalkan penjelekan kepada pihak lain dan (b) maksimalkan pujian kepada pihak lain, misalnya *mobilmu keren sekali* terdengar lebih santun daripada *mobilmu baru, ya?*; (4) *maxim of modesty* (bidal kerendahatian) berisi (a) minimalkan pujian kepada diri sendiri dan (b) maksimalkan penjelekan kepada diri sendiri; (5) *maxim of agreement* (bidal kesetujuan) berisi (a) minimalkan ketidaksetujuan dengan petutur dan (b) maksimalkan kesetujuan dengan petutur; (6) *maxim of sympathy* (bidal simpati) berisi (a) maksimalkan ungkapan simpati kepada petutur dan (b) minimalkan ungkapan antipati kepada petutur; (7) *maxim of consideration* (bidal pertimbangan) berisi (a) minimalkan rasa tidak senang petutur dan (b) maksimalkan rasa senang petutur. Inti prinsip kesantunan menurut Leech adalah bahwa kesantunan terlihat apabila penutur mematuhi nasihat berupa meminimalkan pengungkapan pendapat yang tidak santun (Leech 1983: 81).

Menurut Jalaludin dan Awal (2006: 9), setiap kajian linguistik dapat disebut ilmiah jika dapat memenuhi tiga ciri utama, yaitu kepaduan memperhatikan, menguraikan dan menjelaskan fenomena berdasarkan teori yang sesuai. Teori relevansi, komunikasi dan kognisi menurut Sperber dan Wilson tahun 1986/1995 dapat membantu peneliti memahami tuturan yang dihasilkan dengan sistematis dan saintifik. Sperber dan Wilson (1995), seperti dikutip oleh Renkema (2004: 22), menyebutkan bahwa bahasa dalam penggunaannya (*language in use*) selalu dapat diidentifikasi melalui hal yang disebutnya *indeterminacy* atau *underspecification*. Melalui hal tersebut, penerima pesan (*addressee*) hanya memilih sesuatu yang dianggapnya relevan dengan apa yang hendak disampaikan oleh pengirim pesan (*addresser*) dalam konteks komunikasi tertentu. Misalnya:

(10) Pastikan semua pintu terkunci jika meninggalkan ruangan ini.

Setiap pembaca dapat memahami bahwa pesan ini hanya berlaku jika ia akan meninggalkan ruangan tersebut untuk terakhir kalinya, bukan untuk setiap kali meninggalkan ruangan, misalnya untuk ke kamar mandi. Dengan kata lain, pesan

ini berada dalam spesifikasi tertentu yang disepakati oleh *addresser* dan *addressee* dalam konteks komunikasi.

Selanjutnya, untuk menjelaskan cara sebuah pesan dipahami penerimanya, Sperber dan Wilson (1995), seperti yang dikutip oleh Renkema (2004: 22), menetapkan tiga macam hubungan antara *cue* dan *implicature*, yaitu: pertama, tuturan merupakan sebetulnya tindakan dari komunikasi ostensif, misalnya tindakan untuk membuat sesuatu menjadi jelas dan dapat dipahami oleh penerima pesan; kedua, komunikasi tidak hanya memasukkan apa yang ada dalam pikiran pengirim pesan ke dalam pikiran penerima pesan, tetapi mencakupi perluasan wilayah kognitif (*cognitive environment*) kedua belah pihak. Misalnya pada contoh (10) di atas, pengirim pesan dapat memperkirakan reaksi penerima pesan terhadap pesan yang disampaikannya, yaitu tidak perlu mengunci pintu jika keluar dalam batasan waktu dan situasi yang diperkirakan cukup aman; dan ketiga, *explicature* atau *degree of relevance*, tahapan yang harus dilewati untuk memahami implikatur dalam percakapan. Contoh yang ditulis Renkema (2004: 23) di bawah ini memberikan gambaran yang cukup jelas.

- (11) A: *Well, there is a shuttle service sixty euros one-way, when do you want to go?*
 B: *At the weekend.*
 A: *What weekend?*
 B: *Next weekend. How does it work? You just turn up for the shuttle service?*
 A: *That might be cheaper. Then that's fifty.*

Dalam percakapan (11) di atas, pemahaman penerima pesan terhadap apa yang hendak disampaikan oleh pengirim pesan terjadi melalui beberapa tahapan. Dalam percakapan tersebut, B mengira A mengerti bahwa *at the weekend* berarti *next weekend*, padahal A harus memastikan dengan jelas setiap pemesanan pembelian tiket. Begitu juga A, ia mengandaikan B dapat mengerti bahwa *that might be cheaper* dapat berarti *If you purchase a ticket now, you have booked a seat which costs 60 euros. If you buy the ticket when you turn up, it costs 50 euros.* Dalam hal

ini, ujaran *at the weekend*, dalam pengertian *degree of relevance*, merupakan ujaran yang relevansinya rendah dan memerlukan *processing effort* yang lebih besar, sedangkan *that might be cheaper* merupakan ujaran yang relevansinya lebih baik; karena semakin tinggi *contextual effect*, semakin rendah ia memerlukan *processing effort*.

Untuk lebih jelasnya, saya mencoba merangkum penjelasan dan memberikan contoh dari teori relevansi ini. Teori relevansi merupakan teori yang berisi kesesuaian antara topik pembicaraan dengan bentuk pembicaraan. Teori ini bertitik tolak pada pengertian bahwa *language in use* (*parole*, tuturan, bentuk) itu bercirikan *indeterminant* atau *underspecified* (merupakan bentuk tuturan yang belum dapat diketahui relevansinya dengan maksud penutur). Contoh tuturan yang *underspecified* adalah *Bapak terlihat kurang sehat hari ini*. Bentuk tuturan seperti ini merupakan *cue* yang belum diketahui *implicature*-nya. *Cue* merupakan sebuah bentuk tuturan yang digunakan penutur dalam mengemukakan maksudnya. Tuturan tersebut berisi informasi tentang kesehatan bapak (bos, dosen, guru, atau lainnya) yang terlihat kurang sehat.

Implicature merupakan maksud sebuah tuturan yang mungkin berbeda fungsinya. Tuturan tersebut mungkin berfungsi sebagai sebuah harapan agar kegiatan yang sedang dilakukan lebih cepat selesai atau agar bos pulang lebih awal karena merasa nyaman jika tidak ada bos di kantor. Adakalanya *cue* (bentuk tuturan) dan *implicature* (fungsi tuturan) tidak berhubungan. Untuk dapat mengetahui adanya hubungan itu diperlukan *interpretive frame*. *Interpretive frame* merupakan kerangka interpretasi yang dibentuk berdasarkan pengalaman dan pengetahuan penutur. Diharapkan terjadi persamaan interpretasi mengenai suatu hal atau objek sehingga komunikasi dapat terus berlangsung.

Keberlangsungan komunikasi dengan adanya hubungan antara *cue* dan *implicature* dapat ditentukan oleh adanya tiga hal, yaitu (1) *ostensive communication*. Pesan atau informasi yang hadir dalam sebuah komunikasi akan menjadi jelas dengan adanya sebuah penunjukan atau dengan menggunakan ciri-ciri tertentu, misalnya dengan penggunaan kata *itu* dalam kalimat *Saya mau yang itu* (dalam deretan baju-baju ada beberapa baju yang berwarna hijau). Untuk menjelaskan baju yang dimaksud, digunakanlah kata *itu*. Akan tetapi, jika pada

deretan baju itu, hanya ada satu baju berwarna hijau, maka kata *itu* tidak diperlukan. Dengan kalimat *Saya mau baju yang hijau*, sebuah komunikasi sudah jelas maksudnya. Jadi, *ostensive communication* berfungsi sebagai sarana penghubung antara *cue* dan *implicature*; (2) *cognitive environments*. Sebuah komunikasi tidak hanya menyampaikan keinginan pembicara untuk diketahui oleh lawan bicara, tetapi juga berguna untuk memperluas pengetahuan pembicara dan lawan bicara tersebut. Melalui sebuah komunikasi, partisipan dapat memperluas pengetahuan mengenai sebuah realitas.

Cognitive environments merupakan seperangkat fakta yang ada dalam suatu realitas, yang diketahui oleh partisipan berdasarkan semua pengetahuan yang dimilikinya. Dalam *cognitive environments* ini kita kenal adanya *microcontext* (konteks dan situasi yang ada sebelumnya menyebabkan sebuah teks dapat bermakna atau dipahami), *superstructure* (tiap jenis wacana memiliki struktur tertentu), dan *the universe of discourse* (kebermaknaan dalam memaknai sebuah wacana atau teks); (3) *explicature/degree of relevance*. Sebuah komunikasi dipahami melalui proses *explicature* yang merupakan spesifikasi sebuah tuturan yang diatur dengan menggunakan prinsip-prinsip teori relevansi. Biasanya proses ini menggunakan pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang menggiring penutur (*degree of relevance*) sehingga sampai pada maksud yang lebih jelas. Contoh *degree of relevance* sehingga mencapai *explicature* terlihat seperti contoh (12) berikut ini.

- (12) A : Jadwal latihan yang pagi jam berapa?
 B : Putra/putri?
 A : Putra.
 B : Hari apa?
 A : Senin dan Kamis.
 B : Kelompok usia berapa?
 A : 10—15 tahun.
 B : Putra usia 10—15 tahun Senin dan Kamis jam 08.00 s.d. 10.00, sedangkan putri untuk kelompok usia dan jam yang sama pada hari

Selasa dan Jumat. Kalau Minggu dari jam 07.00 s.d. 12.00 untuk putra dan putri dari kelompok usia yang sama.

Degree of relevance ditentukan oleh dua faktor, yaitu (1) *contextual effect* dan (2) *processing effort*. Semakin kecil *contextual effect*, semakin besar *processing effort* yang harus dilakukan untuk sampai pada *degree of relevance* sehingga jelas *explicature*-nya. Sebaliknya, semakin besar *contextual effect*, semakin kecil *processing effort* yang harus dilakukan. Contoh di atas memperlihatkan bahwa B harus mengajukan beberapa pertanyaan sebelum menjawab pertanyaan A. Hal ini terjadi karena pertanyaan A masih belum jelas. Jika saja A bertanya *Jadwal latihan putra usia 10—15 tahun pagi jam berapa*, maka B tidak perlu banyak bertanya karena pertanyaan A sudah lebih jelas dan B akan langsung menjawab.

Usaha pemrosesan ini merupakan bagian dari teori yang berorientasi pada *receiver* dalam hal bagaimana memproses informasi, dengan tidak mengabaikan faktor produksi pesan. Sebagian besar teori ini adalah tradisi kognitif, yaitu ilmu pikiran, atau pemrosesan informasi. Menurut Thomas Ostrom, ada tiga dimensi dari sistem kognitif, yaitu; (1) *codes, cognitive codes*, merupakan elemen dasar dari informasi yang disimpan dalam memori dan dimanipulasi dalam berbagai cara ketika kita berpikir; (2) *structures* merupakan dimensi kedua, yaitu *cognitive structure*, cara mengorganisasi kode-kode tersebut, dan (3) *processes (cognitive processes)*. Teori ini dibagi menjadi tiga bagian yang saling berkaitan yaitu: (1) proses interpretasi, pemahaman dan makna; (2) pengaturan informasi; dan (3) proses menyatakan pendapat.

Teori relevansi ini, dengan meminjam istilah Gunarwan 2005, adalah “*the state of the art*”, perkembangan terakhir teori implikatur. Ia menyatakan bahwa teori ini tidak dapat dipakai sebagai landasan penulisan tesis atau disertasi kesantunan berbahasa karena sifatnya yang “asosial”; tidak ada penjelasan bagaimana latar belakang sosial dan kultural (Gunarwan 2006: 11), tetapi tilikan dari teori relevansi ini, seperti konsep implikatur dapat digunakan sebagai alat analisis penulisan tesis atau disertasi.

2.2. Kajian Penelitian Terdahulu yang Terkait

Ada sejumlah penelitian yang bertalian dengan penelitian ini, serta membicarakan strategi kesantunan. Penelitian tersebut antara lain dilakukan oleh beberapa peneliti berikut ini: Blum-Kulka (1983) dan (1978), Hong (1998), Gunarwan (1992), (1994), dan (2000), Kartika (1996), Azis (2002), dan Manaf (2005).

2.2.1. Blum-Kulka (1983)

Blum-Kulka (1983) dalam Manaf (2005: 37-38) melakukan penelitian realisasi di dalam pengungkapan direktif di kalangan mahasiswa penutur bahasa kedua, bahasa pertamanya adalah bahasa Inggris, sedangkan bahasa keduanya adalah bahasa Ibrani. Sebaliknya diteliti mahasiswa yang bahasa pertamanya adalah bahasa Ibrani, dan bahasa keduanya adalah bahasa Inggris. Blum-Kulka melakukan penelitiannya di Israel. Dalam penelitiannya, ia membandingkan strategi tindak tutur direktif bahasa Inggris dan bahasa Ibrani dari dua kelompok mahasiswa itu. Berdasarkan penelitian itu, ia menemukan isyarat yang menunjukkan bahwa ada perbedaan strategi kesantunan di dalam direktif di antara dua kelompok penutur itu, yaitu penutur yang bahasa Inggris merupakan bahasa pertama dan Ibrani sebagai bahasa Kedua lebih banyak memilih strategi tindak tutur direktif yang lebih tidak langsung daripada penutur yang bahasa Ibrani sebagai bahasa pertama dan bahasa Inggris sebagai bahasa kedua. Perbedaan strategi itu disebabkan oleh faktor budaya penutur.

Penelitian selanjutnya bertalian dengan tindak tutur direktif dalam hubungannya dengan tingkat ketidaklangsungan pesan tindak tutur dan derajat kesantunan tindak tutur di dalam bahasa Inggris dan bahasa Ibrani (Manaf 2005: 38). Penelitian itu dilakukan dalam rangka pelaksanaan proyek penelitian *A Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCRSARP)*, yaitu studi mengenai pola realisasi tindak tutur lintas budaya yang dilaksanakan di sejumlah negara. Responden penelitian itu adalah mahasiswa penutur asli bahasa Inggris dan mahasiswa penutur asli bahasa Ibrani di Universitas Yerusalem, Israel. Data penelitian itu adalah persepsi responden tersebut tentang tingkat ketidaklangsungan tindak tutur dan tingkat kesantunan tindak tutur, yang dijangkit dengan kuesioner survei. Berdasarkan penelitian itu, disimpulkan bahwa antara ketidaklangsungan dan kesantunan adalah dua hal yang berbeda. Hasil penelitian

itu menunjukkan bahwa tindak tutur yang lebih tidak langsung, ternyata nilai kesantunannya tidak selalu lebih tinggi. Begitu juga sebaliknya, tindak tutur yang lebih langsung tidak selalu lebih kurang santun. Blum-Kulka (1987) dalam Manaf (2015: 39) menegaskan bahwa kesantunan berbahasa lebih dibentuk oleh peniadaan paksaan dan kejelasan pragmatik.

2.2.2. Hong (1998)

Hong (1998) meneliti kesantunan di dalam tindak tutur direktif di dalam bahasa Cina di kalangan penutur bahasa Cina di Beijing dengan menggunakan teori Brown dan Levinson (1978). Hasil temuannya menunjukkan bahwa direktif untuk korespondensi dengan bahasa Cina digunakan kesantunan deklarasi atau penginformasian yang bermodus imperatif, permohonan maaf, serta permintaan, dan permohonannya diungkapkan secara tidak langsung.

2.2.3. Gunarwan (1992), (1994), dan (2000)

Gunarwan (1992) meneliti kesantunan negatif di kalangan dwibahasawan Bahasa Indonesia-bahasa Jawa di Jakarta: Kajian sosiopragmatik. Permasalahan tidak hanya dibatasi pada wujud persepsi kesantunan pada tiap subjek, akan tetapi juga masalah kesantunan yang dikaitkan dengan kedwibudayaan, atau disebutnya bikultural. Penelitiannya dikaitkan dengan variabel kelompok umur (kurang dari 30 tahun dan 30 tahun lebih), dengan tujuan untuk melihat apakah ada perbedaan persepsi diantara kedua kelompok umur tersebut. Temuannya adalah hierarki kesantunan direktif bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Jawa adalah sama, artinya subjek penelitian menggunakan satu norma kebudayaan dalam menilai bentuk-bentuk direktif di dalam kedua bahasa itu. Kesimpulan akhirnya bahwa dwibahasawan Indonesia-Jawa itu adalah monokultural. Tahun 1994, Gunarwan melanjutkan penelitiannya mengenai persepsi kesantunan negatif di kalangan dwibahasawan Indonesia-Jawa di Jakarta. Gunarwan (2000) meneliti tindak tutur melarang di kalangan dua kelompok etnis, yaitu Jawa dan Batak. Peneliti menggunakan pendekatan antardisiplin, yaitu linguistik, sosiologi, dan antropologi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat kelompok etnis Batak umumnya lebih terus terang di dalam tindak tutur melarang daripada masyarakat kelompok etnis Jawa.

2.2.4. Kartika (1996)

Kartika (1996) meneliti tindak pengancam muka dengan kesantunan positif dalam wawancara BBC dengan Putri Diana. Dalam penelitiannya, ia membuktikan bahwa terdapat kecenderungan Putri Diana untuk terus menggunakan strategi kesantunan menghindari pertentangan (*avoid disagreement*) sepanjang acara wawancara di stasiun televisi BBC Inggris. Temuan lainnya yaitu, adanya pola yang menunjukkan kecenderungan Putri Diana untuk membatasi pendapat pada saat ia harus memberikan pendapat mengenai suatu hal.

2.2.5. Azis (2002)

Azis (2002: 239-278) meneliti variasi realisasi strategi kesantunan berbahasa Indonesia di kalangan penutur bahasa Indonesia berdasarkan variabel generasi (kelompok umur). Hasil penelitiannya, yaitu: (1) ada perbedaan realisasi strategi kesantunan yang sangat kentara di antara para produsen yang berbeda generasi. Temuan itu mengindikasikan telah terdapat perubahan pandangan para penutur bahasa Indonesia mengenai beberapa prinsip kesantunan berbahasa Indonesia; (2) usia merupakan variabel yang paling menentukan realisasi kesantunan.

2.2.6. Manaf (2005)

Manaf (2005) meneliti realisasi strategi kesantunan direktif di dalam bahasa Indonesia di kalangan anggota kelompok etnis Minangkabau di Padang. Hasil penelitiannya menunjukkan bahwa anggota kelompok etnis Minangkabau di Padang untuk mengungkapkan direktif dalam bahasa Indonesia adalah tidak berbeda dengan lima strategi utama bertutur yang dipostulatkan oleh Brown dan Levinson. Ia menambahkan bahwa di antara lima strategi bertutur utama yang sudah disebutkan di atas, pada dasarnya hanya tiga strategi bertutur, yang digunakan untuk memperlunak daya ilokusi di dalam direktif. Tiga strategi bertutur yang dimaksud adalah BTDBKP (bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif), BTDBKN (bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif) dan BS (bertutur samar-samar). Ia lebih lanjut menjelaskan bahwa temuan penelitiannya dapat dijelaskan dengan meletakkannya pada tataran yang lebih tinggi daripada tataran perilaku berbahasa, yaitu pada tataran kebudayaan.

Penelitian yang dilakukan ini tidak sama dengan penelitian yang telah dijabarkan di atas, terutama dalam hal sebagai berikut: fokus masalah penelitian, tujuan, metode, dan sasaran penelitian.

BAB 3

KERANGKA ACUAN TEORETIS DAN METODOLOGI PENELITIAN

3.1. Pengantar

Berdasarkan tinjauan pustaka yang dikemukakan, saya merumuskan kerangka teori untuk menjawab permasalahan. Kerangka Acuan Teoretis dalam penelitian ini ialah berdasarkan teori tindak tutur Austin (1962) dan Searle (1969), strategi kesantunan (Brown dan Levinson 1978), dan implikatur (Sperber dan Wilson 1995).

3.1.1. Tindak Tutur

Untuk melihat jenis tindak tutur dalam pidato politik Presiden Bush, pendapat utama yang saya gunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah dua pendapat Austin dan Searle mengenai tindak tutur dan klasifikasinya. Teori tindak-tutur bersandar pada hipotesis performatif (*performative hypothesis*) Austin. Austin (1962) melalui dua orang muridnya Urmson, J.O. dan Marina Sbisa menulis buku *How to Do Things with Words*. Austin berpendapat bahwa dengan berbahasa kita tidak hanya mengatakan sesuatu (*to make statements*), melainkan juga melakukan sesuatu (*perform actions*). Hal ini didukung oleh Searle (1969), yang menjelaskan bahwa tuturan adalah sebuah tindakan, yaitu tindak bertutur atau tindak tutur. Searle (1976: 1-24) menyebut lima jenis fungsi tindak tutur, yaitu asertif (*assertive*), direktif (*directive*), komisif (*comissive*), ekspresif (*expressive*), dan deklarasi (*declaration*).

Asertif atau representatif merupakan tindak tutur yang menyatakan sesuatu yang dipercayai pembicaranya benar; direktif merupakan tindak tutur yang menghendaki pendengarnya melakukan sesuatu; komisif merupakan tindak tutur yang digunakan pembicaranya untuk menyatakan sesuatu yang mengikatnya untuk dilakukannya; ekspresif merupakan tindak tutur yang menyatakan perasaan dan pemikiran pembicaranya; dan deklarasi merupakan tindak tutur yang mengubah status sesuatu. Dalam penelitian ini, saya memfokuskan kepada tindak

tutur direktif, yang terdiri atas tindak tutur memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati dan menyarankan.

Untuk melengkapi pembahasan dalam menganalisis pidato politik Presiden Bush, saya juga menggunakan konsep strategi kesantunan yang dikemukakan oleh Brown dan Levinson (1978).

3.1.2. Strategi Kesantunan

Kesantunan adalah kesadaran memelihara “muka” dan kesadaran yang menunjukkan perlindungan muka atau harga diri, terutama muka petutur (Brown dan Levinson 1978). Mereka dalam penelitiannya menunjukkan bahwa terdapat banyak cara untuk menghindari Tindak Pengancam Muka (*FTA*) yang dapat direduksi menjadi lima macam cara, yaitu pertama, bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi; kedua, bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; ketiga bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif; keempat, bertutur secara samar-samar; dan kelima tidak mengatakan apa pun atau tidak melakukan tindak pengancam muka.

Berdasarkan lima jenis strategi tersebut, saya merumuskan tindak tutur yang dilakukan oleh Presiden Bush menjadi jenis strategi kesantunan, untuk selanjutnya dicari implikaturnya berdasarkan teori relevansi yang dikemukakan oleh Sperber dan Wilson (1995).

3.1.3. Implikatur

Implikatur adalah informasi yang tersirat, yang tidak dikatakan, tetapi terkomunikasikan oleh penutur di dalam suatu percakapan (Sperber dan Wilson 1995: 56). Adakalanya *cue* (bentuk tuturan) dan *implicature* (fungsi tuturan) tidak berhubungan. Untuk dapat mengetahui adanya hubungan itu diperlukan *interpretive frame*. *Interpretive frame* merupakan kerangka interpretasi yang dibentuk berdasarkan pengalaman dan pengetahuan penutur. Diharapkan terjadi persamaan interpretasi mengenai suatu hal atau objek sehingga komunikasi dapat terus berlangsung.

Keberlangsungan komunikasi dengan adanya hubungan antara *cue* dan *implicature* dapat ditentukan oleh adanya tiga hal, yaitu (1) *ostensive*

communication. Pesan atau informasi yang hadir dalam sebuah komunikasi akan menjadi jelas dengan adanya sebuah penunjukan atau dengan menggunakan ciri-ciri tertentu. Jadi, *ostensive communication* berfungsi sebagai sarana penghubung antara *cue* dan *implicature*; (2) *cognitive environments*. Sebuah komunikasi tidak hanya menyampaikan keinginan pembicara untuk diketahui oleh lawan bicara, tetapi juga berguna untuk memperluas pengetahuan pembicara dan lawan bicara tersebut. Melalui sebuah komunikasi, partisipan dapat memperluas pengetahuan mengenai sebuah realitas. *Cognitive environments* merupakan seperangkat fakta yang ada dalam suatu realitas, yang diketahui oleh partisipan berdasarkan semua pengetahuan yang dimilikinya.

Dalam *cognitive environments* ini kita kenal adanya *microcontext* (konteks dan situasi yang ada sebelumnya menyebabkan sebuah teks dapat bermakna atau dipahami), *superstructure* (tiap jenis wacana memiliki struktur tertentu), dan *the universe of discourse* (kebermaknaan dalam memaknai sebuah wacana atau teks); dan (3) *explicature/degree of relevance*. Sebuah komunikasi dipahami melalui proses eksplikatur yang merupakan spesifikasi sebuah tuturan yang diatur dengan menggunakan prinsip-prinsip teori relevansi. Biasanya proses ini menggunakan pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang menggiring penutur (*degree of relevance*) sehingga sampai pada maksud yang lebih jelas.

3.2. Metodologi Penelitian

Istilah metode penelitian dan beberapa istilah yang berhampiran dengannya merupakan istilah-istilah kunci dalam literatur metodologi penelitian ilmu bahasa dan sosial. Dalam sebagian literatur ilmu bahasa, pengertian metode seringkali dibedakan dengan teknik (Sudaryanto, 1993: 9; Subroto, 1992: 32). Metode dipahami sebagai cara penelitian yang lebih abstrak, sedangkan teknik dipandang sebagai cara penelitian yang lebih konkrit. Istilah metodologi dipakai sebagai acuan terhadap ilmu tentang metode. Dari sejumlah literatur, baik ilmu bahasa maupun ilmu sosial, ditarik satu pemahaman bahwa pengertian metode mengacu pada cara penelitian. Dengan kata lain, metode dapat pula dirumuskan sebagai langkah-langkah yang diambil peneliti untuk memecahkan masalah penelitian.

Dalam penelitian ini, saya mengambil langkah dengan metode kualitatif. Menurut Atkinson dan Coffey (1996), metode kualitatif adalah suatu pendekatan dengan menganalisis data berdarakantema dan pola inti penelitian. Dalam hal ini, peneliti ini harus mampu mengorganisasikan, mengelola, dan mendapatkan kembali potongan data yang paling bermakna dari keseluruhan data, artinya peneliti harus dapat mengintrepetasi atau harus dapat melakukan penilaian kritis terhadap teks pidato politik Presiden Bush.

3.2.1. Ancangan Penelitian

Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif dengan ancangan pragmatik. Ancangan pragmatik digunakan untuk menganalisis bagaimana tuturan tersebut memengaruhi penutur dan petuturnya di dalam komunikasi. Ancangan ini tidak akan mengkaji struktur bahasa dari tuturan, tetapi ancangan ini akan membahas bagaimanakah tuturan tersebut memengaruhi petutur. Penelitian ini akan memaparkan dan menganalisis secara intensif dan holistik strategi kesantunan dalam teks politik. Berdasarkan permasalahan yang diteliti, penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi kasus (*case study*). Menurut Yin (1984/2003: 15), studi kasus dilakukan karena menyangkut pengalaman empirik, yang menggunakan berbagai bukti untuk melakukan investigasi. Studi kasus memiliki empat manfaat, yaitu: (1) menjelaskan hubungan sebab-akibat dalam kehidupan nyata; (2) menggambarkan sebuah konteks kehidupan; (3) evaluasi; dan (4) eksplorasi. Metode penelitian studi kasus mempunyai empat desain penelitian (Yin 1984: 46). Empat desain tersebut adalah sebagai berikut:

Tabel 3. Desain Penelitian

	<i>Single Case Design</i>	<i>Multiple Case Design</i>
<i>Holistic (single level analysis)</i>	<i>Single case holistic</i>	<i>Multiple case holistic</i>
<i>Embedded (multilevel analysis)</i>	<i>Single case embedded</i>	<i>Multiple case embedded</i>

Single-case holistic digunakan jika hanya ada satu jenis kasus dengan satu level analisis saja yang diteliti; *single-case embedded* dilakukan jika hanya ada satu kasus tetapi memiliki beberapa unit analisis yang akan diteliti. *Multi case*

holistic adalah jika ada satu unit analisis yang diteliti, tetapi dilihat pada beberapa kasus. *Multi case embedded* dilakukan jika ada beberapa jenis kasus dan beberapa unit analisis yang akan diteliti. Penelitian ini bersifat *single case holistic*, karena hanya ada satu kasus yang akan diteliti dan hanya melihat satu unit analisis, yaitu strategi kesantunan Presiden Bush. Penelitian ini akan melihat bagaimana Presiden Bush bertutur berdasarkan strategi kesantunan menurut Brown dan Levinson (1978).

Wray et al (1998: 189) mengatakan bahwa studi kasus biasanya paling sesuai diterapkan pada seseorang yang memiliki tingkah laku yang patut diobservasi, walaupun kadangkala fenomena yang diobservasi terlalu kompleks, sehingga serangkaian perbedaan data diperlukan dalam rangka mencapai gambaran yang utuh. Berkaitan dengan hal tersebut, yang akan diteliti adalah perubahan strategi bertutur Presiden Bush dari waktu ke waktu (sepanjang tahun 2006) dan berfokus pada perbandingan strategi bertuturnya dalam satu rangkaian acara atau peristiwa.

3. 2. 2. Sumber Data

Sumber data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pidato dan dialog Presiden Bush. Data diambil dari situs (*website*) resmi *The White House* (<http://www.whitehouse.gov>). Pidato Presiden Bush yang dijadikan data penelitian adalah pidato sepanjang tahun 2006. Data yang dipilih adalah kata, frasa, klausa, dan kalimat yang mengandung tindak tutur direktif yang meliputi tindak tutur memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan serta kata, frasa, klausa, dan kalimat yang mengandung gejala strategi kesantunan.

3. 2. 3. Metode Pengumpulan Data

Menurut Wray et al (1998: 189-190), data dapat dikumpulkan dengan menggunakan teknik observasi, wawancara, atau tes. Penelitian ini hanya menggunakan teknik observasi. Peneliti ini meneliti pidato dan dialog-dialog Presiden Bush dalam setiap kunjungannya ke setiap negara dari bulan Januari sampai Desember tahun 2006. Kemudian dilihat teks pidato serta dialog tersebut

secara berulang-ulang dengan mengamati rekaman video pidato tersebut. Saya menyimak dan mencatat setiap kata, frasa, klausa, dan kalimat yang teridentifikasi gejala strategi bertutur dengan kesantunan positif menurut Brown dan Levinson (1978).

3.2.4. Korpus Data

Data yang diusulkan adalah teks pidato politik. Teks yang dimaksud di sini adalah teks pidato presiden Bush dalam suatu peristiwa. Panjang pidato politik tersebut berkisar antara 2000 sampai dengan 4500 kata. Setelah dikumpulkan, pidato Presiden Bush sepanjang tahun 2006 berjumlah 329 pidato. Pidato ini kemudian dipilah berdasarkan tujuan atau topik pidato. Dengan demikian, pidato itu dapat dirumuskan menjadi topik pidato urusan dalam negeri dan topik pidato urusan luar negeri. Data yang tidak termasuk topik diabaikan karena tidak sesuai dengan topik penelitian ini, sehingga dalam tahap berikutnya data berjumlah 33 pidato. Korpus ini dipilih dengan asumsi bahwa pidato politik tersebut merupakan representasi kebijakan-kebijakan Presiden Bush, yang terkait dalam empat hal, yaitu: (1) pertahanan citra diri; (2) peningkatan kesejahteraan rakyat Amerika Serikat, (3) diplomasi global; dan (4) kerja sama internasional. Tiga puluh tiga pidato sepanjang tahun 2006 yang dipilih tersebut adalah

1. Office of the Press Secretary. 14 Desember 2006. *President Bush Meets with President Yayi of Benin.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/12/print/text/20061214-4.html>
2. Office of the Press Secretary. 7 Desember 2006. *President Bush Meets with British Prime Minister Tony Blair.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/12/print/text/20061207-1.html>
3. Office of the Press Secretary. 8 Desember 2006. *President Bush Meets with President Mbeki of South Africa.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/12/print/text/20061208-6.html>

4. Office of the Press Secretary. 28 November 2006. *President Bush Participates in Joint Press Availability with President Ilves of Estonia.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061128-4.html>
5. Office of the Press Secretary. 25 Oktober 2006. *President Bush Welcomes President Fernandez of the Dominican Republic to the White House.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/10/print/text/20061025-2.html>
6. Office of the Press Secretary. 30 Maret 2006. *President Bush and Prime Minister Harper of Canada Deliver Remarks in Mexico.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/03/print/text/20060330-8.html>
7. Office of the Press Secretary. 28 Nopember 2006. *President Bush Meets with President Vike-Freiberga of Latvia.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061128-6.html>
8. Office of the Press Secretary. 9 Februari 2006. *President Bush Welcomes President of Poland to the White House.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060209-1.html>
9. Office of the Press Secretary. 13 November 2006. *President Bush Welcomes Prime Minister Olmert of Israel to the White House.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061113-3.html>
10. Office of the Press Secretary. 28 November 2006. *President Bush Discusses NATO Alliance During Visit to Latvia.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061128-13.html>
11. Office of the Press Secretary. 28 Februari 2006. *President Welcomes Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi to the White House.* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060228.html>

12. Office of the Press Secretary. 16 Februari 2006. *President Bush Welcomes Colombian President Uribe to the White House*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060216-4.html>
13. Office of the Press Secretary. 13 Februari 2006. *President Bush Meets with U.N. Secretary General Annan.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060213-2.html>
14. Office of the Press Secretary. 28 Oktober 2006. *President Bush Greets Troops in Charleston, South Carolina.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/10/print/text/20061028-5.html>
15. Office of the Press Secretary. 13 Februari 2006. *President Congratulates Chicago White Sox, 2005 World Series Champions.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060213-3.html>
16. Office of the Press Secretary. 21 Februari 2006. *Roundtable Interview of the President by the Press Pool.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060221-1.html>
17. Office of the Press Secretary. 10 Februari 2006. *President Addresses House Republican Conference.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060210-2.html>
18. Office of the Press Secretary. 9 November 2006. *President Bush Meets with Congresswoman Pelosi and Congressman Hoyer at the White House.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061109-3.html>
19. Office of the Press Secretary. 3 November 2006. *Remarks by the President at Missouri Victory 2006 Rally.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061103-2.html>

20. Office of the Press Secretary. 30 November 2006. *President Bush Participates in Joint Press Availability with Prime Minister Maliki of Iraq.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061130-1.html>
21. Office of the Press Secretary. 12 Desember 2006. *President Bush Meets with Vice President Hashemi of Iraq.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/12/print/text/20061212-2.html>
22. Office of the Press Secretary. 16 Nopember 2006. *President Bush and Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of Singapore Exchange Toasts.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061116-3.html>
23. Office of the Press Secretary. 18 Nopember 2006. *President Bush Meets with President Roh of the Republic of Korea.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061118-4.html>
24. Office of the Press Secretary. 16 Nopember 2006. *President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Lee of Singapore.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061116.html>
25. Office of the Press Secretary. 18 Nopember 2006. *President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Abe of Japan.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061118-2.html>
26. Office of the Press Secretary. 16 Nopember 2006. *President Bush Visits National University of Singapore.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061116-1.html>
27. Office of the Press Secretary. 17 Nopember 2006. *President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Howard of Australia.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/text/20061117-2.html>

28. Office of the Press Secretary. 15 Desember 2006. *President Attends Armed Forces Full Honor Review for Secretary Rumsfeld.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/12/print/text/20061215-7.html>
29. Office of the Press Secretary. 22 Maret 2006. *President Discusses War on Terror, Progress in Iraq in West Virginia.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/03/print/text/20060322-3.html>
30. Office of the Press Secretary. 3 Februari 2006. *President Participates in American Competitiveness Panel in New Mexico.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060203-6.html>
31. Office of the Press Secretary. 16 Februari 2006. *President Participates in Panel Discussion on Health Care Initiatives.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060216-3.html>
32. Office of the Press Secretary. 21 Februari 2006. *President Participates in Energy Conservation & Efficiency Panel.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060221.html>
33. Office of the Press Secretary. 23 Februari 2006. *President Discusses Hurricane Katrina Lessons Learned Report with Cabinet.*
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060223-1.html>

3.2.5. Analisis Data

Setelah data diperoleh, tugas peneliti ini selanjutnya adalah menganalisis data tersebut. Langkah analisis data ini adalah langkah terpenting untuk mendapatkan jawaban dari masalah yang ingin dipecahkan. Dalam menganalisis data, yang adalah tuturan berupa kata, frasa, klausa dan kalimat yang mengandung gejala substrategi bertutur dengan kesantunan positif dan negatif, dicari ciri-ciri penentunya sesuai substrategi bertutur dengan kesantunan positif dan negatif

tersebut; kemungkinan substrategi yang paling sering muncul; substrategi lain yang muncul, serta apa hubungannya dengan implikasinya. Secara sistematis, langkah-langkah analisis data dalam penelitian ini dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut:

1. Dari 329 pidato sepanjang tahun 2006, dipilih 33 pidato yang bersifat *impromptu* (dilakukan langsung secara mendadak dengan tanya jawab dan wawancara). Peneliti perlu memberi catatan bahwa pidato yang dipilih dalam penelitian ini bukan murni *impromptu*, melainkan kombinasi antara pidato dengan persiapan dan pidato *impromptu*).
2. Dari 33 pidato yang menjadi data mentah dicari tindak tutur direktifnya, yang berupa tindak tutur memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati atau menyarankan.
3. Setiap pidato yang sudah diketahui jenis tindak tutur direktifnya diklasifikasi untuk kemudian tindak tutur tersebut diberi kode data, misalnya 281106/04/01. Kode data tersebut dapat dijelaskan sebagai berikut; 281106 adalah tanggal, bulan, dan tahun pidato tersebut dituturkan. 04 berarti paragraf yang terdapat dalam teks pidato dan 01 ialah baris tuturan dalam paragraf tersebut.
4. Setelah diberi kode, hasil akhir klasifikasi data sebelum dianalisis terlihat pada table di bawah ini.

Tabel 4. Klasifikasi Data

Data Pidato	Kode pidato	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan

5. Setelah semua pidato diklasifikasi, data pidato dikelompokkan berdasarkan variabel sela (*intervening variable*), yaitu: teks pidato politik dengan topik urusan dalam negeri dan teks pidato politik dengan

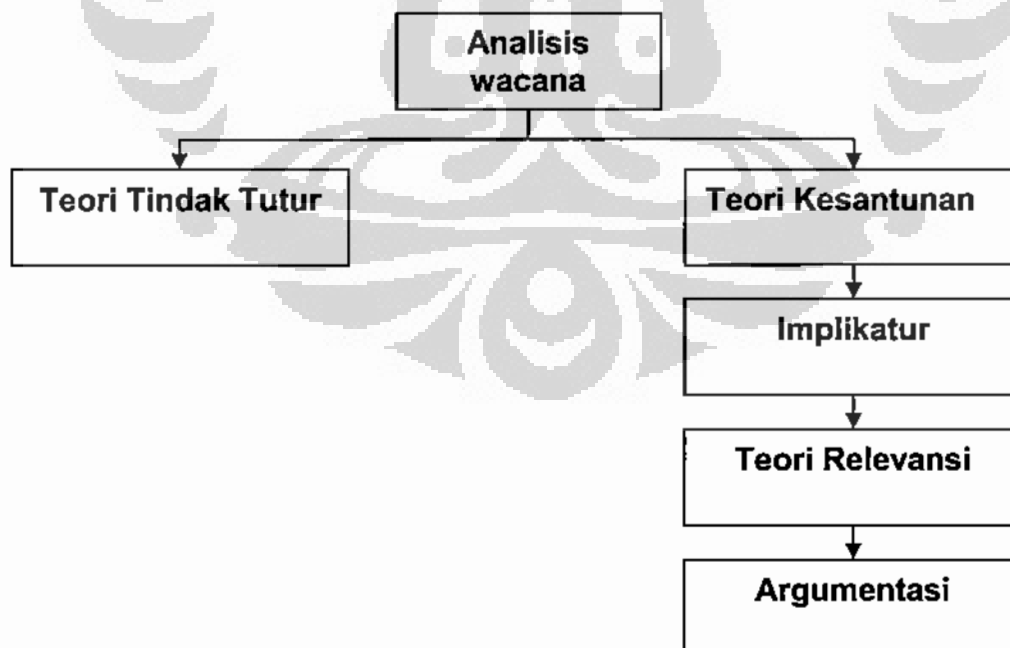
topik urusan luar negeri. Setiap topik akan memperlihatkan kekerapan kemunculan strategi bertutur, seperti terlihat pada tabel di bawah ini.

Tabel 5. Kekerapan kemunculan dengan topik urusan dalam/luar negeri

No	Strategi	Frekuensi	%
1	Bertutur tanpa Basa-basi		
2	Bertutur dengan Kesantunan Positif		
3	Bertutur dengan Kesantunan Negatif		
4	Bertutur secara Samar-samar		
5	"Melarang di dalam hati"		
	Keseluruhan		

6. Setelah terlihat strategi kesantunan apa yang paling sering muncul, peneliti ini akan mencari implikatur dari tuturan tersebut.
7. Kerangka analisis terlihat seperti bagan di bawah ini.

Bagan 1. Kerangka analisis



8. Hasil analisis dalam penelitian ini disajikan secara metabahasa. Secara metabahasa artinya analisis bahasa dinyatakan dengan bahasa. Metode semacam ini bisa disebut metode metabahasa saja. Dalam literatur lain metode serupa disebut metode informal (Sudaryanto, 1993). Contoh analisis terlihat seperti di bawah ini.

(x) *One of the lessons of September the 11th is that when this country sees a threat, we must deal with that threat before it fully materializes.*
(281006/11/01)

'Salah satu pelajaran dari peristiwa 11 September adalah ketika negeri ini melihat sebuah ancaman, kita harus menghadapi ancaman tersebut sebelum hal itu terwujud'

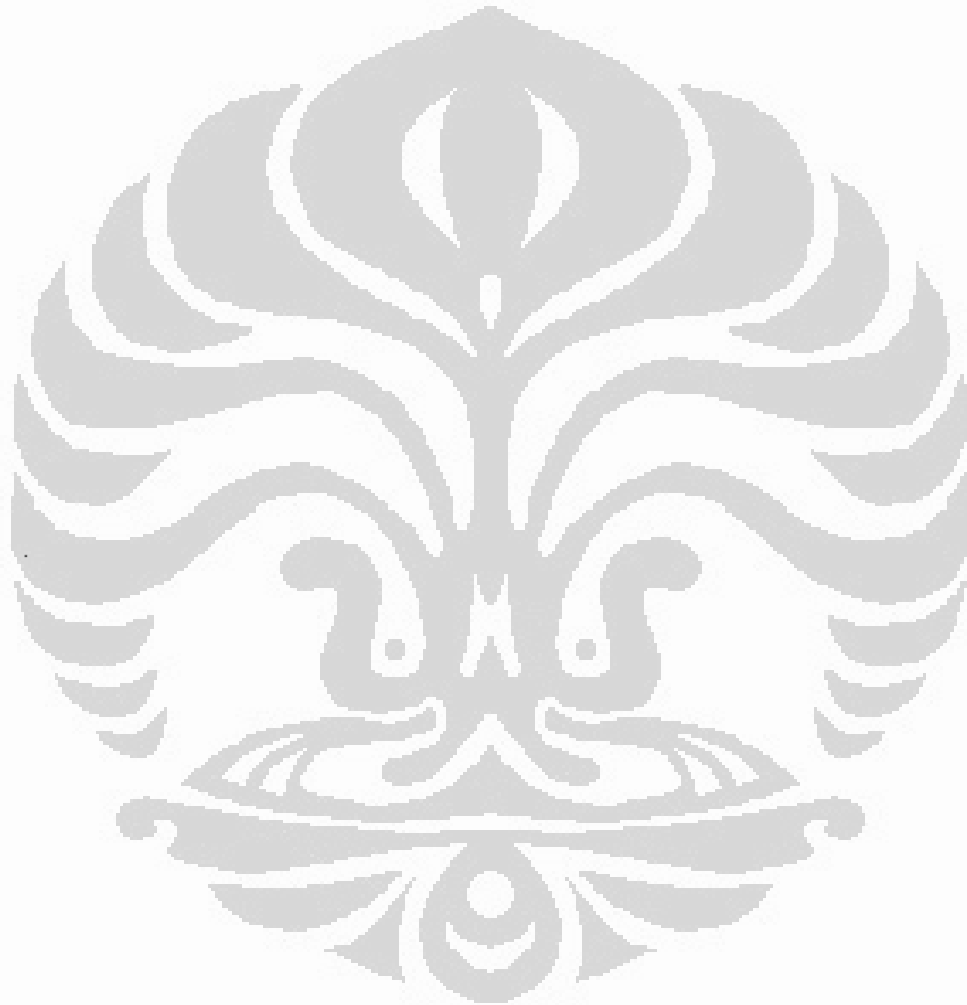
Pesan penutur kepada petutur secara terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB) dalam bentuk imperatif lengkap diungkapkan dalam contoh (x). Tuturan (x) merupakan jenis tindak tutur direktif menasihati. Jenis tindak tutur ini memengaruhi bentuk tuturan dan tingkat ketidaklangsungan tuturan. Parameter dalam situasi tutur (x) adalah penutur berkuasa atas petutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur tinggi, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K+S+P). Hal ini memperlihatkan bahwa Presiden Bush memiliki status dan kekuatan (politik) lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan mitra tutur. Dalam tuturan (x), strategi BTTB tidak disertai oleh substrategi penggunaan penanda identitas anggota kelompok yang sama. Kata *we*, yang berarti *kita* (kata ganti orang pertama jamak) dalam tuturan (x) menunjukkan bahwa Presiden Bush dan pemerintahannya, dan semua rakyat Amerika meminta bahwa menjaga keamanan negara merupakan kerja sama semua pihak. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa strategi dalam tuturan (x) ilokusinya diperlunak, sehingga ada alasan Presiden Bush untuk meminta anggota suatu kelompok (anggota kelompok angkatan udara dan angkatan laut Amerika Serikat) untuk melakukan sesuatu.

Selain itu, kata *we*, menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan dirasakan santun. Disamping itu dapat dianggap sebagai siratan *ingroupness*, sehingga efek kesantunan terlihat sejajar atau setara antara penutur dan

mitra tutur. Hal ini pula memperlihatkan bagaimana "nasehat" (tuturan (x)) yang disampaikan Presiden Bush dapat dipahami penerimanya. Menurut teori relevansi yang dikemukakan oleh Sperber dan Wilson (1995), untuk memahami bagaimana suatu pesan dapat diterima oleh petuturnya, terdapat tiga macam hubungan antara *cue* (sebuah bentuk tuturan yang digunakan penutur dalam mengemukakan maksudnya) dan *implicature* (implikatur), yaitu: pertama, tuturan merupakan sebuatan tindakan dari komunikasi ostensif, misalnya tuturan (x) dalam pidato Bush yang berjudul *President Bush Greets Troops in Charleston, South Carolina*, adalah suatu tindakan "mengingat" untuk membuat kejadian 11 September menjadi jelas dan dapat dipahami rakyat Amerika Serikat sebagai suatu ancaman teroris atau musuh Amerika Serikat. Sukarjaputra (Kompas, 2 November 2008: 5) mengatakan bahwa masa Kepresidenan Presiden Bush lebih banyak dipengaruhi oleh peristiwa serangan teroris 11 September 2001 di New York dan Pentagon. Sebuah lembaran hitam dalam sejarah Amerika Serikat moderen.; kedua, komunikasi tidak hanya memasukkan apa yang ada dalam pikiran pengirim pesan ke dalam pikiran penerima pesan, tetapi mencakupi perluasan wilayah kognitif kedua belah pihak.

Dalam tuturan (x), Presiden Bush dapat memperkirakan reaksi penerima pesan terhadap pesan yang disampaikan, yaitu menerima dan mempercayai bahwa ancaman tersebut (teroris) dapat datang menghantui rakyat Amerika Serikat, dan ancaman tersebut dapat merusak kehidupan orang yang tak berdosa. Hal ini memperlihatkan bahwa Presiden Bush berada dalam posisi mempertahankan citra dirinya sebagai seorang pemimpin (presiden), yang ingin melindungi dan menyelamatkan rakyatnya dari berbagai ancaman, juga menunjukkan suatu hal yang realistis; ketiga, *explicature* atau *degree of relevance*, tahapan yang harus dilewati untuk memahami implikatur. Dalam hal ini, tuturan *a threat*, dalam pengertian *degree of relevance*, adalah tuturan yang relevansinya baik dan memerlukan usaha pemrosesan (*processing effort*) yang lebih kecil. Ini berarti implikatur tuturan Bush kuat, karena terdapat banyak efek konstektual dan usaha memproses sedikit, artinya, mitra tutur dalam hal ini adalah *men and women of the 437th and the 315th Air Wings*, dapat langsung memahami maksud Presiden Bush akan kata ancaman tersebut, yaitu Saddam Hussein dan Iraq. Oleh karena itu, saya

berkesimpulan bahwa tuturan (1) mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka rendah, dengan parameter (+K+S+P) dalam bentuk strategi bertutur langsung, dan implikatur yang kuat,...dan seterusnya.



BAB 4

ANALISIS DATA DAN PEMBAHASAN TEMUAN PENELITIAN

4. 1. Pengantar

Bab empat terdiri atas analisis data dan temuan hasil penelitian. Bagian ini menjelaskan temuan dan uraian mengenai penalaran strategi bertutur di dalam teks pidato politik Presiden George W. Bush berdasarkan variabel teks pidato dengan tujuan urusan politik dalam negeri dan teks pidato dengan tujuan urusan politik luar negeri. Penalaran strategi bertutur tersebut di dalam setiap variabel diuraikan secara kualitatif. Pendapat utama yang digunakan untuk membahas penalaran strategi bertutur ini adalah pendapat Brown dan Levinson (1978) tentang kesantunan, berdasarkan lima jenis kesantunan yang dikemukakannya. Pendapat ini kemudian saya lengkapi dengan pendapat yang dikemukakan oleh Austin (1962) mengenai tindak tutur, dan Sperber dan Wilson mengenai implikatur dalam teori relevansi (1995).

Berdasarkan pendapat tersebut, saya selanjutnya mengklasifikasi jenis kesantunan yang saya gunakan dalam mengidentifikasi data menjadi lima, yaitu: (1) bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi; (2) bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; (3) bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif; (4) bertutur secara samar-samar; (5) "melarang di dalam hati" atau tidak mengatakan apa pun. Strategi bertutur yang paling sering digunakan oleh Presiden Bush adalah bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif sebanyak 62, 96%; kedua, bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi sebanyak 27,78%; ketiga, bertutur dengan kesantunan negatif sebanyak 5,56%; dan keempat bertutur secara samar-samar sebanyak 3,70%.

Untuk mencari implikatur di dalam tuturan, saya menggunakan teori relevansi yang dikemukakan oleh Sperber dan Wilson. Menurut mereka, teori relevansi merupakan teori yang berisi kesesuaian antara topik pembicaraan dengan bentuk pembicaraan. Teori ini bertitik tolak pada pengertian bahwa *language in use* (*parole*, tuturan, bentuk) itu bercirikan *indeterminant* atau

underspecified (merupakan bentuk tuturan yang belum dapat diketahui relevansinya dengan maksud penutur).

Simpulan penelitian ini didasarkan kepada hasil analisis data secara kualitatif.

4.2. Teks Pidato Politik Dalam Negeri dan Penalaran strategi bertutur dalam teks pidato politik berbahasa Inggris.

Teks pidato dalam negeri terdiri atas topik dengan pertahanan citra diri (*the maintenance of self-image*), dan peningkatan kesejahteraan rakyat Amerika (*well being of the people of America*). Untuk topik pertahanan citra diri, saya menemukan enam pidato, yang berjudul sebagai berikut: pertama, *President Bush Greets Troops in Charleston South Carolina (28 October 2006)*; kedua *President Congratulates Chicago White Sox, 2005 World Series Champions (13 February 2006)*; ketiga *Rountable Interview of the President by the Press Pool (21 February 2006)*; keempat *President Adressees House Republican Conference (10 February 2006)*; kelima *President Bush meets with Congresswoman Pelosi and Congressman Hoyer at the White House (9 November 2006)*; dan keenam *Remarks by the President at Missouri Victory 2006 Rally (3 November 2006)*.

Dalam pidato politik dalam negeri dengan topik peningkatan kesejahteraan rakyat Amerika Serikat, saya juga menemukan enam pidato politik, yang berjudul sebagai berikut: pertama, *President attends Armed Forces Full Honor Review for Secretary Rumsfeld (15 December 2006)*; kedua, *President discusses war on terror, progress in Iraq in West Virginia (22 March 2006)*; ketiga, *President participates in American Competitiveness Panel in New Mexico (3 February 2006)*; keempat, *President participates in Panel discussion on Health Care Initiatives (16 February 2006)*; kelima *President participates in Energy Conservation and Efficiency Panel (21 February 2006)*; keenam, *President discusses Hurricane Katrina Lessons Learned Report with Cabinet (23 February 2006)*.

Dua belas pidato politik tersebut dicari jenis tindak tuturnya, jenis strategi kesantunannya, dan implikaturnya. Untuk memudahkan dan memperdalam bentuk analisis, saya memulai dengan membicarakan kata, frasa, dan kalimat yang

masuk kedalam strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi, bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif dengan sub strategi menggunakan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok, bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif dengan substrategi meminimalkan keharusan, dan bertutur secara samar-samar. Berikut analisis dalam strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi.

4.2.1. Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB)

Bertutur dengan strategi pertama ini diungkapkan secara langsung atau tanpa ditutup-tutupi, dengan tuturan bermodus imperatif. Trosborg (1995: 200-205) membedakan bentuk imperatif berdasarkan kelengkapan unsur sintaksis suatu ujaran, yaitu: (1) imperatif lengkap dan (2) imperatif pelepasan frasa. Strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi dalam pidato politik dalam negeri terlihat seperti contoh di bawah ini.

- (1) *One of the lessons of September the 11th is that when this country sees a threat, we must deal with that threat before it fully materializes.*
(281006/11/01)

‘Salah satu pelajaran dari peristiwa 11 September adalah ketika negeri ini melihat sebuah ancaman, kita harus mengatasi ancaman tersebut sebelum hal itu terwujud’

- (2) *Prepare our nation's armed forces for the threats of a new century.*
(151206/07/02)

‘Siapkan tentara nasional kita untuk menghadapi ancaman di abad baru’.

Pesan penutur kepada petutur secara terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB) dalam bentuk imperatif lengkap diungkapkan dalam contoh (1) dan (2). Tuturan (1) merupakan jenis tindak tutur direktif menasihati, sedangkan tuturan (2) ialah jenis tindak tutur memerintah. Jenis tindak tutur ini memengaruhi bentuk tuturan dan tingkat ketidaklangsungan tuturan, sehingga tuturan (1) dan (2) adalah relatif tidak sama. Perbedaan di dalam contoh (1) dan (2) ialah kehadiran substrategi lain yang menyertai substrategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi. Parameter dalam situasi tutur (1) adalah penutur berkuasa atas petutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur tinggi, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak

ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K+S+P).

Hal ini memperlihatkan bahwa Presiden Bush memiliki status dan kekuatan (politik) lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan mitra tutur. Dalam tuturan (1), strategi BTTB tidak disertai oleh substrategi penggunaan penanda identitas anggota kelompok yang sama. Kata *we*, yang berarti *kita* (kata ganti orang pertama jamak) dalam tuturan (1) menunjukkan bahwa Presiden Bush dan pemerintahannya, dan semua rakyat Amerika meminta bahwa menjaga keamanan negara merupakan kerja sama semua pihak. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa strategi dalam tuturan (1) ilokusinya diperlunak, sehingga ada alasan Presiden Bush untuk meminta anggota suatu kelompok (anggota kelompok angkatan udara dan angkatan laut Amerika Serikat) untuk melakukan sesuatu.

Selain itu, kata *we*, menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan dirasakan santun. Disamping itu dapat dianggap sebagai siratan *ingroupness*, sehingga efek kesantunan terlihat sejajar atau setara antara penutur dan mitra tutur. Hal ini pula memperlihatkan bagaimana "nasehat" (tuturan (1)) yang disampaikan Presiden Bush dapat dipahami penerimanya. Menurut teori relevansi yang dikemukakan oleh Sperber dan Wilson (1995), untuk memahami bagaimana suatu pesan dapat diterima oleh petuturnya, terdapat tiga macam hubungan antara *cue* (sebuah bentuk tuturan yang digunakan penutur dalam mengemukakan maksudnya) dan *implicature* (implikatur), yaitu: pertama, tuturan merupakan sebarang tindakan dari komunikasi ostensif, misalnya tuturan (1) dalam pidato Bush yang berjudul *President Bush Greets Troops in Charleston, South Carolina*, adalah suatu tindakan "mengingat" untuk membuat kejadian 11 September menjadi jelas dan dapat dipahami rakyat Amerika Serikat sebagai suatu ancaman teroris atau musuh Amerika Serikat. Sukarjaputra (Kompas, 2 November 2008: 5) mengatakan bahwa masa Kepresidenan Presiden Bush lebih banyak dipengaruhi oleh peristiwa serangan teroris 11 September 2001 di New York dan Pentagon. Sebuah lembaran hitam dalam sejarah Amerika Serikat moderen.; kedua, komunikasi tidak hanya memasukkan apa yang ada dalam pikiran pengirim pesan ke dalam pikiran penerima pesan, tetapi mencakupi perluasan wilayah kognitif kedua belah pihak.

Dalam tuturan (1), Presiden Bush dapat memperkirakan reaksi penerima pesan terhadap pesan yang disampaikan, yaitu menerima dan mempercayai bahwa ancaman tersebut (teroris) dapat datang menghantui rakyat Amerika Serikat, dan ancaman tersebut dapat merusak kehidupan orang yang tak berdosa. Hal ini memperlihatkan bahwa Presiden Bush berada dalam posisi mempertahankan citra dirinya sebagai seorang pemimpin (presiden), yang ingin melindungi dan menyelamatkan rakyatnya dari berbagai ancaman, juga menunjukkan suatu hal yang realistis; ketiga, *explicature* atau *degree of relevance*, tahapan yang harus dilewati untuk memahami implikatur. Dalam hal ini, tuturan *a threat*, dalam pengertian *degree of relevance*, adalah tuturan yang relevansinya baik dan memerlukan usaha pemrosesan (*processing effort*) yang lebih kecil.

Berdasarkan penjelasan di atas, saya menyimpulkan bahwa implikatur tuturan Presiden Bush kuat, karena terdapat banyak efek konstektual dan usaha memproses sedikit, artinya, mitra tutur dalam hal ini adalah *men and women of the 437th and the 315th Air Wings*, dapat langsung memahami maksud Presiden Bush akan kata ancaman tersebut, yaitu Saddam Hussein dan Iraq³. Oleh karena itu, saya berkesimpulan bahwa tuturan (1) mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka rendah, dengan parameter (+K+S+P) dalam bentuk strategi bertutur langsung, dan implikatur yang kuat.

Sperber dan Wilson berpendapat bahwa implikatur ialah informasi yang tersirat, yang tidak dikatakan, tetapi terkomunikasikan oleh penutur. Dalam tuturan (1) di atas, secara politis, Presiden Bush ingin mengatakan bahwa pertahanan yang efektif adalah menyerang terlebih dahulu. Hal ini merupakan suatu strategi keamanan nasional, yang harus dipertanyakan. Menurut Pemerintahan Presiden Bush, alasan invasi Amerika Serikat ke Afghanistan adalah karena negara itu menjadi basis dari kelompok teroris, yang menjadi dalang penyerangan menara kembar Wallstreet dan Pentagon, 11 Spetember 2001 lalu, Al Qaeda, yang dipimpin oleh milyuner Arab Osama Bin Laden.

³ Serangan 11 September 2001 yang menghancurkan menara kembar World Trade Center (WTC), New York, dibalas Presiden Bush dengan langkah gegabah dengan menyerang Afganistan, dan kemudian Irak. Ironisnya, hingga akhir masa jabatannya, Bush belum mampu menyelesaikannya. Irak dan Afganistan sering disebut Bush sebagai dua medan tempur "perang melawan terorisme" (Sukarjaputra, Kompas, 2 November 2008: 5)

Sementara Invasi ke Irak dilakukan karena dua alasan; pertama, Irak memiliki senjata pemusnah masal dan kedua, Partai Baath yang berkuasa memiliki hubungan dengan Al Qaeda. (Austin dalam Hamm 2005: 82)⁴. Berdasarkan alasan tersebut, informasi tersirat dalam tuturan (1) menunjukkan bahwa suatu kebijakan Presiden Bush untuk mempertahankan diri sangat kuat. Walaupun demikian, sikap defensif Presiden Bush seharusnya diperlukan hanya untuk mengantisipasi kemungkinan buruk, bukan suatu pembenaran tindakan karena adanya ancaman bagi keamanan nasional. Tuturan *we must deal with that threat before it fully materializes* (kita harus mengatasi ancaman tersebut sebelum hal itu terwujud) menginformasikan maksud bahwa Presiden Bush tidak akan membiarkan musuh menyerang terlebih dulu. Hal ini sekaligus memperlihatkan bahwa negara Amerika Serikat sebagai negara yang adidaya, walaupun dasar pembenaran invasi ke Irak untuk menggulingkan pemerintahan Baath masih menjadi persoalan.

Informasi yang tidak dikatakan, tetapi terkomunikasikan oleh penutur di sini ialah bahwa ada kebijakan perubahan rezim dari sudut pandang Gedung Putih merupakan akibat wajar dari upaya mempertahankan diri. Presiden Bush ingin menyampaikan bahwa jika suatu negara memburu senjata pemusnah massal dan peluru kendali (*delivery system*), yang dapat mengancam Amerika Serikat, sekalipun tujuannya tidak jelas, aksi mempertahankan diri akan dianggap sebagai upaya mencegah kemungkinan buruk yang akan terjadi⁵. Untuk lebih dalam memahami pertalian antara strategi kesantunan bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi yang dituturkan Presiden Bush dengan implikasinya, marilah kita melihat analisis tuturan (2) berikut ini.

Tuturan *Prepare our nation's armed forces for the threats of a new century* ialah strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi dalam bentuk imperatif

⁴ Alasan intervensi tertuang dalam laporan Gedung Putih September 2002, bertajuk "*The National Security Strategy of the United State of America*" (Strategi Keamanan Nasional Amerika Serikat). Dokumen ini menjelaskan secara rinci, kebijakan serangan sebagai langkah antisipasi untuk mempertahankan diri.

⁵ Menurut hukum Internasional, alasan apapun yang diberikan untuk menyerang Irak tidak cukup, tidak lengkap, dan mengada-ngada. Senjata pemusnah massal dan sistem kendali jarak jauh, tidak ditemukan di Irak. Seharusnya, senjata pemusnah massal (WMD) harus terbukti ada sebelum melakukan penyerangan. Konsensus komunitas intelijen Internasional, yaitu Saddam Hussein telah menghancurkan senjata itu, pada akhir perang AS-Irak, tahun 1991. Alasan AS menginvasi Irak sebagai pembalasan atas serangan 11 September tidak dibenarkan dalam hukum Internasional dan tidak punya landasan yang jelas (Austin dalam Hamm 2005: 85)

lengkap, yang ilokusinya tidak diperlunak dengan bentuk apa pun. Parameter dalam situasi tutur contoh (2) ialah penutur berkuasa atas petutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur tinggi, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K+S+P). Hal penting yang menjadi catatan dalam pidato politik contoh (2) adalah bahwa konteks pidato tersebut dilakukan pada saat Presiden Bush memerintah dalam "mengenang" jasa-jasa sekretaris pertahanan keamanan Rumsfeld. Tuturan (2) sebenarnya digunakan Presiden Bush untuk bertutur kepada orang yang selama ini sudah dianggapnya akrab, sehingga menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi, sehingga tuturan terasa santun. Selain itu, saya melihat bahwa tuturan (2) jelas mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka rendah, karena tuturan ini didahului dengan candaan. Bush mengatakan bahwa *Rumsfeld is the only man to have served as Secretary of Defense for two Presidents in two different centuries* (sambil tertawa). Serupa dengan teori Brown dan Levinson, yang mengatakan bahwa strategi BTTB ini kadang dilakukan dalam keadaan darurat, tanpa memperhatikan status mitra tutur, untuk memperlihatkan tuturan (2) adalah perintah langsung yang menunjukkan Presiden Bush memiliki kekuatan politik yang lebih tinggi dari Rumsfeld.

Selanjutnya, untuk menjelaskan bahwa pesan dalam tuturan (2) ini dipahami oleh mitra tuturnya, Sperber dan Wilson (1995) mengemukakan teori relevansi, yaitu suatu ujaran dikatakan relevan jika dan hanya jika tuturan tersebut memiliki efek kontekstual. Ia juga menunjukkan tiga macam hubungan antara *cue* dan *implicature*, yaitu: pertama, tuturan (2) adalah bentuk tindakan dari komunikasi ostensif, yang membuat Sekretaris Rumsfeld memahami pesan; kedua, komunikasi yang dibangun oleh Presiden Bush tidak hanya memasukkan apa yang ada dalam pikirannya ke dalam pikiran Rumsfeld dan mitra tutur yang mendengarnya pada saat berpidato, tetapi mencakupi perluasan wilayah kognitif kedua belah pihak; dalam tuturan (2) ini misalnya, Presiden Bush dapat memperkirakan reaksi Sekretaris Rumsfeld terhadap pesan (maksud tuturannya) yang disampaikan, yaitu segera (perlu) menyiapkan angkatan bersenjata dalam menghadapi ancaman di abad baru dalam batasan waktu dan situasi yang diperkirakan cukup aman (ketika perintah tersebut berlangsung), namun dalam

pidato ini Presiden Bush dapat memperkirakan reaksi mitra tutur (orang yang ada pada saat Bush berpidato), bahwa betapa Presiden Bush sangat menghargai dan dapat mengandalkan Rumsfeld sebagai sekretaris keamanan negara Amerika Serikat; dan ketiga, *explicature* atau *degree of relevance*, tahapan yang harus dilewati untuk memahami implikatur dalam percakapan. Dalam kasus ini, ujaran *I called him back to the same job he held under President Gerald Ford* dalam tuturan (2) merupakan tuturan yang relevansinya rendah dan memerlukan *processing effort* (usaha memproses) yang lebih besar oleh mitra tutur, terutama publik yang mendengar pidato Presiden Bush pada saat itu, sedangkan *Prepare our nation's armed forces for the threats of a new century*, merupakan tuturan yang relevansinya baik; karena mengandung *contextual effect* (efek kontekstual) yang tinggi.

Simpulan yang dapat ditarik dari tuturan (2) ini adalah relevansi tuturan Presiden Bush dalam kalimat *Prepare our nation's armed forces for the threats of a new century* ialah memiliki implikatur yang kuat, karena mengandung paling banyak efek kontekstual dan sedikit memerlukan usaha untuk memproses.

4.2.2. Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif

Bertutur dengan kesantunan positif berarti penutur ingin menunjukkan penghargaan, rasa solidaritas, simpati, dan persahabatan serta keinginan yang sama. Tujuannya adalah untuk mempertahankan stabilitas di antara sesama sehingga dapat terjalin persahabatan dan kedekatan di antara penutur dan mitra tutur. Strategi ini memiliki substrategi yang dapat melunakkan daya ilokusi, yaitu

- (1) Perhatikan *H* (minat, keinginan, keperluan, benda);
 - (2) Lebih-lebihkan (kesetujuan, simpati dengan *H*);
 - (3) Ungkapkan pengamatan tentang apa yang menjadi minat *H*;
 - (4) Pakailah pemarah identitas kesamaan kelompok.
- Substrategi ini terdiri atas (i) tutur sapa (*address terms*); (ii) gunakan bahasa orang dalam (*in-group language/dialect*); (iii) gunakan jargon atau slang;
- (5) Carilah kesetujuan, artinya bicaralah tentang topik yang aman dan ulangilah apa yang dikatakan *S* (penutur);
 - (6) Hindari ketidaksetujuan, yang terdiri atas (i) gunakan kesetujuan “di bibir”; (ii) gunakan kesetujuan semu; (iii) gunakan *hedge* (pagar);
 - (7) Praduga atau ciptakan dasar bersama *common ground*;
 - (8) Bergurau;
 - (9)

Tekankan pengetahuan atau kepedulian *S* atas keinginan *H*; (10) Beri tawaran dan janji (tawarkan kompensasi sebagai pengganti keterancaman muka, terdiri atas (i) permintaan dan (ii) tawaran; (11) Bersikaplah optimistik; (12) Ikutkan *S* dan *H* ke dalam aktivitas; (13) Berikan (atau minta) alasan; (14) Tunjukkan resiprositas; (15) Berikan sesuatu kepada *H* (barang, simpati, pengertian). Namun, dalam penelitian pidato politik dengan topik urusan dalam negeri ini, saya hanya menemukan penalaran strategi bertutur Presiden Bush dengan substrategi menggunakan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut ini.

- (3) *but my statement still stands. That so long as Hamas does not recognize Israel's right to exist, my view is we don't have a partner in peace, and therefore shouldn't fund a government that is not a partner in peace. (210206/40/03)*

'tetapi pernyataan saya tetap sama. Selama Hamas tidak menghendaki Israel merdeka, pandangan saya adalah bahwa kami tidak punya sekutu dalam perdamaian, dan oleh karena itu, kami tidak seharusnya membiayai sebuah pemerintahan yang tidak bersekutu dalam perdamaian'.

- (4) *And finally, we want to get 30,000 adjunct professors into classrooms. That's a fancy word for saying we want engineers and chemists and physicists in places like Intel, or retired professionals, to go in the classroom and excite students about the possibility of math and science. That's what we need. We need role models. (151206/50/01)*

Dan akhirnya, kami ingin mendapatkan 30,000 Profesor tambahan untuk masuk ke dalam kelas. Hal tersebut merupakan kata yang fantastis untuk mengatakan bahwa kita memerlukan ahli teknik dan ahli kimia, dan fisikawan di dalam tempat seperti Intel, atau pensiunan profesional, untuk pergi ke dalam ruang kelas dan membangkitkan gairah siswa tentang kemungkinan (keuntungan) dari matematika dan ilmu murni. Itu yang kita inginkan. Kita memerlukan panutan'.

- (5) *There are some things we need Congress to do to make health savings accounts work even better than they are. (160206/142/01)*

'Ada beberapa hal yang kita ingin kongres lakukan untuk membuat asuransi kesehatan kerja meskipun lebih baik dari mereka'.

- (6) *First, we need to make sure we're the leader of technology in the world. (210206/08/01)*

'Pertama, kita ingin meyakinkan bahwa kita adalah pemimpin teknologi di dunia'.

Strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif (BTBKP) dengan menggunakan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok ini mengandung daya ilokusi, yang berupa tindakan. Tindak ilokusioner bertalian dengan intensi atau maksud pembicara. Contoh (3) menunjukkan bentuk ungkapan kata *we*, yang berarti *kami*, bersifat eksklusif, artinya pronomina persona jamak yang bermakna saya dan orang lain kecuali kawan bicara. *Kami* juga mengacu ke persona pertama dan sekaligus persona ketiga, tidak melibatkan persona kedua. *Kami* pada tuturan (3) hanya memperlihatkan pemerintahan Presiden Bush, dan bukan memperlihatkan keseluruhan rakyat Amerika Serikat, karena pernyataan Presiden Bush tidak mencerminkan suara dari seluruh Rakyat Amerika Serikat, sedangkan tuturan kata *we* dalam tuturan (4), (5) dan (6) berarti *kita*, bersifat inklusif, artinya pronomina persona jamak, yang bermakna saya, kawan bicara, dan atau pihak lain. Pronomina *kita* mengacu ke persona pertama, dan sekaligus persona kedua. Persona ketiga dapat juga dilibatkan. Kata ganti orang pertama jamak *kita* di dalam tuturan (4), (5), dan (6) mengisyaratkan bahwa Presiden Bush mengidentifikasikan diri sebagai anggota satu kelompok dengan petutur, sehingga ada alasan bagi Presiden Bush untuk meminta atau menyuruh mitra tuturnya melakukan sesuatu. Selain itu, kata *kita* menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan Presiden Bush menjadi santun.

Untuk melihat implikatur dalam tuturan (3), (4), (5) dan (6), saya menekankan kembali teori relevansi yang dikemukakan oleh Sperber dan Wilson. Tuturan Presiden Bush relevan jika dan hanya jika menghasilkan efek kontekstual, yang merupakan syarat adanya relevansi. Dalam tuturan (3), Presiden Bush mengatakan *my view is we don't have a partner in peace, and therefore shouldn't fund a government that is not a partner in peace*. Tuturan tersebut merupakan tindak tutur dalam parameter situasi tutur sebagai berikut: penutur berkuasa atas petutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur rendah, tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik, atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K-S+P). Tuturan (3) dilakukan dalam wawancara oleh pers di dalam pesawat kepresidenan. Pertanyaan untuk tuturan (3) bagi Presiden Bush ialah sebagai berikut: *"Mr. President, Israel is halting payments to the Palestinians, the tax monies. What do you think about that, and*

what is the next step?". Presiden Bush dalam tuturan (3) menunjukkan bahwa ia tetap memiliki sikap yang sama, selama Hamas tetap tidak mengakui Israel, pendapat saya (Presiden Bush) ialah bahwa kami (ia dan pemerintahannya) *tidak* (dalam *don't*) bisa menjadi rekanan dalam proses perdamaian (Palestina dan Israel), dan sudah seharusnya (kami) tidak membantu keuangan pemerintahan (Palestina) yang bukan rekanan dalam proses perdamaian.

Seperti yang kita lihat dalam tuturan (3), jawaban Presiden Bush itu berupa tindak tutur langsung, karena ada bentuk elipsisnya *tidak*. Ini berarti jawaban Presiden Bush merupakan eksplikatur. Sperber dan Wilson mengatakan bahwa petutur tidak cukup untuk mengetahui eksplikatur saja pada tataran tuturan, tetapi perlu tahu juga sikap penutur yang melatarbelakangi eksplikatur ujaran ini. Hal ini disebut *higher-order explicature* (Gunarwan 2006: 10). Dalam korpus penelitian ini, hal yang melatarbelakangi Presiden Bush tidak mau membantu keuangan negara Palestina adalah karena sikap Hamas yang tidak ingin berdamai dengan Israel. Hamas sejak awal telah menyatakan sikap untuk tidak berdamai dengan Israel⁶.

Selanjutnya, tuturan (4) merupakan pidato Presiden Bush ketika ia berpartisipasi dalam panel kompetisi Amerika di Meksiko Baru. Kalimat *We need role models* berada dalam situasi tutur sebagai berikut: penutur berkuasa atas petutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur tinggi, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K+S+P). *Kita* dalam tuturan (4) menunjukkan Presiden Bush mengidentifikasikan diri sebagai anggota suatu kelompok dengan kongres, dalam hal ini yang berperan meningkatkan kesejahteraan rakyat Amerika Serikat di bidang pendidikan, dan ekonomi. Presiden Bush terlihat "menyarankan" dalam tuturannya, namun ujaran tersebut mengisyaratkan petutur untuk melakukan sesuatu. Pertama, tuturan Presiden Bush bahwa ia dan semua elemen masyarakat Amerika Serikat menginginkan "sosok model" dapat dipahami oleh penerima pesan;

⁶ Hamas adalah partai politik di Palestina, yang dicap sebagai organisasi teroris oleh Kanada, Uni Eropa, Israel, Jepang, dan Amerika Serikat. Hamas didirikan pada tahun 1978 oleh Sheikh Ahmed Yassin dan Mohammad Taha. Organisasi ini memiliki ideologi nasionalis Palestina, dan Islam Sunni. Dipunggang dari <http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hamas&printable=yes>, [01 Agustus 2008])

kedua, Presiden Bush dapat memperkirakan reaksi mitra tutur terhadap pesan yang disampaikannya, yaitu perlu membuat suatu inisiatif yang bermakna. Dalam hal ini, Presiden Bush merasa bahwa dirinya diberikan kesempatan untuk membuat strategi demi peningkatan kesejahteraan rakyat Amerika Serikat. Ujaran *we need role models* merupakan ujaran yang relevansinya baik, karena usaha pemrosesan yang dilakukan oleh mitra tutur, khususnya Mr. Craig Barret kecil⁷.

We need role models dalam tuturan (4) tersebut bermakna bahwa masyarakat, khususnya anak-anak muda Amerika Serikat memerlukan “panutan” untuk dapat mencintai profesi seorang ilmuwan, dan mulai menyukai ilmu murni, yaitu matematika dan ilmu alam. Hal penting yang tersirat adalah bahwa selama ini profesi seorang ilmuwan di Amerika tidak menjadi prioritas atau pilihan. Inilah yang menjadi penyebab atau latar belakang bahwa produk yang menggunakan teknologi di Amerika kurang kompetitif dengan negara lain, misalnya Jepang. Marilah kita beralih ke contoh berikut ini.

Tuturan (5) ialah *There are some things we need Congress to do to make health savings accounts work even better than they are*. Seperti yang telah disebutkan di atas, bahwa *we* dalam tuturan (5) ialah *kita* sebagai ungkapan kata ganti orang pertama jamak, yang menandakan identitas anggota kelompok yang sama. Tuturan (5) terjadi pada saat Presiden Bush berpartisipasi dalam diskusi panel mengenai inisiatif peduli kesehatan. Parameter situasi tutur yang terjadi dalam diskusi tersebut ialah Presiden Bush berkuasa atas petutur (Dr. McClellan, Ms. Downey). Mereka adalah staf Departemen Pelayanan Kesehatan dan Kemanusiaan Amerika Serikat, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur tinggi, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K+S+P).

Tuturan (5) menunjukkan maksud tuturan sebagai berikut: Presiden Bush ingin menarik minat, dan menanamkan kepercayaan kepada rakyat Amerika Serikat bahwa ia (Partai Republik) sangat peduli terhadap masalah kesehatan. Latar belakang tuturan Presiden Bush mengandung makna politis. Secara tersirat, Presiden meminta kongres mengalirkan atau mengucurkan dana untuk jaminan asuransi kesehatan rakyat Amerika Serikat. Tuturan *There are some things we*

⁷ Mr. Craig Barret adalah CEO (Corporate Social Responsibility) perusahaan Intel (keterangan ada dalam teks pidato tanggal 15 Desember 2006)

need Congress to do di dalam tuturan (5) adalah tuturan yang memiliki relevansi yang baik, karena kecilnya usaha pemrosesan untuk memahami tuturan tersebut. Selain itu secara politis, Presiden Bush jelas memengaruhi staf Departemen Pelayanan Kesehatan dan Kemanusiaan Amerika Serikat untuk mendukung kebijakan politiknya.

Selanjutnya, tuturan (6) merupakan strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi dengan kesantunan positif dalam bentuk ungkapan kata ganti orang pertama jamak *kita* sebagai penanda identitas anggota kelompok yang sama. *First, we need to make sure we're the leader of technology in the world* mengisyaratkan bahwa Presiden Bush ingin bersama-sama rakyat Amerika, khususnya staf *National Renewable Energy Laboratory, Golden, Colorado* untuk menciptakan Negara Amerika Serikat menjadi pemimpin teknologi di dunia. Tuturan tersebut menunjukkan rasa kurang percaya diri Presiden Bush akan kemampuan negaranya sendiri. Ia menunjukkan melalui tuturannya bahwa Amerika Serikat belum yakin benar bahwa mereka adalah negara nomor satu di dalam penguasaan teknologi. Tuturan Presiden Bush ini merupakan tindak tutur langsung, dan tetap terkesan santun karena Presiden Bush menandai bahwa keyakinan untuk maju bersama adalah tanggung jawab bersama melalui kata *kita*.

Menurut saya, tuturan (6) ialah eksplikatur, tetapi ada pemahaman lain dibalik makna tuturan tersebut, atau ada hal lain yang melatarbelakanginya. Hal ini disebut *higher order explicature* oleh Sperber dan Wilson. Dalam hal ini, Presiden Bush, Presiden Amerika Serikat mengalami krisis kepercayaan di berbagai bidang. Sikap penutur (Presiden Bush) di dalam tuturan (6) jelas menunjukkan bahwa ia sebagai pemimpin memerlukan dukungan untuk menjadi pemimpin teknologi di dunia.

4.2.3. Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif

Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif (BTBKN) digunakan sebagai permintaan maaf atas terganggunya ruang lingkup dan kenyamanan mitra tutur atas tuturan yang akan dihasilkan sehingga meminimiliasi imposisi. Brown dan Levinson (1978) merumuskan substrategi dari strategi kesantunan negatif ini, yaitu: (1) ungkapkan secara tidak langsung atau mengungkapkan permintaan atau

permohonan dalam bentuk pertanyaan; (2) menggunakan pagar (*hedge*); (3) bersikaplah pesimistik atau menjadikan tuturan tidak langsung secara konvensional; (4) meminimalkan keharusan, seperti *I just want to ask you if you could lend me a tiny bit of paper*; (5) tunjukkan hormat; (6) mintalah maaf; (7) impersonalkan *S* dan *It* (*I tell you that it is so*); ganti pronomina (*One shouldn't do things like that; Ok, folks, let's get on with it*); pemanjangan jarak (*It was kind of interested in knowing if...*); (8) Ungkapkan TPM sebagai kaidah umum; (9) nominalkan. Contoh: (a) *you performed well on the examinations...*; (b) *your performing well on the examinations...*; (c) *your good performance on...*

Dalam penelitian ini, saya menemukan strategi BTBKN dengan substrategi meminimalkan keharusan, seperti terlihat pada contoh di bawah ini.

- (7) *I just want to tell the American people three ways that we can change the way we drive our automobiles. One is through the use of hybrid vehicles. (210206/12/01)*

‘Saya hanya ingin menginformasikan tiga cara kepada rakyat Amerika bahwa kita dapat mengubah bagaimana cara kita mengendarai mobil. Salah satunya melalui penggunaan kendaraan hibrid’

Strategi BTBKN dalam bentuk meminimalkan keharusan atau meminimalkan beban kepada petutur juga digunakan untuk memperlunak daya ilokusi tuturan (7) di atas. Peminimalan keharusan kepada petutur tersebut menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan terkesan santun. Parameter situasi dalam tuturan (7) ialah penutur berkuasa atas petutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur rendah, tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K-S+P). Ungkapan *I just want to tell* (perlu saya informasikan kepada...) di dalam tuturan (7) tidak mengandung makna figuratif, hanya mengisyaratkan bahwa Presiden Bush meminimalkan keharusan kepada rakyat Amerika. Ungkapan *we, kita* dalam tuturan (7) di atas dapat dipahami sebagai usaha penutur untuk mengidentifikasikan diri sebagai anggota satu kelompok dengan petutur, sehingga ada alasan bagi Presiden Bush untuk memohon rakyat Amerika melakukan sesuatu (*change the way they drive their automobiles*). Ungkapan kata *one* dalam

One is through the use of hybrid vehicles di dalam tuturan (7) mengisyaratkan Presiden Bush memberikan alternatif pilihan bagi rakyat Amerika Serikat. Walaupun bentuk tuturan (7) lebih tidak langsung, namun dalam situasi tutur ini, tuturan Presiden Bush mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka yang tinggi.

Menurut Sperber dan Wilson, implikatur dapat diidentifikasi berdasarkan prinsip relevansi, yaitu berdasarkan harapan petutur, apakah ujaran Presiden Bush relevan atau tidak, nyambung atau tidak secara optimal. Seperti yang telah kita lihat, tuturan (7) merupakan tindak tutur tidak langsung. Yang langsung mungkin akan berbunyi *All American people must change the way they drive their automobiles*. Tuturan Presiden Bush sebenarnya sudah menjadi eksplikatur, karena tuturannya membuat mitra tutur tidak lama untuk memproses atau memahami maksudnya.

4.2.4. Bertutur secara samar-samar

Strategi bertutur ini diformulasikan secara tidak langsung dalam tuturannya karena tingginya level Tindak Pengancam Muka yang ada. Formulasi tersebut dilakukan melalui beberapa cara antara lain: menggunakan sindiran, metafor, atau lewat tuturan bermakna ambigu atau samar-samar. Strategi ini dipakai dengan praktik kepura-puraan penutur seakan-akan ia tidak mengerti dengan jelas akan hal yang sedang ia tuturkan. Realisasi strategi ini memiliki substrategi dengan isyarat.

Menurut Trosbog (1995: 192-197), ada dua kelompok substrategi isyarat, yaitu: pertama, isyarat kuat, yang mengacu kepada tuturan yang mempunyai daya ilokusi kuat, isyarat kuat ditandai dengan ungkapan atau yang lebih transparan dapat diasosiasikan dengan maksud penutur; kedua, isyarat lunak, yang mengacu kepada tuturan yang daya ilokusinya lemah. Isyarat lunak ini ditandai dengan tidak adanya ungkapan yang secara transparan dapat diasosiasikan dengan maksud penutur. Marilah kita perhatikan contoh tuturan di bawah ini.

- (8) *There are some things we need Congress to do to make health savings accounts work even better than they are. (160206/142/01)*

‘Ada beberapa hal yang kita ingin kongres lakukan untuk membuat asuransi kesehatan kerja meskipun lebih baik dari mereka’

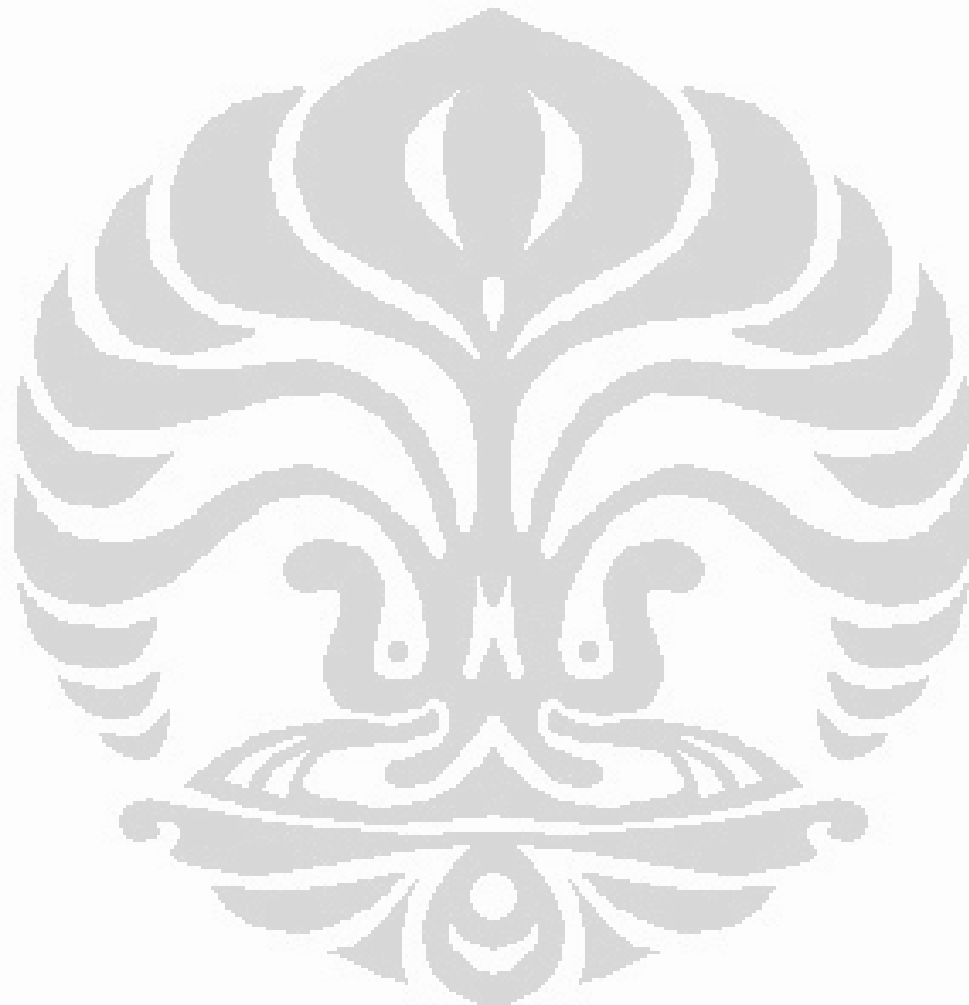
Tuturan (8) merupakan strategi bertutur secara samar-samar dalam bentuk isyarat kuat. Substrategi ini ditemukan dalam situasi tutur Presiden Bush berkuasa atas petutur (Dr. McClellan, Ms. Downey). Mereka adalah staf Departemen Pelayanan Kesehatan dan Kemanusiaan Amerika Serikat, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur tinggi, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K+S+P). Namun dalam hal ini, substrategi dengan isyarat kuat Presiden Bush cenderung digunakan untuk mengungkapkan direktif kepada orang yang lebih “kuasa”, yaitu kongres yang dapat mengucurkan dana.

Pesan penutur dalam hal ini disampaikan secara samar-samar atau tersembunyi di balik bentuk tuturan yang harfiah, yaitu tuturan (8) merupakan usaha Presiden Bush untuk menunjukkan bahwa dia sebagai Presiden peduli akan kesehatan. Hal ini untuk menutupi citra Presiden yang dianggap terlalu memikirkan masalah perang melawan terorisme. Sebagai catatan, pada masa pemerintahan Bush, tuna wisma meningkat 50% dalam tiga tahun, kemiskinan melonjak lagi di tahun 2003, dan lebih banyak anak-anak yang kelaparan, 502 serdadu Amerika Serikat tewas di Irak, dan 100 serdadu lainnya gugur di Afghanistan (Shaft dalam Hamm 2005: 246).

Tuturan (8) dalam hal ini merupakan permintaan dukungan, dan jelas memengaruhi petutur (staf Departemen Kesehatan dan Pelayanan Amerika Serikat). Tuturan tersebut mempunyai maksud bahwa dalam urusan dalam negeri, kebijakan Presiden Bush ialah sesuai dengan kepentingan rakyat Amerika. Sehingga, tuturannya sarat dengan makna politis. Namun, untuk lebih jelasnya, Sperber dan Wilson yang dikutip oleh Marmaridou (2000: 242-246) menyebutkan bahwa implikatur tuturan dapat dikelompokkan menjadi dua, yaitu asumsi tersirat dan simpulan tersirat.

Asumsi tersirat dalam tuturan (8) adalah rakyat Amerika Serikat harus dibantu jaminan kesehatannya, dan kongres sudah seharusnya mengucurkan dana, dan simpulan tersirat tuturan (8) ialah Presiden Bush meminta kongres mengucurkan dana lewat dukungan Departemen Kesehatan dan Pelayanan Amerika Serikat. Ungkapan *we need Congress to do...health saving accounts...* di

dalam tuturan (8) merupakan ungkapan harfiah yang dapat diasosiasikan dengan maksud penutur sehingga tuturan (8) termasuk ke dalam substrategi isyarat kuat. Tuturan (8) menunjukkan bahwa penggunaan strategi bertutur secara samar-samar digunakan sebagian besar oleh Presiden Bush untuk melakukan direktif kepada orang yang belum akrab (-S).



4.3. Teks Pidato Politik Luar Negeri dan Penalaran strategi bertutur dalam teks pidato politik berbahasa Inggris.

Ada dua topik utama dalam teks pidato politik luar negeri, yaitu diplomasi global (*global diplomacy*) dan kerja sama internasional (*international cooperation*). Untuk topik diplomasi global, saya menemukan tiga belas pidato dengan judul sebagai berikut. Pertama, *President Bush meets with President Yayi of Benin the Oval Office (14 December 2006)*; kedua, *President Bush meets with British Prime Minister Tony Blair (7 December 2006)*; ketiga *President Bush meets with President Mbeki of South Africa (8 December 2006)*; keempat, *President Bush participates in Joint Press availability with President Ilves of Estonia (28 November 2006)*; kelima *President Bush welcomes President Fernandez of the Dominican Republic to the White House (25 October 2006)*; keenam *President Bush and Prime Minister Harper of Canada deliver Remarks in Mexico (30 March 2006)*; ketujuh *President Bush meets with President Vike-Freiberga of Latvia (28 November 2008)*; kedelapan *President Bush welcomes President of Poland to the White House (9 February 2006)*; kesembilan, *President Bush welcomes Prime Minister Olmert of Israel to the White House (13 November 2006)*; kesepuluh, *President Bush discusses NATO Alliance during visit to Latvia (28 November 2006)*; kesebelas, *President welcomes Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi to the White House (28 February 2006)*; kedua belas, *President Bush welcomes President Arias of Costa Rica to the White House (6 December 2006)*, dan ketiga belas, *President Bush welcomes Colombian President Uribe to the White House (16 February 2006)*.

Untuk topik pidato kerja sama internasional, saya menemukan delapan pidato politik dengan judul sebagai berikut. Pertama, *President Bush participates in Joint Press Availability with Prime Minister Maliki of Iraq (30 November 2006)*, kedua, *President Bush meets with Vice President Hashemi of Iraq (12 December 2006)*, ketiga, *President Bush and Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of Singapore Exchange Toasts (16 November 2006)*, keempat, *President Bush meets with President Roh of the Republic of Korea (18 November 2006)*, kelima, *President Bush meets with Prime Minister Lee of Singapore (16 November 2006)*, keenam, *President Bush meets with Prime Minister Abe of Japan (18 November*

2006), ketujuh *President Bush visits National University of Singapore (16 November 2006)*, dan kedelapan *President Bush meets with Prime Minister Howard of Australia (17 November 2006)*.

Dua puluh satu pidato politik tersebut dicari jenis tindak tuturnya, jenis strategi kesantunannya, dan implikasinya. Dalam menganalisis, saya mencari kata, frasa, dan kalimat yang masuk kedalam strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi, bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif dengan sub strategi menggunakan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok, lebih-lebihkan kesetujuan dengan petutur, tekankan pengetahuan penutur atas keinginan petutur, memberikan alasan, beri tawaran sebagai pengganti keterancaman muka, dan berjanji; dan bertutur secara samar-samar. Berikut analisis dalam strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi.

4.3.1. Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB)

Bertutur dengan strategi pertama ini diungkapkan secara langsung atau tanpa ditutup-tutupi, dengan tuturan bermodus imperatif. Trosborg (1995: 200-205) membedakan bentuk imperatif berdasarkan kelengkapan unsur sintaksis suatu ujaran, yaitu: (1) imperatif lengkap dan (2) imperatif dengan pelepasan frasa. Strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi ini digunakan dalam pidato politik luar negeri dengan fokus diplomasi global (*global diplomacy*) dan kerja sama internasional.

Dalam situasi tutur pidato politik dengan urusan luar negeri ini, strategi BTTB digunakan dalam tingkat keterancaman muka “agak” rendah, artinya hubungan antara penutur (Presiden Ilves) dan petutur (Presiden Bush) sudah akrab, sedangkan kekuasaan penutur lebih tinggi atau sama dengan kekuasaan petutur. Secara jelas, parameter situasi pidato Presiden Bush yang dimaksud dalam contoh di bawah ini ialah sebagai berikut. Petutur berkuasa atas penutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur tinggi, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan, yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur. Hal ini terlihat dalam contoh tuturan sebagai berikut:

- (9) *Like Estonia, member nations must accept difficult assignments. (281106/18/09)*

'Seperti Estonia, anggota bangsa-bangsa harus menerima tugas-tugas berat'.

- (10) *Our capabilities must change with the threats if NATO is to remain relevant. (281106/19/04)*

'Kemampuan kita harus mengubah ancaman itu jika NATO tetap berpendirian sama'.

Tuturan (9) dan (10) adalah jenis tindak tutur memerintah, dan menunjukkan bahwa Presiden Bush bertutur secara terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB). Hal ini terlihat dalam pesan pidato politiknya dalam bentuk imperatif lengkap. Berdasarkan contoh (9) dan (10), strategi BTTB ini tidak disertai dengan substrategi penggunaan penanda identitas anggota kelompok, misalnya bentuk sapaan kekerabatan, *Sir* atau *brother*. Tuturan (9) dan (10) jelas merupakan strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi dalam bentuk imperatif lengkap, yang ilokusinya tidak diperlunak dalam bentuk apa pun. Sebutan *Like Estonia* dalam tuturan (9) adalah contoh bahwa Presiden Bush memosisikan diri dan mengidentifikasi dirinya bukan sebagai anggota kelompok dengan Presiden Estonia, melainkan mengidentifikasi diri lebih kuasa dari Estonia dan negara anggota.

Namun, tuturan (10) dalam *Our capabilities* menunjukkan seolah-olah Presiden Bush dan pemerintahannya tidak mampu mengerjakan sendiri, padahal tuturan tersebut adalah perintah agar semua pihak dapat mendukung programnya. Dalam hal ini, yang menjadi menarik adalah bentuk strategi bertutur (10) adalah jenis tuturan langsung, yang mengandung tingkat keterancaman *muka* agak rendah, ditandai hubungan akrab antara penutur dan petutur, sedangkan tuturan (9) juga merupakan jenis tuturan langsung, namun mengandung tingkat keterancaman *muka* tinggi. Contoh lain data strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi yang saya temukan dalam penelitian ini terlihat dalam contoh berikut ini.

- (11) *We will defeat the extremist and the radicals. (071206/14/01)*

‘Kita akan menaklukkan para ekstremis dan radikal’.

- (12) *We want to work through the United Nations to have a very strong and capable AU force, augmented by United Nations help, to save lives. (141206/04/02)*

‘Kami ingin bekerja melalui Perserikatan Bangsa-bangsa untuk memiliki Angkatan udara yang kuat dan handal, ditambah oleh bantuan PBB, untuk menyelamatkan kehidupan’.

- (13) *There must be an election, so the question is about pure politics. (280206/22/01)*

‘Harus ada suatu pemilihan, sehingga pertanyaan itu murni politik’

- (14) *...and my comment on Iran is this: If the Iranians want to have a dialogue with us, we have shown them a way forward, and that is for them to verify-verifiably suspend their enrichment activities. We put that proposal on the table awhile back. We said that if you want to have a dialogue with us, we're willing to come to the table with the EU, as well as Russia and China, to discuss a way forward. But first, you must verifiably suspend your enrichment activities. (131106/22/02)*

‘...dan pendapat saya tentang Iran adalah: jika masyarakat Iran mau berdialog dengan kami, kami telah memperlihatkan suatu cara yang langsung (terus terang), dan hal tersebut bagi mereka untuk menguji menunda kekayaan kegiatan-kegiatan mereka’. Kita meletakkan proposal tersebut kembali dalam perundingan. Kita mengatakan bahwa jika kamu (Iran) ingin berdialog dengan kita, kita ingin kembali ke perundingan EU, sebagaimana Rusia dan Cina, untuk mendiskusikan selangkah lebih maju, tetapi pertama-tama, kamu (Iran) harus membuktikan untuk mencabut kegiatan-kegiatannya’.

- (15) *We must lift up and support the moderates and reformers who are working for change across the broader Middle East. We must bring hope to millions by strengthening young democracies from Kabul to Baghdad, to Beirut. And we must advance freedom as the great alternative to tyranny and terror. (281106/27/03)*

‘Kita harus mengangkat dan mendukung moderat dan pembuat perubahan yang sedang bekerja untuk mengubah Timur Tengah. Kita harus membawa harapan untuk berjuta-juta orang dengan memperkuat demokrasi muda dari Kabul ke Baghdad, sampai Beirut. Dan kita harus mendahulukan kebebasan sebagai pilihan terbaik terhadap tirani dan teror’.

Jenis tindak tutur dalam contoh (11), (12), (13), (14), dan (15) ialah jenis tindak tutur memerintah. Tuturan (11), (12), (13), (14), dan (15) mengungkapkan pesan Presiden Bush kepada mitra tutur secara terus terang tanpa basa-basi dalam bentuk imperatif lengkap. Bentuk tuturan dan tingkat kelangsungan pada tuturan (11), (12), dan (13) adalah relatif sama, sedangkan tuturan (14) dan (15) adalah juga bentuk kelangsungan. Yang membedakan ialah parameter situasi (11) ditandai dengan parameter (+K+S), disertai juga dengan ungkapan kata ganti orang pertama jamak, *kita*, yang menandakan identitas anggota kelompok yang sama. Dalam pidato ini, Presiden Bush bertemu dengan Perdana Menteri Tony Blair. Tuturan (12) juga menandakan ungkapan penanda identitas anggota kelompok yang sama, sedangkan (13) tidak disertai oleh substrategi penggunaan penanda identitas anggota kelompok yang sama. Tuturan (13) dan (14) merupakan strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi dalam bentuk imperatif lengkap, yang ilokusinya tidak diperlunak dengan bentuk apapun, artinya, tuturan Presiden Bush tidak menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi, dan terdengar kurang santun (lihat analisis implikatur).

Berbeda dengan tuturan (11), (12), dan (15), yang merupakan contoh strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi dalam bentuk imperatif lengkap, yang ilokusinya diperlunak dengan bentuk ungkapan penanda identitas anggota kelompok yang sama, yaitu *kita*, yang bersifat inklusif, artinya Presiden Bush memaknai dirinya, mitra tuturnya, dan atau pihak lain, setara atau sepihak dengannya. Inferensi yang dapat ditarik dari contoh-contoh strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi ini ialah bentuk-bentuk strategi bertutur Presiden Bush cenderung langsung. Tuturan (13) dan (14) dalam situasi tutur pidato politik dengan tujuan luar negeri, fokus diplomasi global ini mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka tinggi, sedangkan tuturan (11), (12), dan (15) mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka rendah. Yang menjadi menarik untuk dilihat adalah tuturan yang mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka tinggi, karena terasa kurang santun.

Saya kembali akan melihat tuturan (13) dan (14) melalui teori relevansi, yang dikemukakan oleh Sperber dan Wilson. Menurut mereka, untuk menjelaskan cara sebuah pesan dipahami penerimanya, ada tiga macam hubungan antara *cue*

(sebuah bentuk tuturan yang digunakan penutur dalam mengemukakan maksudnya) dan *implicature* (implikatur), yaitu: pertama, tuturan merupakan sebarang tindakan dari komunikasi ostensif, misalnya tindakan untuk membuat sesuatu menjadi jelas dan dapat dipahami oleh penerima pesan; kedua, komunikasi tidak hanya memasukkan apa yang ada dalam pikiran pengirim pesan ke dalam pikiran penerima pesan, tetapi mencakupi perluasan wilayah kognitif (*cognitive environment*) kedua belah pihak. Misalnya pada contoh (12) di atas, tuturan Presiden Bush *there must be an election, so the question is about pure politics* dapat diperkirakan reaksinya oleh penerima pesan. Tuturan ini agak terdengar keras, suatu keharusan oleh penerima pesan, dalam hal ini mitra tuturnya adalah Perdana Menteri Italia Berlusconi, namun yang terjadi dalam konteks percakapan antara Presiden Bush dan Perdana Menteri Italia Berlusconi ialah sebaliknya, tuturan ini terdengar santun, sebagai suatu gurauan yang dilontarkan Presiden Bush. Untuk sampai pada analisis tahap ketiga dalam memahami implikatur, sebelumnya saya akan menghadirkan konteks percakapan yang terjadi pada contoh (13) di atas, yaitu sebagai berikut:

- (16) *Q (As translated). The first question is to President Bush, should the center left win Italy, since they have different views from Prime Minister Berlusconi, will the relations between the United States and Italy continue to be as they are? Will they be proved worse? And then with a question to Prime Minister Berlusconi: Prodi has just declared that President Bush has just organized from Prime Minister Berlusconi's a farewell party?*

'Q (Pertanyaan). (Seperti yang diterjemahkan). Pertanyaan pertama untuk Presiden Bush, apakah seharusnya golongan kiri-tengah menang di Italia, sejak mereka memiliki pandangan berbeda dari Perdana Menteri Berlusconi, akankah hubungan antara Amerika Serikat dan Italia tetap berlanjut seperti sebelumnya? Akankah mereka terbukti lebih buruk? Dan kemudian sebuah pertanyaan untuk Perdana Menteri Berlusconi: Prodi baru saja menyatakan bahwa Presiden Bush sudah mengatur pesta perpisahan untuk Perdana Menteri Berlusconi.'

PRIME MINISTER BERLUSCONI: (In English). You have a possibility to answer no comment.

'PERDANA MENTERI BERLUSCONI: (Dalam Bahasa Inggris) Kamu (Presiden Bush) memiliki kemungkinan untuk menjawab 'Tidak ada komentar.'

PRESIDENT BUSH: *That's right, yes. (Laughter.) No, look, it's obviously, there's an election. There must be an election, so the question is about pure politics. I have my relationship is not a political relationship with this man. It's a strategic relationship. And this strategic relationship is important for both our peoples, and it's important to help lay the foundations for peace. Okay? (Laughter)*

'PRESIDEN BUSH: Ya, itu benar (tertawa). Bukan begitu, pastilah ada sebuah pemilihan. Seharusnya memang ada pemilihan, jadi masalahnya murni tentang politik. Hubungan saya dengannya bukan hubungan politik. Tapi hubungan yang strategis. Dan hubungan yang strategis ini penting untuk masyarakat kami dan juga penting untuk membantu menciptakan perdamaian. Oke? (Tertawa)

; dan ketiga, *explicature* atau *degree of relevance*, tahapan yang harus dilewati untuk memahami implikatur dalam percakapan. Implikatur merupakan maksud sebuah tuturan yang mungkin berbeda fungsinya. Tuturan (13) dalam percakapan (16) tersebut berfungsi sebagai penegasan, bahwa pertanyaan tersebut murni politis. Saya ingin memperlihatkan bahwa ternyata disini, adakalanya *cue* (bentuk tuturan) dan *implicature* (fungsi tuturan) tidak berhubungan. Untuk dapat mengetahui adanya hubungan itu diperlukan *interpretive frame*. *Interpretive frame* merupakan kerangka interpretasi yang dibentuk berdasarkan pengalaman dan pengetahuan penutur. Diharapkan terjadi persamaan interpretasi mengenai suatu hal atau objek sehingga komunikasi dapat terus berlangsung.

Tuturan Presiden Bush dalam percakapan (15) sebenarnya adalah bentuk gurauan dari strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif, yang digunakan juga untuk memperlunak daya ilokusi. Tuturan...*And this strategic relationship is important for both our peoples, and it's important to help lay the foundations for peace. Okay?* (tertawa) dalam percakapan (16) menunjukkan sikap tidak serius Presiden Bush kepada petutur (wartawan) dalam bentuk gurauan. Presiden menyebut Perdana Menteri Berlusconi dengan sebutan, *this man*, yang sebenarnya tidak sesuai dengan keadaan petutur. *This man* merupakan kata ganti orang ketiga, bisa diganti *him*, yang merupakan *objective pronoun* dalam bahasa Inggris. Sebutan ini menunjukkan upaya Presiden Bush untuk mengatakan di depan wartawan bahwa ia telah memiliki hubungan yang akrab dengan Perdana Menteri Berlusconi.

Dari contoh di atas, saya menyimpulkan bahwa implikatur ujaran Presiden Bush kurang kuat, karena sedikit efek kontekstual dan perlu usaha memproses. Artinya, tuturan Presiden Bush bisa dikatakan tidak terlalu relevan. Namun, tuturan tersebut menunjukkan kepiawaian seorang Presiden dalam “memanipulasi” jawaban wartawan. Hal ini menurut saya, adalah hal yang memperlihatkan bahwa Presiden Bush telah membuat komunikasi berhasil, walaupun relevansi optimal itu tidak terdeteksi. Dalam hal ini, tuturan Presiden Bush bertentangan dengan apa yang dikatakan Sperber dan Wilson sebagai fakta yang manifes, artinya si petutur tidak berhasil merepresentasikan fakta dan menerima fakta sebagai sesuatu yang benar .

4.3.2. Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif

Seorang penutur yang menggunakan strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif dapat melunakkan daya ilokusi. Brown dan Levinson merumuskan 15 strategi untuk menghindari kemungkinan mengancam muka positif ini, yaitu: (1) perhatikan *H* (minat, keinginan, keperluan, benda); (2) lebih-lebihkan (kesetujuan, simpati dengan *H*); (3) ungkapkan pengamatan tentang apa yang menjadi minat *H*; (4) pakailah pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok. Strategi ketiga ini terdiri atas (i) tutur sapa (*address terms*); (ii) gunakan bahasa orang dalam (*in-group language/dialect*); (iii) gunakan jargon atau slang; (5) carilah kesetujuan, artinya bicaralah tentang topik yang aman dan ulangilah apa yang dikatakan *S* (penutur); (6) hindari ketidaksetujuan, yang terdiri atas (i) gunakan kesetujuan “di bibir”; (ii) gunakan kesetujuan semu; (iii) gunakan *hedge* (pagar); (7) praduga atau ciptakan dasar bersama *common ground*; (8) bergurau; (9) tekankan pengetahuan atau kepedulian *S* atas keinginan *H*; (10) beri tawaran dan janji (tawarkan kompensasi sebagai pengganti keterancam muka, terdiri atas (i) permintaan dan (ii) tawaran; (11) bersikaplah optimistik; (12) ikutkan *S* dan *H* ke dalam aktivitas; (13) berikan (atau minta) alasan; (14) tunjukkan resiprositas; (15) berikan sesuatu kepada *H* (barang, simpati, pengertian). Saya menemukan tuturan Presiden Bush dalam substrategi berikut ini menggunakan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok.

- (17) *We talked about how our nations can cooperate to achieve common objectives, and promote common values, values such as human dignity and human rights and the freedom to speak and worship the way one sees fit. (281106/04/01)*

‘Kami telah berbicara mengenai bagaimana negara kita dapat bekerjasama untuk mencapai tujuan-tujuan, dan memajukan nilai-nilai seperti martabat dan hak asasi manusia dan kebebasan berbicara dan beribadah’

- (18) *I am pleased to announce that I'm going to work with our congress and our international partners to modify our visa waiver program. (281106/15/01)*

‘Saya senang dapat mengumumkan bahwa saya akan bekerjasama dengan Dewan Perwakilan dan sekutu internasional untuk mengubah program bebas visa’.

- (19) *We want people to come to our country. (281106/17/01)*

‘Kita ingin orang datang ke negara kita’.

- (20) *Precisely what we ought to do is help resolve the conflict and use our diplomats to convince people there is a better way forward than through violence. (281106/29/01)*

‘Secara tepat, apa yang ingin kita lakukan adalah menyelesaikan konflik tersebut, dan menggunakan diplomat kita untuk meyakinkan masyarakat bahwa ada sebuah jalan yang terbaik daripada kekerasan’.

- (21) *..., and at the same time, for us to share information to make sure that we're able to thwart any type of terrorist activities in our country. And I'm confident we can work this through.*

‘..., dan pada waktu yang sama, untuk kita berbagi informasi untuk meyakinkan bahwa kita mampu menghalangi setiap jenis kegiatan teroris di negara kita, dan saya percaya kita dapat bekerja melalui hal ini’.

- (22) *I asked the President his advice on Ukraine. (090206/03/03)*

‘Saya memohon nasehat Presiden di Ukraina’

- (23) *I've told the Prime Minister that our goal in Iraq is to strengthen his government and to support his efforts to build a free Iraq that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself, and is an ally in the war against the terrorist. (301106/03/04)*

‘Saya telah menceritakan kepada Perdana Menteri bahwa tujuan kita di Irak adalah memperkuat pemerintahannya dan untuk mendukung usahanya

untuk membangun Irak merdeka, yang dapat membangun pemerintahannya sendiri, menopang dirinya sendiri, dan mempertahankan dirinya sendiri, dan sekutu dalam perang melawan terorisme’.

Contoh (17), (18), (19), (21) dan (23) adalah jenis tindak tutur mengimbau, sedangkan (20) adalah jenis tindak tutur menasihati, dan contoh (22) merupakan jenis tindak tutur memohon. Contoh tersebut merupakan strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi dengan menggunakan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok, yang juga digunakan untuk memperlunak daya ilokusi. Penanda substrategi ini berupa tutur sapa (*address terms*), bahasa orang dalam (*in-group language/dialect*), dan jargon atau slang. Contoh (17), (18), (19), (20), (21), dan (23) adalah bentuk ungkapan sapaan kekerabatan dengan menggunakan sapaan *we*, *our*, yang berarti *kita*. Ungkapan tersebut dapat dipahami sebagai usaha Presiden Bush untuk mengidentifikasi diri sebagai anggota suatu kelompok dengan mitra tutur, sehingga ada alasan bagi Presiden Bush untuk memohon atau menyuruh penutur melakukan sesuatu. Berbeda dengan tuturan (22), Presiden Bush menggunakan *the President*, untuk menyapa Presiden Polandia yang datang ke gedung putih. Juga, penggunaan sapaan dalam tuturan (22) ini menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi, sehingga tuturan dirasakan santun.

Dari tujuh contoh tuturan di atas, tuturan Presiden Bush cenderung bertutur langsung. Namun, jika diurutkan menurut jenis strategi bertutur dengan tingkat ketidaklangsungan yang semakin meningkat, yang dikemukakan Blum Bulka (1978: 133), maka tuturan (17) ialah jenis tindak tutur dengan isyarat halus, tuturan (18) adalah jenis tindak tutur performatif, (19) merupakan jenis tindak tutur performatif berpagar, (20) tindak tutur pernyataan keharusan, (21) ialah jenis tindak tutur untuk menyatakan keinginan, (22) merupakan jenis tindak tutur performatif, dan (23) ialah jenis tindak tutur untuk menyatakan keinginan yang dilakukan Presiden Bush.

Barangkali yang juga sedikit membedakan bentuk dan ketidaklangsungan tujuh tuturan dalam strategi BTBKP dengan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok di atas ialah penggunaan ungkapan kata dan frase *I am pleased to announce...*, *I've told the Prime Minister that...* di dalam tuturan (18) dan (23), yang juga menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan dirasakan

santun. Ungkapan tersebut mengimplikasikan bahwa Presiden Bush menghargai mitra tutur, sehingga tuturan terkesan santun. Jika dicermati lebih dalam, saya melihat bahwa bentuk-bentuk strategi bertutur yang lebih tidak langsung, seperti tuturan (17) digunakan dalam situasi tutur yang mengandung tingkat keterancaman *muka* tinggi, yang ditandai oleh parameter (+K-S +P). Pidato ini dituturkan pada saat Presiden Bush berpartisipasi dalam Konferensi Pers dengan Presiden Estonia di Bank Nasional Estonia (*President Bush participates in Joint Press Availability with President Ilves of Estonia at Bank National Estonia Tallin*).

Jika dilihat dari negaranya, Estonia, jelas Presiden Bush berkuasa atas penutur, karena secara kekuatan politik, dan ekonomi, negara Estonia berada di bawah Amerika Serikat. Untuk melihat secara jelas apakah ada makna yang tersirat di balik tuturan Bush dalam tuturan (16), saya menghadirkan percakapan kedua Presiden tersebut di bawah ini.

(24) *President Ilves: We are hoping to strengthen the ties between European countries and the United States*

‘Presiden Ilves: kami berharap untuk memperkuat jalinan antara negara-negara Eropa dan Amerika Serikat’

President Bush: We talked about how our nations can cooperate to achieve common objectives, and promote common values, values such as human dignity and human rights and the freedom to speak and worship the way one sees fit.

‘Presiden Bush: Kita berbicara mengenai bagaimana bangsa kita dapat bekerja sama untuk mencapai tujuan yang sama, dan mempromosikan nilai-nilai yang sama, nilai seperti martabat kemanusiaan, hak asasi manusia, dan kebebasan berbicara, dan cara kita menghormati satu sama lain’

Dalam percakapan (24) di atas, pemahaman Presiden Ilves terhadap apa yang hendak disampaikan oleh Presiden Bush terjadi melalui satu jawaban yang membuat jelas harapan Presiden Ilves. Dalam hal ini, ujaran Presiden Bush dalam (25), dalam pengertian *degree of relevance*, merupakan ujaran yang relevansinya tinggi dan memerlukan *processing effort* yang kecil. *Degree of relevance*

ditentukan oleh dua faktor, yaitu (1) *contextual effect* dan (2) *processing effort*. Semakin kecil *contextual effect*, semakin besar *processing effort* yang harus dilakukan untuk sampai pada *degree of relevance* sehingga jelas *explicature*-nya. Sebaliknya, semakin besar *contextual effect*, semakin kecil *processing effort* yang harus dilakukan. Contoh (24) memperlihatkan bahwa Presiden Bush tidak harus mengajukan beberapa pertanyaan sebelum menjawab pertanyaan (harapan) Presiden Ilves. Hal ini terjadi karena harapan Presiden ILves sudah sangat jelas.

Strategi melebih-lebihkan kesetujuan dengan petutur juga digunakan untuk memperlunak daya ilokusi seperti contoh (25) berikut ini.

(25) *I'm very hopeful. I'm very hopeful we reach a conclusion. (160206/21/01)*

'Saya sangat berharap. Saya sangat berharap kita mencapai suatu kesepakatan'.

Dalam contoh (25) di atas, Presiden Bush memohon dengan tindak tutur langsung. Ungkapan *I'm very hopeful* di dalam tuturan (25) dapat dipahami sebagai usaha Presiden Bush untuk menyatakan keinginan. Permohonan Presiden Bush tersebut dengan cara mengulang ungkapan *I'm very hopeful* itu menimbulkan pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan dirasakan santun.

Strategi BTBKP dalam bentuk tekankan pengetahuan penutur atas keinginan petutur juga digunakan Presiden Bush untuk memperlunak daya ilokusi seperti contoh-contoh tuturan berikut ini.

(26) *...and the more we share, can share information, the easier it will be for me to get Congress to make it easier for Estonians to travel to United States. (281106/16/03)*

'...dan semakin kita berbagi, dapat berbagi informasi, semakin mudah bagi saya untuk meminta Kongress menyetujui warga Negara Estonia untuk mengunjungi Amerika Serikat'.

(27) *...and the more we can cut down on drug use and drug trafficking and drug supplies, the easier it will be for respective countries to protect their people. (251006/05/03)*

'...dan semakin kita dapat menyetop penggunaan, pengedaran, dan penyuplaian narkoba, semakin mudah bagi Negara untuk melindungi warganya'.

(28) *We have a message for the people of Belarus: the vision of a Europe whole, free, and at peace includes you, and we stand with you in your struggle for freedom. (281106/11/04)*

'Kami mempunyai suatu pesan untuk masyarakat Belarus: visi dari keseluruhan Eropa, merdeka, dan damai termasuk anda, dan kami bersamamu dalam perjuanganmu untuk kemerdekaan'.

Tuturan (26), (27) dan (28) merupakan jenis tindak tutur langsung. Jenis tindak tuturnya adalah menyarankan dan menasihati. Dalam tindak tutur langsung terdapat hubungan langsung antara struktur kalimat dengan fungsinya. Seperti yang kita lihat dalam contoh (26), (27) dan (28), ungkapan *and the more we share..., and the more we can cut down..., we stand with you...*, menunjukkan bahwa Presiden Bush mengajak bersama-sama dengan petutur untuk menyatu melakukan sesuatu. Kesiediaan Presiden Bush untuk menyatu dengan kelompok dan negara lain ini juga telah menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan terkesan santun. Yang juga menarik adalah adanya kehadiran ungkapan kata ganti orang pertama jamak, *kita*, yang menandakan identitas anggota kelompok yang sama pada tuturan (26) dan (27), sehingga ada alasan bagi Presiden Bush untuk meminta petutur melakukan sesuatu.

Saya juga menangkap frase lain yang menarik untuk diperhatikan, yaitu rumusan saran *we have a message for the people of Belarus*, di dalam tuturan (28) memberikan masukan bagi mitra tutur untuk menerima nasihat dari Presiden Bush. Saran yang berupa nasihat tersebut dan ungkapan kesiediaan untuk menolong (*and we stand with you in your struggle for freedom*) yang ditawarkan pemerintahan Bush menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan dirasakan santun.

Berdasarkan uraian di atas, saya menyimpulkan bahwa strategi bertutur langsung cenderung digunakan di dalam pidato politik dengan tujuan luar negeri di dalam situasi tutur, yang mengandung tingkat keterancaman *muka* yang rendah, yang ditandai oleh parameter sebagai berikut: penutur berkuasa atas

petutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur rendah, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K-S+P). Tuturan (26), (27) dan (28) merupakan jenis tindak tutur langsung, dan ungkapan-ungkapan Presiden Bush tersebut diungkapkan secara eksplisit, sehingga tidak ada implikasi dibaliknya. Hal ini berarti tuturan Presiden Bush memiliki relevansi yang baik, karena kecilnya usaha petutur untuk memprosesnya.

Pelunakan daya ilokusi juga dilakukan Presiden Bush dalam strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif dengan substrategi memberikan alasan.

- (29) *And the fundamental objective is to work with the Iraqis to create conditions so that the vast majority of the people will be able to see that there's a peaceful way forward. (281106/34/06)*

‘dan tujuan yang paling mendasar adalah untuk bekerja dengan warga Irak untuk menciptakan kondisi-kondisi sehingga mayoritas luas dari orang-orang tersebut mampu melihat bahwa ada sebuah jalan menuju perdamaian’.

- (30) *..I support the mission because it's important for us to advance the cause of two states living side by side in peace, and helping both parties eliminate the obstacles that prevent an agreement from being reached. And your strong leadership on this issue matters a lot. (071206/09/05)*

‘...saya mendukung misi tersebut, karena hal itu penting bagi kita untuk mendorong dua negara yang hidup berdampingan dalam damai, dan menolong kedua partai menghapuskan rintangan-rintangan, yang mencegah suatu kesepakatan yang telah dicapai, dan kekuatan pimpinanmu dalam kasus ini sangat berharga’.

- (31) *We stand together because we understand the only way to secure a lasting peace for our children and grandchildren is to defeat the extremist ideologies and help the ideology of hope, democracy, prevail. (071206/12/01)*

‘kita berdiri bersama karena kita memahami bahwa hanya ada cara itu untuk menyelamatkan sebuah kedamaian akhir bagi anak-anak dan cucu kita, yaitu dengan melawan ideologi ekstrim, dan berharap ideologi demokrasi berlaku’.

Contoh tuturan (29) menunjukkan bahwa substrategi memberikan alasan digunakan dalam tindak tutur direktif menyarankan dan mengimbau. Ungkapan *so that the vast majority..., because it's important..., dan because we understand...*, dapat dipahami sebagai suatu usaha Presiden Bush untuk memberikan alasan logis kepada petutur sehingga saran dan himbauan Presiden Bush dirasakan masuk akal. Alasan yang logis ini menimbulkan efek pelunakan daya ilokusi sehingga tuturan dirasakan santun. Hal kecil yang membedakan adalah bentuk penggunaan kata ganti orang pertama jamak, *kita* dalam tuturan (31). *Kita* dalam tuturan tersebut adalah ungkapan yang menandai bahwa Presiden Bush sebagai anggota kelompok yang sama, yaitu rakyat Amerika Serikat.

Rasa nasionalis yang dibangun melalui tuturan (31) dapat meningkatkan rasa kebersamaan sehingga ada alasan bagi Presiden Bush untuk meminta atau menyuruh petutur melakukan sesuatu. Pada dasarnya, bentuk tuturan dan tingkat kelangsungan tuturan (29), (30), dan (31) adalah sama, sehingga petutur dengan cepat dapat memahami maksud tuturan yang disampaikan Presiden Bush secara eksplikatur. Oleh karena itu, tuturan tersebut memiliki relevansi yang baik, karena usaha pemrosesan yang kecil. Substrategi dengan memberi tawaran sebagai pengganti keterancaman muka juga ditemukan dalam penelitian ini. Marilah kita lihat contoh berikut ini.

(32) *The choice is a free society, or a society dictated by the-by evil people who will kill innocents. (280206/13/04)*

‘pilihan itu adalah sebuah masyarakat yang merdeka, atau sebuah masyarakat yang didikte oleh orang jahat yang akan membunuh orang yang tak bersalah’.

(33) *Well, first of all, a personal relationship is based upon mutual trust. (280206/30/01)*

‘baiklah, pertama-tama, suatu hubungan pribadi ialah berdasarkan kepercayaan bersama’.

(34) *My policy towards Syria is this: that we expect the Syrians to be, one, out of Lebanon so that the Lebanese democracy can exist; two, not harboring extremist that create-that empower these radicals to stop the advance of democracies; three, to help this young democracy in Iraq succeed. (131106/18/02)*

kebijakan saya terhadap Syria adalah: bahwa kita berharap warga Syria, pertama, diluar Lebanon, sehingga warga demokrasi di Lebanon dapat ditegakkan; kedua, tidak menyembunyikan para ekstrim yang menciptakan, yang menguasai radikal-radikal ini untuk menyetop kemajuan demokrasi; ketiga, untuk menolong demokrasi muda di Irak sukses’.

Presiden Bush bertutur dengan jenis tindak tutur mengimbau, menasihati dan menyarankan dalam memberi tawaran kepada petutur sebagai pengganti keterancaman muka. Bentuk tuturan (32), (33), dan (34) adalah jenis tindak tutur langsung, yang didalamnya terdapat hubungan langsung antara struktur kalimat dengan fungsinya. Hubungan langsung tersebut terlihat dalam ungkapan (32) dalam *the choice is..., or.....* dalam hal ini, Presiden Bush memberikan pilihan kepada petutur. Hal ini membuat petutur memiliki alternatif, sehingga tuturan Bush menimbulkan efek ilokusi, yang membuat tuturan terasa santun. Namun, yang menjadi permasalahan apakah tuturan (32) Presiden Bush benar-benar santun atau benar-benar memberikan pilihan kepada petutur. Konteks tuturan terjadi ketika Presiden Bush mengundang Perdana Menteri Berlusconi ke gedung putih, untuk membicarakan diplomasi global, seperti perang melawan terorisme, dan peran NATO di Afghanistan.

- (35) *Q: Mr. President, there was some more sectarian violence today in Iraq. There have been hundreds, may be thousands, killed since the bombing of the mosques. Do you fear an all-out civil war? And will the events of Iraq of the last few days affect prospects for a U.S. draw-down?*

Pertanyaan: Bapak Presiden, ada beberapa kekerasan (dari satu aliran) di Irak akhir-akhir ini. Ada ratusan, bahkan ribuan, yang terbunuh sejak pengeboman masjid itu. Apakah bapak Presiden khawatir akan timbulnya perang sipil? Dan akankah beberapa kejadian pada beberapa hari lalu di Irak akan berpengaruh terhadap kemungkinan penarikan mundur Amerika Serikat?’

President Bush: *The United States strongly condemns the bombing of holy sites. We believe people should be allowed to worship freely. Obviously, there are some who are trying to sow the seeds of sectarian violence. They destroy in order to create chaos. And now the people of Iraq and their leaders must make a choice. The choice is a free society, or a society dictated by the-by evil people who will kill innocents.*

'Presiden Bush: Amerika Serikat sangat mengutuk pemboman di tempat ibadah. Kita percaya setiap orang bebas untuk beribadah. Sayangnya, ada beberapa orang yang mencoba untuk menciptakan kekerasan antar aliran. Mereka merusak dan menciptakan kekacauan. Dan sekarang rakyat Irak dan para pemimpinnya harus memilih. Pilihannya adalah ingin sebuah tatanan masyarakat yang bebas atau sebuah tatanan masyarakat yang dikuasai oleh seorang pemimpin diktator yang senang membunuh orang tak berdosa.'

Himbauan Presiden Bush dalam tuturan (35) adalah eksplikatur, yang maknanya dapat dipahami sebagai suatu pilihan. Namun, menarik makna seperti yang dimaksudkan Presiden Bush tidaklah cukup memperhatikan makna proposisi ujaran saja, betapapun eksplisitnya proposisi (Gunarwan 2006: 10). Saya perlu tahu juga maksud atau intensi penutur, untuk memahami ujaran. Sperber dan Wilson menyebut *higher-order explicature* sebagai hal atau sikap yang melatarbelakangi ekplikatur ujaran itu. Saran Presiden Bush dalam percakapan (35) dilakukan dalam pidato untuk mengembangkan diplomasi global, ia mengimbau kepada rakyat dan pimpinan di Irak untuk membuat suatu pilihan, yaitu pilihan yang dimaksud adalah sebuah masyarakat yang bebas, atau sebuah masyarakat yang didikte oleh orang jahat (kelompok pemberontak) yang akan membunuh orang yang tak bersalah.

Sebenarnya, tujuan Amerika Serikat melalui kebijakan luar negeri yang diatur oleh Presiden Bush ingin bekerja sama dalam isu kelompok pemberontak di Irak. Namun, pada perkembangannya Amerika Serikat justru mengancam Irak agar mematuhi draft keamanan yang menjadi polemik. Rakyat Irak menolak, karena takut Irak dijadikan seperti Palestina, dan Irak menjadi wilayah jajahan Amerika Serikat, serta mereka tidak menghendaki Presiden Bush serta pemerintahannya memaksakan kehendak, dan juga pada perkembangannya, Amerika Serikat secara terang-terangan mengancam Irak dalam bentuk surat, yang terdiri dari tiga bagian, yaitu keamanan, ekonomi, dan kelembagaan. Dalam kaitannya dengan konteks keamanan, Amerika Serikat mengancam akan menghentikan kerjasama isu terorisme, Tanzim Al Qaeda, kelompok ilegal, dan kelompok pemberontak lain. Ancaman AS dalam sektor keamanan dan kelembagaan adalah menghentikan bantuan atas lembaga-lembaga Internasional

yang beroperasi di Irak, seperti PBB dan NATO, yang selama ini melatih sekitar 6.000 polisi Irak setiap tahun (Kompas, 3 November 2008: 10). Hal yang dapat diinferensikan dari percakapan (35) di atas ialah frase *by evil* yang dimaksud dalam percakapan (35) adalah kelompok pemberontak, dan semua informasi di atas menjurus ke inferensi bahwa Presiden Bush mengimbau, menegaskan, dan mengingatkan.

Tuturan Presiden Bush tersebut adalah bentuk komunikasi yang kurang berhasil, karena tidak adanya relevansi optimal, yang terdeteksi oleh wartawan. Dalam hal ini, implikasinya adalah derajat implikatur ujaran Presiden Bush ialah kurang kuat karena kurang mengandung efek kontekstual, dan sekaligus memerlukan usaha untuk memprosesnya. Usaha pemrosesan itu dapat berjalan terus di dalam benak wartawan, namun, tampaknya wartawan di dalam percakapan (35) telah berhenti memproses dengan menarik inferensi yang berupa implikatur itu.

Selanjutnya, strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif dalam bentuk berjanji juga digunakan untuk memperlunak daya ilokusi seperti contoh (36) di bawah ini.

(36) *I think it's very important for the world to unite with one common voice to say to the Iranians that, if you choose to continue forward, you'll be isolated. And one source of isolation would be economic isolation. (131106/25/01)*

'Saya pikir sangat penting bagi dunia untuk menyatukan satu suara untuk mengatakan kepada Iran bahwa, jika kamu memilih untuk melanjutkan, kamu akan diisolasi. Dan satu dari tindakan isolasi tersebut adalah isolasi ekonomi'.

Seperti yang terlihat dalam tuturan (36), tuturan Presiden Bush termasuk jenis tuturan langsung. Presiden Bush mengimbau kepada rakyat Iran untuk memilih untuk tidak meneruskan tindakan. Sebelum mengetahui tindakan yang dimaksud, marilah kita perhatikan parameter situasi tutur sebagai berikut: penutur berkuasa atas petutur, solidaritas antara penutur dan petutur rendah, dan tindak tutur dilakukan di tempat publik atau ada pihak ketiga yang ikut mendengarkan percakapan yang dilakukan oleh penutur dan petutur (+K-S+P). Substrategi

berjanji di dalam tuturan (36) ditandai oleh ungkapan *if you choose to continue forward, you'll be isolated*.

Sebenarnya, ungkapan Presiden Bush ini lebih bermakna figuratif, artinya mengisyaratkan bahwa penutur berusaha mengancam rakyat Iran, sehingga tuturan Presiden Bush dirasakan kurang santun. Yang juga menarik untuk diperhatikan adalah penggunaan pagar performatif *I think it's very important for the world...* menimbulkan kesan bahwa Presiden Bush mengajak atau mempengaruhi orang lain agar mempunyai suara yang sama dengannya. Berdasarkan uraian di atas, bentuk tuturan Presiden Bush adalah langsung di dalam situasi diplomasi global, yang mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka yang tinggi, yang ditandai oleh parameter (+K) dan (-S).

Untuk melihat makna tuturan Presiden Bush dalam tuturan (36) di atas, saya menggunakan teori Sperber dan Wilson yang menyebutkan bahwa terdapat hal atau sikap yang melatarbelakangi tuturannya, karena tuturan Bush sudah menjadi ekplikatur. Mereka menyebut *higher-order explicature* sebagai hal atau sikap yang melatarbelakangi ekplikatur ujaran itu. Presiden Bush mengancam Iran dalam tuturan *if you choose to continue forward, you'll be isolated. And one source of isolation would be economic isolation* karena Iran mulai mengembangkan nuklir. Ia menganalisa bahwa pemerintahan Iran yang berkuasa adalah penguasa yang radikal, sehingga Presiden Bush mengkhawatirkan terjadi penyalahgunaan nuklir untuk menyerang negara Israel, dan negara sekutu Amerika di Timur Tengah.⁸

4.3.3. Bertutur secara samar-samar

Strategi bertutur secara samar-samar diformulasikan secara tidak langsung dalam tuturannya karena tingginya level TPM yang ada. Formulasi tersebut dilakukan melalui beberapa cara antara lain: menggunakan sindiran, metafor, atau lewat tuturan bermakna ambigu atau samar-samar. Strategi ini acapkali pula dilakukan

⁸ sebelumnya, Presiden Bush juga berpidato pada tanggal 31 Agustus 2006 untuk mengancam Iran. Ia mengatakan bahwa pasti ada kosekuensi akibat dari keinginan Iran untuk melakukan proses pengayaan Uranium. (Dipunggah dari <http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/meast/08/31/iran.deadline/index.html>) [31 Agustus 2006]).

dengan cara tidak menyelesaikan suatu tuturan atau bertutur dengan terbata-bata seperti *I know about that but...* atau dengan menggunakan elipsis.

Strategi ini dipakai dengan praktik kepura-puraan penutur seakan-akan ia tidak mengerti dengan jelas akan hal yang sedang ia tuturkan. Realisasi strategi ini memiliki substrategi dengan isyarat. Menurut Trosbog (1995: 192-197), ada dua kelompok substrategi isyarat, yaitu: pertama, isyarat kuat, yang mengacu kepada tuturan yang mempunyai daya ilokusi kuat, isyarat kuat ditandai dengan ungkapan atau yang lebih transparan dapat diasosiasikan dengan maksud penutur; kedua, isyarat lunak, yang mengacu kepada tuturan yang daya ilokusinya lemah. Isyarat lunak ini ditandai dengan tidak adanya ungkapan yang secara transparan dapat diasosiasikan dengan maksud penutur. Saya menemukan strategi bertutur secara samar-samar dalam penelitian ini seperti terlihat di bawah ini.

(37) *The choice is a free society, or a society dictated by the-by evil people who will kill innocents. (280206/13/04).*

‘Pilihan itu adalah sebuah masyarakat yang merdeka, atau sebuah masyarakat yang didikte oleh orang jahat yang akan membunuh orang yang tak bersalah’.

Contoh (37) adalah jenis tindak tutur mengimbau. Substrategi dengan isyarat kuat ditemukan di dalam contoh (37) di dalam parameter situasi tutur Presiden Bush berkuasa atas petutur. Hal ini bertolak belakang dengan substrategi isyarat kuat yang cenderung digunakan untuk mengungkapkan direktif kepada orang yang lebih berkuasa (+K). artinya, tuturan Presiden Bush walaupun samar-samar tetap disampaikan dengan tuturan yang transparan.

Berdasarkan Sperber dan Wilson yang dikutip oleh Marmaridou (2000: 242-246), implikatur tuturan (37) dapat dikelompokkan menjadi dua, yaitu asumsi tersirat dan simpulan tersirat. Asumsi tersirat tuturan (37) adalah rakyat Irak harus memilih menjadi sebuah masyarakat yang merdeka, atau menjadi sebuah masyarakat yang akan selalu didikte (dijajah menurut Presiden Bush) oleh pemberontak, dan simpulan tersirat tuturan (37) ialah Presiden Bush meminta pemerintahan Irak untuk “memilih” mengikuti kebijakan yang ditetapkannya. Ungkapan *choice...free society...society dictated by evil people...* di dalam tuturan

(37) adalah ungkapan harfiah yang dapat diasosiasikan dengan maksud penutur, sehingga tuturan (37) dapat dikategorikan sebagai isyarat kuat.

Sebagai kesimpulan, penggunaan strategi bertutur secara samar-samar digunakan untuk melakukan direktif kepada orang yang belum akrab (-S). Dalam hal ini, Presiden Bush secara tidak langsung ingin memperlihatkan bahwa ia tidak memiliki hubungan diplomasi yang akrab dan baik dengan Irak. Sebagai informasi, Badan Statistik Irak (Iraq Body Count) mencatat, warga sipil yang menjadi korban Operasi Pembebasan Irak antara 13.278 dan 15.357. (Austin dalam Hamm 2005: 81)

4.4. Kekerapan Kemunculan Strategi Bertutur Presiden Bush di dalam Tindak Tutur Direktif Teks Pidato Politik Berbahasa Inggris

Empat dari lima strategi bertutur yang dipostulatkan oleh Brown dan Levinson (1978) ditemukan di dalam korpus data penelitian ini. Tiga strategi bertutur yang dimaksud adalah sebagai berikut: (1) bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB); (2) bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif (BTBKP); (3) bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif (BTBKN), dan (4) bertutur secara samar-samar, masing masing dengan frekuensi seperti terlihat pada tabel di bawah ini.

Tabel 6. kekerapan kemunculan dengan topik urusan dalam/luar negeri

No	Strategi	Frekuensi	%
1	Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi	15	27, 78 %
2	Bertutur dengan Kesantunan Positif	34	62, 96 %
3	Bertutur dengan Kesantunan Negatif	3	5, 56 %
4	Bertutur secara Samar-samar	2	3, 70 %
5	"Melarang di dalam hati"	0	0
	Keseluruhan		

Berdasarkan hasil kekerapan kemunculan strategi bertutur tersebut, hipotesis utama penelitian ini diterima: (Presiden Bush paling tidak menggunakan satu strategi kesantunan dalam setiap pidatonya).

4.5. Implikatur dalam Strategi Bertutur Presiden Bush

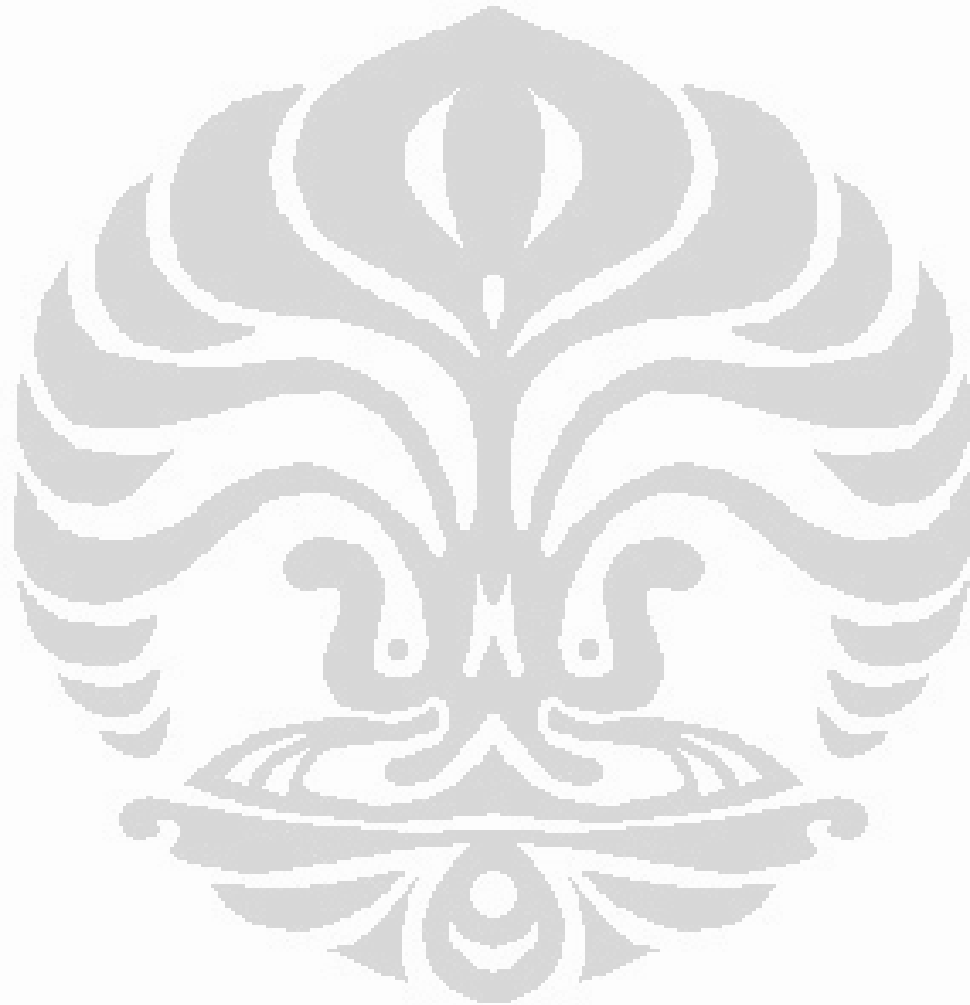
Implikatur adalah informasi yang tersirat, yang tidak dikatakan, tetapi terkomunikasikan oleh penutur di dalam suatu percakapan (Sperber dan Wilson 1995: 56). Untuk mencari implikatur, saya menggunakan teori relevansi yang dikemukakan oleh mereka. Teori relevansi merupakan teori yang berisi kesesuaian antara topik pembicaraan dengan bentuk pembicaraan. Teori ini bertitik tolak pada pengertian bahwa *language in use* (*parole*, tuturan, bentuk) itu bercirikan *indeterminant* atau *underspecified* (merupakan bentuk tuturan yang belum dapat diketahui relevansinya dengan maksud penutur).

Tuturan dalam pidato Presiden Bush mengandung implikatur yang kuat, kurang kuat dan juga lemah, artinya relevansi tuturan Presiden Bush memiliki derajat yang berbeda. Implikatur dalam tuturan Presiden Bush kuat terdapat di dalam teks pidato politik dengan tujuan dalam dan luar negeri, karena mengandung paling banyak efek kontekstual dan sedikit memerlukan usaha untuk memproses. Dalam hal ini, Presiden Bush berhasil memanifestasikan relevansi ujarannya kepada mitra tuturnya. Sperber dan Wilson (1995: 39) mengatakan bahwa suatu fakta dikatakan manifes bagi seseorang pada suatu waktu, jika dan hanya jika orang itu (petutur) pada saat itu dapat merepresentasikan fakta tersebut, dan dapat menerima representasi fakta itu sebagai sesuatu yang benar, atau mungkin sekali benar.

Dalam penelitian ini, mitra tutur Presiden Bush dapat menginterpretasi tuturan Bush dengan mudah, mudah, dan cukup sulit. Tuturan Presiden Bush mengandung informasi yang kadang relevan dan tidak relevan. Informasi yang relevan dan mengandung efek kontekstual yang banyak, dan diperoleh dengan usaha paling sedikit oleh petutur Presiden Bush adalah implikatur ujaran yang paling kuat. Sebaliknya, informasi yang kurang mengandung efek kontekstual, dan diperlukan usaha yang bertahap (dalam kasus ini biasanya Presiden Bush bergurau atau bercanda) merupakan implikatur ujaran yang lemah.

Secara politis, dalam urusan dalam negeri, tuturan Presiden Bush memiliki maksud meminta dukungan, dan memengaruhi petutur. Ia juga ingin menunjukkan bahwa kebijakannya sesuai dengan kepentingan rakyat Amerika Serikat. Dalam

urusan luar negeri, tuturannya menginformasikan bahwa ia sebagai Presiden dari sebuah negara adidaya memiliki kebijakan yang ditujukan untuk kebaikan seluruh manusia di seluruh dunia. Namun, dalam kenyataannya tidak semua kebijakan Presiden Bush disetujui oleh dunia dan tidak membawa manfaat bagi masyarakat dunia, seperti kebijakannya terhadap perang melawan terroisme yang telah menghabiskan dana besar, dan mengakibatkan Amerika mengalami krisis keuangan global, yang berdampak kepada krisis global di dunia.



BAB 5

PENUTUP

5.1. Kesimpulan

Berdasarkan temuan serta pembahasan analisis data yang disesuaikan dengan tujuan penelitian, maka saya menemukan hal-hal sebagai berikut:

1. Penalaran strategi bertutur Presiden Bush di dalam teks pidato berbahasa Inggris menggunakan empat strategi dari lima strategi yang dirumuskan Brown dan Levinson, yaitu strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi (BTTB); bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif (BTBKP); bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif (BTBKN), dan bertutur secara samar-samar (BS).

Secara keseluruhan, strategi yang paling sering digunakan adalah strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif (62, 96%), karena Presiden Bush ingin menunjukkan penghargaan, rasa solidaritas, simpati, dan persahabatan serta keinginan yang sama. Tujuannya adalah untuk mempertahankan stabilitas di antara sesama sehingga dapat terjalin persahabatan dan kedekatan diantara Presiden Bush dengan mitra tutur baik di dalam maupun di luar negeri; kedua, Presiden Bush paling banyak menggunakan strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi (27, 78 %). Ia acapkali menggunakan strategi ini karena memiliki kekuasaan politik yang lebih tinggi baik di dalam maupun di luar negeri. Strategi BTTB ini menggunakan strategi bertutur langsung, dan tanpa ditutup-tutupi. Yang menjadi menarik untuk dilihat adalah tuturan Presiden Bush mengandung tingkat keterancaman muka tinggi, sehingga terasa kurang santun.

Dari variabel penelitian yang terdapat di dalam (1.4), saya menyimpulkan dua hal sebagai berikut: (a) Dalam pidato politik dengan tujuan dalam negeri, Presiden Bush menggunakan strategi bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi, strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif, dengan substrategi menggunakan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok. Dalam strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif,

Presiden Bush menggunakan substrategi minimalkan keharusan ;(b) Dalam pidato politik dengan tujuan luar negeri, Presiden Bush menggunakan strategi BTTB, BTBKP dengan substrategi menggunakan pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok, melebih-lebihkan kesetujuan dengan petutur, tekankan pengetahuan *S* (petutur) atas keinginan *H* (petutur), memberikan alasan, beri tawaran sebagai pengganti keterancaman muka, dan berjanji. Selanjutnya, untuk strategi BTBKN, Presiden Bush, tidak menggunakannya.

2. Berdasarkan analisis yang telah dilakukan, teori relevansi mampu mengidentifikasi pertalian antara strategi kesantunan yang digunakan Presiden Bush dengan implikturnya, dan secara jelas, teori relevansi yang dikemukakan Sperber dan Wilson mampu menjelaskan implikatur dalam teks pidato politik berbahasa Inggris, sebab teori tersebut mampu menunjukkan bagaimana cara sebuah pesan dipahami penerimanya melalui tiga macam hubungan, yaitu antara *cue* (sebuah bentuk tuturan yang digunakan petutur dalam mengemukakan maksudnya) dan *implicature* (implikatur); pertama, tuturan merupakan sebarang tindakan dari komunikasi ostensif, misalnya tindakan untuk membuat sesuatu menjadi jelas dan dapat dipahami oleh penerima pesan; kedua, komunikasi tidak hanya memasukkan apa yang ada dalam pikiran pengirim pesan ke dalam pikiran penerima pesan, tetapi mencakupi perluasan wilayah kognitif (*cognitive environment*) kedua belah pihak; dan ketiga, *explicature* atau *degree of relevance*, tahapan yang harus dilewati untuk memahami implikatur dalam percakapan.

Pertalian strategi bertutur ini dengan implikturnya, yaitu strategi bertutur dengan menggunakan strategi BTTB, BTBKP, BTBKN, dan BS (sarat dengan kesantunan) memiliki implikatur yang kuat, karena petutur memerlukan usaha yang kecil untuk memprosesnya. Dalam hal ini, petutur dari Presiden Bush bisa memahami maksud tuturan Presiden Bush. Selain itu, tuturan Presiden Bush mengandung efek kontekstual yang banyak, yang diperoleh dengan mengeluarkan usaha paling sedikit atau dengan waktu paling pendek.

Berdasarkan dua simpulan tersebut, terdapat satu simpulan umum yang dapat lebih jelas memperlihatkan hubungan atau pertalian antara strategi kesantunan yang dikemukakan Presiden Bush dengan implikasinya, yaitu strategi kesantunan BTTB, BTBKP, BTBTKN, dan BS yang dituturkan Presiden Bush memenuhi prinsip relevansi, yang menjadi landasan komunikasi yang ostensif, dan mengandung banyak efek kontekstual.

Secara politis, dalam urusan dalam negeri, tuturan Presiden Bush memiliki maksud meminta dukungan, dan memengaruhi petutur. Ia juga ingin menunjukkan bahwa kebijakannya sesuai dengan kepentingan rakyat Amerika Serikat. Dalam urusan luar negeri, tuturannya menginformasikan bahwa ia sebagai Presiden dari sebuah negara adidaya memiliki kebijakan yang ditujukan untuk kebaikan seluruh manusia.

Tuturan Presiden Bush paling banyak menggunakan strategi bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif, dan bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi. Selain tujuan yang telah disebutkan secara teoritis, menurut saya, Presiden Bush jelas ingin memengaruhi “dunia” untuk setiap kebijakan-kebijakannya, yang ditentang oleh lebih enam juta orang di seluruh dunia, misalnya rangkaian protes melawan Perang Irak pada 15 Februari 2003.

Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi dilakukan oleh Presiden Bush juga menunjukkan bahwa ia sebagai Presiden dari sebuah negara adidaya adalah Presiden yang merasa lebih berkuasa, sehingga lebih berani untuk mengancam “muka” petuturnya. Sebagai contoh, walaupun kebijakan Presiden Bush untuk menyerang Irak telah diprotes oleh banyak orang, Irak tetap menjadi puing, infrastruktur Irak dihancurkan, dan masyarakatnya hidup tanpa air bersih, listrik dan minyak. Selain itu 60 % masyarakat Irak terpaksa menjadi pengangguran, perusahaan-perusahaan Amerika Serikat yang bergelimang kontrak milyaran dolar untuk proyek rekonstruksi dapat menggaji murah tenaga kerja imigran (Hamm 2005:1). Hal tersebut jelas menunjukkan realisasi kebijakan-kebijakan Presiden Bush dari tindak mengancam “muka”, dan menunjukkan cara bagaimana kebencian itu diciptakan oleh Presiden Bush.

5.2. Saran

Tulisan ini masih belum membahas teks pidato Presiden lain, yang juga menggunakan bahasa Inggris. Seperti yang dikemukakan dalam metodologi penelitian, tulisan ini bersifat studi kasus, sehingga fenomena yang diobservasi terlalu kompleks, sehingga serangkaian perbedaan data diperlukan dalam rangka mencapai gambaran yang utuh. Namun, serangkaian perbedaan data tersebut seperti pemisahan data pidato yang bersifat impromptu dan semi impromptu belum dipisahkan, karena terbatasnya waktu. Selain itu, masih banyak teks pidato lain yang perlu dikaji secara mendalam mengenai strategi kesantunan, dan implikatumya.



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Lampiran 1. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: fokus Pertahanan Citra Diri)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 28 Oktober 2006	Kode pidato (281006)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 28 Oktober 2006: <i>President Bush Greet Troops in Charleston, South Carolina</i></p> <p>1. One of the lessons of September the 11th is that when this country sees a threat, we must deal with that threat before it fully materializes.</p>	281006/11/01	Menasihati	Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi

Lampiran 2. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: fokus Pertahanan Citra Diri)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 13 Februari 2006	Kode pidato (130206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, menghimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 13 Februari 2006: <i>President Congratulates Chicago White Sox, 2005 World Series Champions</i></p> <p>Tidak ditemukan tindak tutur direktif</p>			

Lampiran 3. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: fokus Pertahanan Citra Diri)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 21 Februari 2006	Kode pidato (210206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 21 Februari 2006: <i>Roundtable Interview of the President by the Press Pool</i></p> <p>1. but my statement still stands. That so long as Hamas does not recognize Israel's right to exist, my view is we don't have a partner in peace, and therefore shouldn't fund a government that is not a partner in peace.</p>	210206/40/03	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok

Lampiran 4. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: fokus Pertahanan Citra Diri)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

	Kode pidato (100206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, menghimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 10 Februari 2006</p> <p>Pidato 10 Februari 2006: <i>President Addresses House Republican Conference</i></p> <p>Tidak ditemukan tindak tutur direktif</p>			

Lampiran 5. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: fokus Pertahanan Citra Diri)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

	Kode pidato (091106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, menghimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 9 November 2006</p> <p>Pidato 9 November 2006: <i>President Bush Meets with Congresswoman Pelosi and Congressman Hoyer at the White House</i></p> <p>Tidak ditemukan tindak tutur direktif</p>			

Lampiran 6. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: fokus Pertahanan Citra Diri)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 3 November 2006	Kode pidato (031106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 3 November 2006: <i>Remarks by the President at Missouri Victory 2006 Rally</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. And if you're a Missouri farmer, or a Missouri rancher, it makes economic sense to send Jim Talent back to the United States Senate. 2. If you're concerned about what meth does to your fellow citizens, send Jim Talent back to the United States Senate. 	<p>0311206/14/05</p> <p>0311206/16/05</p>	<p>Menyarankan</p> <p>Menyarankan</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) tekankan pengetahuan S atas keinginan H</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) tekankan pengetahuan S atas</p>

<p>3. you tell your friends and neighbors who are still undecided in this race that if you want a judiciary full of judges who will strictly interpret the law and not legislate, send Jim talent back to the United States Senate</p> <p>4. So my strong advice is, if you're a small-business owner, if you've got children, if you pay income taxes, you're a farmer and you want to keep the money that you've worked hard to earn, vote for Jim Talent for the United States Senate.</p> <p>5. If you want the United States to do everything that we can to protect you and to lay the foundation of peace for generations to come, vote for Jim Talent.</p>	031106/18/05	Menyarankan	keinginan <i>H</i> Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) tekankan pengetahuan <i>S</i> atas keinginan <i>H</i> Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) tekankan pengetahuan <i>S</i> atas keinginan <i>H</i> Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) tekankan pengetahuan <i>S</i> atas keinginan <i>H</i>
	031106/34/01	Menasihati	
	031106/91/04	Menghimbau	

Lampiran 1. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Rakyat Amerika)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 15 Desember 2006	Kode pidato (151206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 15 Desember 2006: <i>President Attends Armed Forces Full Honor Review for Secretary Rumsfeld</i></p> <p>1. In 2001, I called him back to the same job he held under President Gerald Ford, and I gave him this urgent mission: Prepare our nation's armed forces for the threats of a new century.</p>	151206/07/02	Memerintah	Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi

Lampiran 2. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Rakyat Amerika)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 22 Maret 2006	Kode pidato (151.206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 22 Maret 2006: <i>President Discusses War on Terror, Progress in Iraq in West Virginia</i></p> <p>Tidak ditemukan tindak tutur direktif</p>			

Lampiran 3. Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Rakyat Amerika)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 3 February 2006	Kode pidato (151206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 3 February 2006: <i>President Participates in American Competitiveness Panel in New Mexico</i></p> <p>1. And finally, we want to get 30,000 adjunct professors into classrooms. That's a fancy word for saying we want engineers and chemists and physicists in places like Intel, or retired professionals, to go in the classroom and excite students about the possibility of math and science. That's what we need. We need role models. We need people walking into a classroom full of youngsters and say, you're not going to believe how cool this profession is. You're not going to believe the horizons that will be available to you. And one of the things Craig has encouraged Intel to do is do just that.</p>	151206/50/01	Menyarankan	Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok

Lampiran 4. Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Rakyat Amerika)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 16 Februari 2006	Kode pidato (160206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 16 Februari 2006: <i>President Participates in Panel Discussion on Health care Initiatives</i></p> <p>1. There are some things we need Congress to do to make health savings accounts work even better than they are. One is to make sure that one's contributions into the health savings account is can be will be equal to the deductible, plus any co-pays that may have to be made. In other words, we shouldn't cap the contribution, cash contribution where it is. It needs to be raised. Secondly, we need to make sure the tax code treats employees in large companies and employees in small companies equally when it comes to purchasing health savings accounts. And thirdly, and a key component of making sure health savings accounts works, that addresses one of the real concerns in our society, and that is people changing jobs but fearful of losing health care as they do change jobs is to make sure health savings accounts are portable in all aspects, a health care plan that encompasses health savings accounts.</p>	160206/142/01	Menyarankan	Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok

Lampiran 5. Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Rakyat Amerika)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 21 Pebruari 2006	Kode pidato (210206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 21 Pebruari 2006: <i>President Participates in Energy Conservation and Efficiency Panel</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First, we need to make sure we're the leader of technology in the world. 2. In my State of the Union, I called on Congress to double the research in basic sciences at the federal level. 3. I just want to tell the American people three ways that we can change the way we drive our automobiles. One is through the use of hybrid vehicles. 	210206/08/01	Mengimbau	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p>
	210206/08/04	Mengimbau	<p>Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi</p>
	210206/12/01	Mengimbau	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif; strategi ke (4) meminimalkan keharusan</p>

4. Secondly, there is a fantastic technology brewing-I saw brewing, it's kind of a catch on words here-called ethanol.	210206/15/01	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi
5. Finally, hydrogen fuel cells.	210206/18/01	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi

Lampiran 6. (Topik Urusan Dalam Negeri: Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Rakyat Amerika)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

	Kode pidato (230206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 23 Pebruari 2006</p> <p>Pidato 23 Pebruari 2006: <i>President Discusses Hurricane Katrina Lessons Learned Report with Cabinet</i></p> <p>Tidak ditemukan tindak tutur direktif</p>			

Lampiran 1. (Topik urusan luar negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

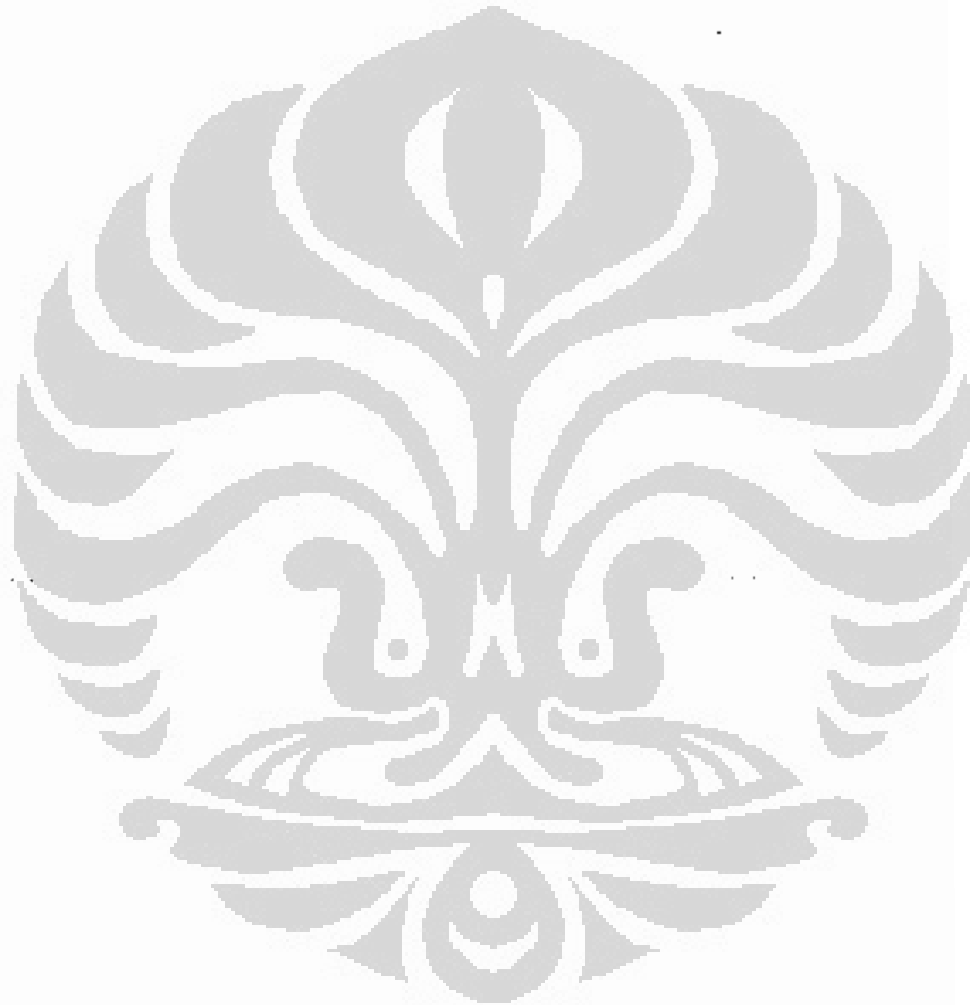
DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 28 November 2006	Kode pidato (281106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p><i>Pidato 28 November 2006: President Bush participates in Joint Press Availability with President Ives of Estonia at Bank National Estonia Tallin</i></p> <p>1. President Ives: We are hoping to strengthen the ties between European countries and the United States</p> <p>President Bush: We talked about how our nations can cooperate to achieve common objectives, and promote common values, values such as human dignity and human rights and the freedom to speak and worship the way one sees fit.</p> <p>2. I am pleased to announce that I'm going to work with our congress and our international</p>	<p>281106/04/01</p> <p>281106/15/01</p>	<p>Mengimbau</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif;</p>

<p>partners to modify our visa waiver program.</p>		<p>strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p>
<p>3. we want people to come to our country</p>	<p>281106/17/01 Mengimbau</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p>
<p>4. ...and the more we share, can share information, the easier it will be for me to get Congress to make it easier for Estonians to travel to United States.</p>	<p>281106/16/03 Menyarankan</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (9) tekankan pengetahuan S (penutur) atas keinginan H (petutur)</p>
<p>5. Like Estonia, member nations must accept difficult assignments.</p>	<p>281106/18/09 Memerintah</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi</p>
<p>6. Our capabilities must change with the threats if NATO is to remain relevant</p>	<p>281106/19/04 Memerintah</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi.</p>
<p>7. Precisely what we ought to do is help resolve the conflict and use our diplomats to convince people there is a better way forward than through violence.</p>	<p>281106/29/01 Menasihati</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p>
<p>8. And the fundamental objective is to work with the Iraqis to create conditions so that the vast majority of the people will be able to see that</p>	<p>281106/34/06 Menyarankan</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (13) memberikan</p>

alasan

there's a peaceful way forward.



Lampiran 2. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 25 Oktober 2006	Kode pidato (251006)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, menghimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 25 Oktober 2006: <i>President Bush Welcomes President Fernandez of the Dominican Republic to the White House (The Oval Office)</i></p> <p>1. ...,and the more we can cut down on drug use and drug trafficking and drug supplies, the easier it will be for respective countries to protect their people.</p>	251006/05/03	Menyarankan	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basabasi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (9) tekankan pengetahuan S (penutur) atas keinginan H (petutur)</p>

Lampiran 3. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 28 November 2006	Kode pidato (281106b)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 28 November 2006: <i>President Bush meets with President Vike-Freiberga</i></p> <p>1. I appreciate very much your strong belief that liberty has got the capacity to transform the world for the good. I thank you and the Latvian people for supporting young democracies in Afghanistan and in Iraq.</p> <p>2. ..., and at the same time, for us to share information to make sure that we're able to thwart any type of terrorist activities in our country. And I'm confident we can work this through</p>	<p>281106b/05/01</p> <p>281106b/06/05</p>	<p>Mengimbau</p> <p>Mengimbau</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p>

Lampiran 4. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 8 Desember 2006	Kode pidato (081206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 8 Desember 2006: <i>President Bush meets with President Mbeki of South Africa</i></p> <p>1. I would call our relations strong and good and necessary, and Mr President, welcome back, and the floor is yours</p>	081206/05/01	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan basabasi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok

Lampiran 5. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA
INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 7 Desember 2006 (071206)	Kode pidato (071206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 7 Desember 2006: <i>President Bush Meets with British Prime Minister Tony Blair</i></p> <p>1. ..I support the mission because it's important for us to advance the cause of two states living side by side in peace, and helping both parties eliminate the obstacles that prevent an agreement from being reached. And your strong leadership on this issue matters a lot.</p> <p>2. We stand together because we understand the only way to secure a lasting peace for our children and grandchildren is to defeat the extremist ideologies and help the ideology of hope, democracy, prevail.</p> <p>3. ...we will defeat the extremist and the radicals.</p>	071206/09/05	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan basa-basi strategi ke (13) berikan alasan
	071206/12/01	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan basa-basi strategi ke (13) berikan alasan
	071206/14/01	Memerintah	Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi

Lampiran 6. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 14 Desember 2006	Kode pidato (141206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 14 Desember 2006: <i>President Bush Meets with President Yayi of Benin</i></p> <p>1. We want to work through the United Nations to have a very strong and capable AU force, augmented by United Nations help, to save lives.</p>	141206/04/02	Memerintah	Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi

Lampiran 7. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 6 Desember 2006	Kode pidato (061206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 6 Desember 2006: <i>President Bush Welcomes President Ariasof Costa Rica to the White House. Oval Office</i></p> <p>Tidak ditemukan tindak tutur direktif</p>			

Lampiran 8. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 30 Maret 2006	Kode pidato (300306)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p><i>Pidato 30 Maret 2006: President Bush and Prime Minister Harper of Canada Deliver Remarks in Mexico. Fiesta Americana Condesa Cancun Hotel</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I appreciate very much your trip to Afghanistan and you and your government's support of their fledgling democracy, support of people that have been under the brutal thumb of tyrants-so brutal they wouldn't let young girls go to school-and it's representing the great Canadian tradition of really helping restore human dignity. 2. And it's our intention to make sure that we continue to trade as freely as possible so that our people can benefit 	300306/04/04	Mengimbau	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan strategi ke (5) tunjukkan hormat</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p>

Lampiran 9. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 9 Februari 2006	Kode pidato (090206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, menghimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 9 Februari 2006: <i>President Bush Welcomes President of Poland to the White House</i></p> <p>1. I asked the President his advice on Ukraine.</p>	090206/03/03	Memohon	Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok; tutur sapa (address terms)

Lampiran 10. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

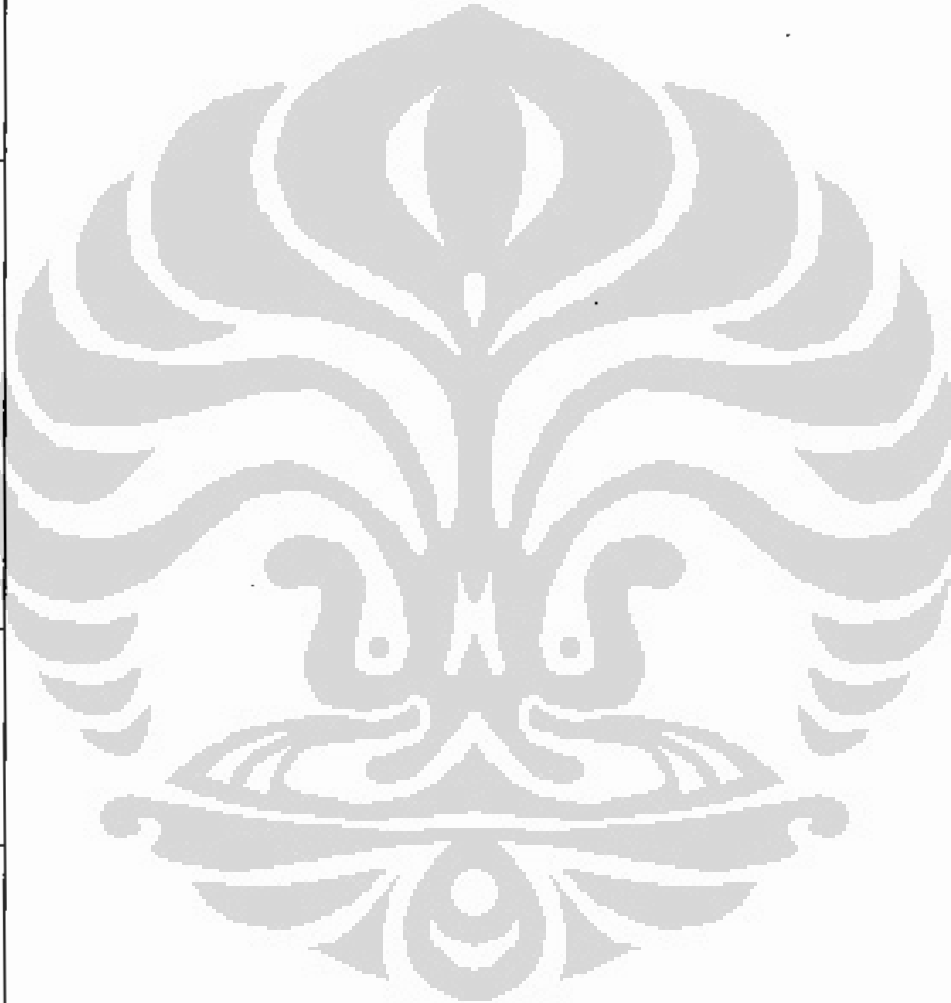
Pidato 16 Februari 2006	Kode pidato (160206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 16 Februari 2006: <i>President Bush Welcomes Colombian President Uribe to the White House</i></p> <p>1. I'm very hopeful. I'm very hopeful we reach a conclusion.</p>	160206/21/01	Memohon	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (2) lebih-lebihkan kesetujuan dengan <i>H</i></p>

Lampiran 11. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus Diplomasi Global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 28 Februari 2006	Kode pidato (280206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 16 Februari 2006: <i>President Welcomes Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi to the White House</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> The choice is a free society, or a society dictated by the-by evil people who will kill innocents. There must be an election, so the question is about pure politics. Our duty is to protect America, and we will protect America. 	<p>280206/13/04</p>	<p>Mengimbau</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (10) beri tawaran sebagai pengganti keterancaman muka</p>
<p>280206/22/01</p>	<p>Memerintah</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah idenitas kesamaan kelompok</p>
<p>280206/26/04</p>	<p>Mengimbau</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah idenitas kesamaan kelompok</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah idenitas kesamaan kelompok</p>

4. Well, first of all, a personal relationship is based upon mutual trust.	280206/30/01	Menasihati	Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (10) beri tawaran
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Lampiran 12. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus diplomasi global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

	Kode pidato (131106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 13 November 2006</p> <p>Pidato 13 November 2006: <i>President Bush Welcomes Prime Minister Olmert of Israel to the White House</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I believe that it's important for us to succeed in Iraq, not only for our security, but for the security of the Middle East, and that I'm looking forward to interesting ideas. 2. My policy towards Syria is this: that we expect the Syrians to be, one, out of Lebanon so that the Lebanese democracy can exist; two, not harboring extremist that create that empower these radicals to stop the advance of democracies; three, to help this young democracy in Iraq succeed. 	<p>131106/14/02</p> <p>131106/18/02</p>	<p>Mengimbau</p> <p>Menyarankan</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan negatif; strategi ke (5) tunjukkan hormat</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (10) beri tawaran sebagai pengganti keterampilan muka</p>

<p>3. ...and my comments on Iran is this: if the Iranians want to have a dialogue with us, we have shown them a way forward, and that is for them to verifiably suspend their enrichment activities. We put that proposal on the table awhile back. We said that if you want to have a dialogue with us, we're willing to come to the table with the EU, as well as Russia and China, to discuss a way forward. But first, you must verifiably suspend your enrichment activities.</p> <p>4. I think it's very important for the world to unite with one common voice to say to the Iranians that, if you choose to continue forward, you'll be isolated. And one source of isolation would be economic isolation.</p>	131106/22/02	Memerintah	<p>Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (1) berjanji</p>
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Lampiran 13. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus Diplomasi Global)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 28 November 2006	Kode pidato (281106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 13 November 2006: <i>President Bush Welcomes Prime Minister Olmert of Israel to the White House</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> we will strengthen our common security and we will advance the cause of peace we have a message for the people of Belarus: the vision of a Europe whole, free, and at peace includes you, and we stand with you in your struggle for freedom The most basic responsibility of this Alliance is to defend our people against the threats of a new century. 	<p>281106/10/03</p> <p>281106/11/04</p> <p>281106/15/01</p>	<p>Mengimbau</p> <p>Menasihati</p> <p>Menyarankan</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) tekankan pengetahuan <i>S</i> atas keinginan <i>H</i></p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas</p>

<p>4. we must lift up and support the moderates and reformers who are working for change across the broader Middle East. We must bring hope to millions by strengthening young democracies from Kabul to Baghdad, to Beirut. And we must advance freedom as the great alternative to tyranny and terror.</p>	281106/27/03	Memerintah	<p>kesamaan kelompok</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi</p>
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Lampiran 1. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus Kerjasama Internasional)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 30 November 2006	Kode pidato (301106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 30 November 2006: <i>President Bush Participates in Joint Press Availability with Prime Minister Maliki of Iraq</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I've told the Prime Minister that our goal in Iraq is to strengthen his government and to support his efforts to build a free Iraq that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself, and is an ally in the war against the terrorist. 2. I believe that there is more training to be done. I think the Prime Minister agrees with me. I know that we're providing a useful addition to Iraq by chasing down al Qaeda and by securing-by helping this country protect itself from al Qaeda 3. we respect their heritage, we respect their history, we respect their traditions. I just have a problem with a government that is isolating its people, 	<p>301106/03/04</p> <p>301106/30/04</p> <p>301106/62/04</p>	<p>Mengimbau</p> <p>Memerintah</p> <p>Mengimbau</p>	<p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah</p>

<p>denying its people benefits that could be had from engagement with the world.</p> <p>4. my advice is, support reasonable people and reject extremists</p>	301106/80/01	Menasihati	<p>identitas kesamaan kelompok</p> <p>Bertutur terus terang tanpa</p>
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Lampiran 2. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus Kerjasama Internasional)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 12 Desember 2006	Kode pidato (121206)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, menghimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 12 Desember 2006: <i>President Bush Meets with Vice President Hashemi of Iraq</i></p> <p>1. We want to help your government to live up to its words and ideals. And I thank you for being a leader of one aspect of Iraqi society-you're the leader of many Sunnis and you're committed to a government that is Shia, Sunni, and Kurdish and everybody else in your country, every other group in your country that will help us yield peace.</p>	121206/06/01	Memerintah	Bertutur terus terang tanpa basa-basi

Lampiran 3. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus Kerjasama Internasional)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 16 November 2006	Kode pidato (161106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 16 Desember 2006: <i>President Bush and Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of Singapore Exchange Toast</i></p> <p>1. It's in our economic interests and it's in our national interest that the United States work with strong friends and allies such as Singapore to spread prosperity and hope, and to work to lay the foundations for peace.</p>	161106/11/03	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok

Lampiran 4. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus Kerjasama Internasional)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 18 November 2006	Kode pidato (181106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 18 Desember 2006: <i>President Bush Meets with President Roh of the Republic of Korea</i></p> <p>1. I appreciate the cooperation we're receiving from South Korea on the Proliferation Security Initiative. Our desire is to solve the North Korean issue peacefully. And as I've made clear in a speech as recently as two days ago in Singapore, that we want the North Korean leaders to hear that if it gives up its weapons-nuclear ambitions, that we would be willing to enter into security arrangements with the North Koreans, as well as move forward new economics incentives for the North Korean people.</p>	181106/05/02	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok

Lampiran 5. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus Kerjasama Internasional)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 16 November 2006	Kode pidato (161106b)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, menghimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 16 November 2006: <i>President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Lee of Singapore</i></p> <p>Tidak ditemukan tindak tutur direktif</p>			

Lampiran 6. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus kerjasama internasional)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 18 November 2006	Kode pidato (181106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p>Pidato 18 November 2006: <i>President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Abe of Japan</i></p> <p>1. The relationship between Japan and the United States is strong and we will keep it that way. And a strong relationship between our two countries is good for the security of the East.</p>	181106/02/01	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) permaklah identitas kesamaan kelompok

Lampiran 7. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus kerjasama internasional)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 16 November 2006	Kode pidato (161106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
<p><i>Pidato 16 November 2006: President Bush Visits National University of Singapore</i></p> <p>1. In this region, the most immediate threat of proliferation comes from North Korea. America's position is clear: the transfer of nuclear weapons or material by North Korea to states or non-states entities would be considered a grave threat to the United States, and we would hold North Korea fully accountable for the consequences of such action. For the sake of peace, it is vital that the nations of this region send a message to North Korea that the proliferation of nuclear technology to hostile regimes or terrorist networks will not be tolerated.</p>	161106/30/01	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) pemarkah identitas kesamaan kelompok

Lampiran 8. (Topik Urusan Luar Negeri: fokus Kerjasama Internasional)

DATA KEKERAPAN PENALARAN STRATEGI BERTUTUR DALAM PIDATO POLITIK BERBAHASA INGGRIS: STUDI ATAS TINDAK PENGANCAM MUKA PRESIDEN GEORGE W. BUSH

Pidato 17 November 2006	Kode pidato (171106)	Jenis tindak tutur direktif (memerintah, memohon, mengimbau, menasihati, dan menyarankan)	Jenis strategi kesantunan
Pidato 17 November 2006: <i>President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Howard of Australia</i>	171106/15/05	Mengimbau	Bertutur terus terang dengan basa-basi kesantunan positif; strategi ke (4) tekankan pengetahuan <i>S</i> atas keinginan <i>H</i>
1. and that's why I assured the Prime Minister we'll get the job done			

President Bush Greet Troops in Charleston, South Carolina

Charleston Air Force Base
Charleston, South Carolina

In Focus: Defense

4:48 P.M. EDT

President's Remarks
view

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. You know, I was in the neighborhood – (applause) – and thought I'd stop by to say hello here at Team Charleston. (Applause.) I am proud to be here with the men and women of the 437th and the 315th Air Wings. (Applause.) Yes – I'm proud to be with members of the United States Air Force and the United States Navy. (Applause.) Proud to be with the rest of you, too. (Laughter.)

Laura sends her love. (Applause.) And she sends all her respect to those who support our military. I'm proud to be here with the Governor of the great state of South Carolina, Governor Mark Sanford, and his wife Jenny and their children. (Applause.) I thank Congressman Henry Brown for taking time out of a Saturday afternoon to come and say hello to his buddy, the President of the United States. (Applause.) I thank Colonel Glen Joerger for his hospitality. I thank Colonel Tim Wrighton. I thank you all for giving me a chance to come and share some thoughts with you.

The first thought I want to say is I am proud to be the Commander-in-Chief of such a fine group of young men and women. (Applause.) We have an amazing nation when people say, I want to volunteer to defend this country. I am constantly amazed, enthralled, and buoyed by the fact that I'm the Commander-in-Chief of honorable, decent, courageous men and women. And I thank you for coming to say hello. (Applause.)

I'm also proud to be here with our military families. (Applause.) I understand the sacrifices that you make on a daily basis for this country. So, as the President of the United States, I want to tell you plain and simple, the American people respect you, they appreciate you, and I'll do everything in my power to make sure the families and those who wear the uniform have all the support necessary to win this war on terror. (Applause.)

I'm impressed by the record of the folks here at Charleston Air Force Base. I'm impressed by your accomplishments and what you've done on behalf of this grateful nation. Since September the 11th, 2001, the folks who fly the airplanes, maintain the airplanes and load the airplanes – (applause) – and fill up the tires – (laughter) – have launched more than 14,000 C-17 missions from here. (Applause.) You have airlifted more cargo to Operation Iraqi Freedom than any other unit in the United States. (Applause.) You are the only unit in the world tasked with providing strategic airlift to our Special Operation forces. (Applause.)

The men and women here in Charleston have also done more than just provided supply to the war zones. You have provided humanitarian aid that has saved countless lives. The folks here have air dropped 2.4 million rations of humanitarian aid to the people of Afghanistan at the start of Operation Enduring Freedom. You delivered 53,000 pounds of relief supplies to the tsunami victims in Indonesia. And after Hurricane Katrina, you delivered 2.5 million pounds of relief supplies and evacuated 2,400 citizens from New Orleans. You have shown the great compassion of the American people, and I thank you for your service. (Applause.)

We are engaged in a global war on terror. After September the 11th, 2001, I vowed to the American people that I would use everything at our disposal to do the number-one job of government, and that is to protect you from further attack. And I have been aided in protecting the American people by the fine United States military.

We face an enemy that knows no bounds and no conscience. They're ideologues. But their ideology is the exact opposite of ours. They kill innocent people to achieve their evil objectives. But make no mistake about it, they have objectives. They have clearly stated that they want to drive the United States from the world so they can establish a caliphate, a governing organization from Indonesia to Spain, that would allow them to

spread their ideology of hate, allow them to dominate a society in which people could not worship freely, or speak freely, in which people who did not adhere to their point of view would be punished. They seek safe haven from which to launch further attacks to achieve their objective. And their attacks would aim right here at the United States of America.

I want you to think about a world in which rival forms of radicals competed for power in the Middle East, to deny the hopes and aspirations of millions of people who simply want to live in peace. They would topple moderate governments. They would use oil as an economic weapon to bring the West to her knees, and to mix all that in with a country with a nuclear weapon. And 20 or 30 years from now, if that were to happen, people would look back and say, what happened to them in 2006? How come they couldn't see the challenge? How come they couldn't see the threats to a generation of Americans?

I'm proud to be with people who see the threats and know that the best way to protect the American people is to defeat the enemy overseas so we do not have to face them here at home. (Applause.)

One of the lessons of September the 11th is that when this country sees a threat, we must deal with that threat before it fully materializes. If we see a threat, we must take care of that threat. Otherwise, that threat could come to haunt us, to destroy innocent life. I saw a threat in Saddam Hussein. The world saw a threat in Saddam Hussein. Getting rid of Saddam Hussein was the right decision, and the world is better for it. (Applause.)

And now you're involved in this global war on terror, in the central front, which is Iraq. I know some in America don't believe Iraq is the central front in the war on terror, and that's fine, they can have that opinion. But Osama bin Laden knows it's the central front in the war on terror. He has called Iraq the third world war. He has said of Iraq that he will lead to victory or glory or humiliation. We have made our decision. Iraq will lead to victory and glory for the United States, for the Iraqis, and for the moderates around the world. (Applause.)

And it's tough fighting, because the enemy understands the stakes of a free Iraq. It's hard fighting, and we've got a lot of brave citizens of ours in the midst of the fight. But we have a plan for victory. We are in Iraq to help that young democracy fight off the radicals and the extremists. We're in the fight in Iraq to make sure there is not a safe haven from which to launch further attacks on the United States. Our plan for victory says that we want an Iraq that can defend itself and govern itself and sustain itself.

And we've got some great things going for us. We've got a military that is constantly adjusting to the enemy on the ground. We've got commanders who are wise and brave, and are bringing justice to our enemies there in Iraq. And we've also got at our side brave Iraqis who have suffered unbelievable loss, but yet still cling to the hope, as reflected in the voices and votes of 12 million people who defied the car bombers and the terrorists. They want to live in freedom.

I believe in the universality of freedom. I believe in everybody's soul is the desire to be free. It is in this country's interests that we defeat the enemy in Iraq and help this young democracy survive. You see, this is a different kind of war. And make no mistake about it, if the United States of America were to leave before the job is done, the enemy will follow us here. And that is why we will support our military. And that is why we will fight in Iraq. And that is why we will win in Iraq. (Applause.)

And I thank you for being a part of this noble and just and important cause. You're fighting in a war that will set the course of a new century. The outcome will determine the destiny of millions across the world. The outcome of this fight will determine whether or not our children can grow up in the peace we want them to grow up in. Defeating the terrorists and the extremists is the challenge of our time and the calling of this generation. And like generations before us, we will do the hard work now, to make sure our children can grow up in freedom and peace. (Applause.)

The time of war is a time of sacrifice. I know the sacrifices you all make. But some have paid the ultimate price; really good men and women have lost their lives in this struggle. We will pray for their families. And I make them this pledge: We will honor their sacrifice by completing the mission, by defeating the terrorists, and by laying the foundation of peace for generations to come.

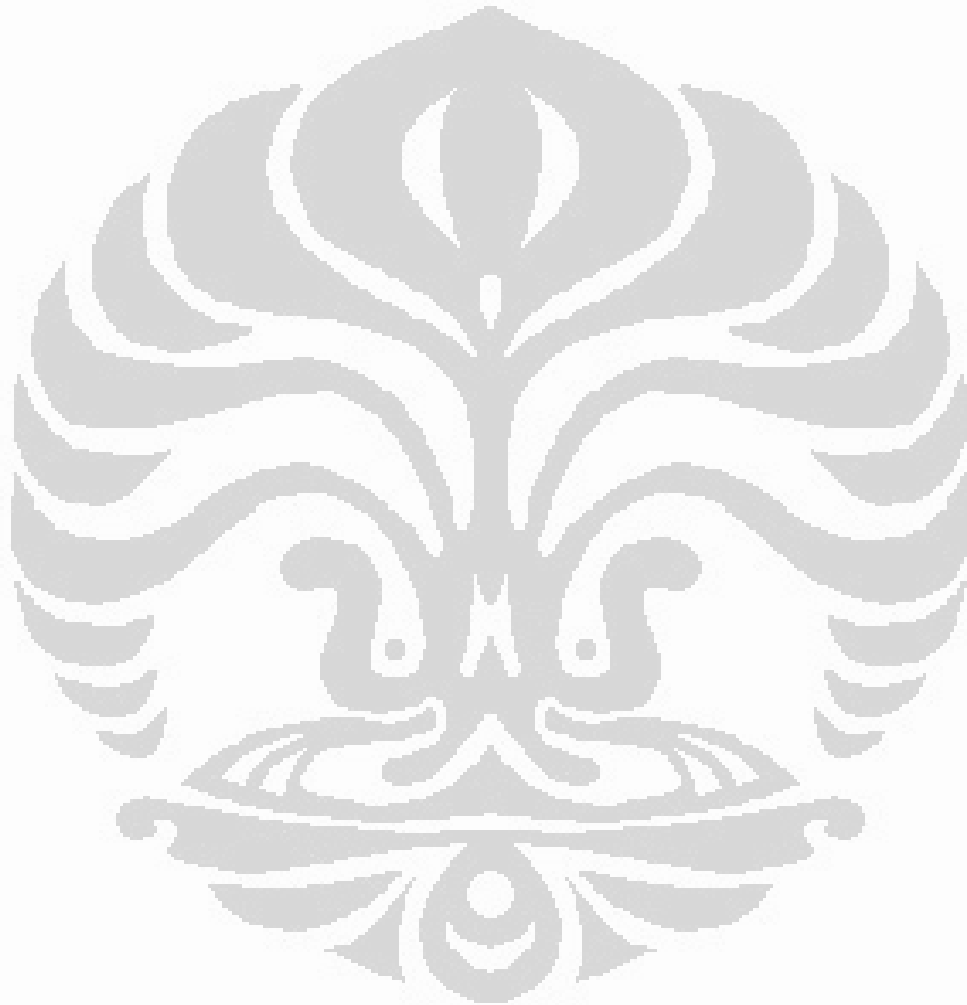
I can't thank you enough for coming to say hello. May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless the United States. (Applause.)

END 5:01 P.M. EDT

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President Congratulates Chicago White Sox, 2005 World Series Champions

The East Room

2:35 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome. Thank you. Be seated. They may be playing basketball, but it's always baseball season here. (Laughter.)

President's Remarks
WIN

The last time the Chicago White Sox won the World Series was 1917. President Woodrow Wilson was living here. Reinsdorf, I don't know if you came here then or not. (Laughter.) There were only eight teams in the American League, and the league leader hit a total of nine home runs. After 88 years of waiting, the White Sox have earned the right to be called world champs, and we're glad you're here. (Applause.)

First of all, I want to welcome Jerry Reinsdorf. Some of my most joyous times in my life have been during — as a baseball owner. Harold Baines may not have thought they were so joyous, since we never won much. (Laughter.) And one of the reasons that I ended up in baseball with my partner is because of Jerry Reinsdorf's help, and I want to thank you for that now that we've got the team here. I know how much you love the game, and I know how much you love the Chicago White Sox. And so it had to be a thrilling moment for you and Eddie and the owners that were — that were patient for all those years you didn't win. And so I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart, and thank you for your friendship. It's great to see you.

I appreciate Ken Williams, a man who obviously knows what he's doing who is — was able to put a team together. It's easy to put stars on the field. The hard thing about baseball is to put people who can play together, and I congratulate you for being a great general manager.

I welcome Ed Farmer and the broadcasting team. Eddie, good to see you again. (Applause.) Thanks. I can see they'll remember you — at least one person does. (Laughter and applause.)

It's good to be here with Bob DuPuy of baseball. I thought you're here to sign the lease, you know, but it's — (laughter) — another subject.

I do want to thank the members of my Cabinet who are here. It's great to see you all. I thought you all told me you were Red Sox fans. (Laughter.)

I want to thank Senator Durbin and Senator Obama from the great state of Illinois, and Don Manzullo and Roy LaHood — Ray LaHood. Thank you all for coming.

I — my question to most of these folks was, like, were you White Sox fans at the beginning of the season? (Laughter.)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes, he puts us on the spot.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, he did. No, I'm not putting you on the spot. But I know one person — elected official who was a White Sox fan at the beginning of the season. As a matter of fact, he was a White Sox fan at the beginning of his life. He's been forever a White Sox fan. He is a great Mayor of a great city, and that's the Mayor, His Honor Dick Daley. (Applause.) Thanks for coming.

Roland Hemond, good to see you, Roland. Thank you. Just showing off my baseball knowledge. Anybody that knows — (laughter) — knows Roland Hemond knows something about baseball. And it's good to see Harold Baines and the other coaches.

I understand Ozzie is on vacation, which I fully understand. If he's a Caribbean guy, taking a look at the weather forecast up here yesterday would have made me not want to come, as well. (Laughter.) But I want to congratulate Ozzie Guillen, as well as the team and staff, the coaching staff, and the managers and all

those who worked hard to make these guys ready to play. And I want to congratulate Ozzie on being a great manager, manager of the year, as well as becoming a United States citizen earlier this year. We're proud to have him as an American citizen.

I don't want to bring up the Sosa trade, so I won't – (laughter.)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Please don't.

THE PRESIDENT: I won't. (Laughter). But it's great to see you. Harold Baines is one class act. I mean, that guy can not only hit, but he brought a lot of class into the clubhouse, and I'm really proud to see you here, Harold. Congratulations to you and the buddies you're working with.

And to the players, congratulations. We're really proud to have you here at the White House. It means a lot for baseball fans, White Sox fans, all across the country that you would take time to come and be honored here at the White House, and it's my great honor to honor you. It's a big deal to have you here.

The amazing thing about this team is you went wire to wire, which is really hard to do. You win one-nothing on opening day, and like, they're in your rear-view mirror for the rest of the season. It takes a lot to win 99 games and to remain the lead and not falter. And it says something about the character of the team that you put together and the character of the players.

I got a first-hand report from the World Series from two people I love dearly who had actually front-row seats, and that would be my mother and father. (Laughter.) I'm not going to tell you who they were rooting for, but it didn't have much effect on the outcome of the series, I'll put it to you that way. (Laughter.)

I was impressed as a baseball guy – at least somebody who follows it still, closely – that you had four complete games in a row in the playoffs. That's a good strategy, Jerry, to keep the bullpen – (laughter) – keep the bullpen fresh. (Laughter.)

You know, there was great players, but nobody off the chart, if you know what I mean, which means you competed as a team. Jermaine Dye had an interesting quote, that I think is worth sharing with people who are paying attention at this moment. He said, "From the start of spring training, everybody was hungry." He didn't say one player was hungry or a guy going into arbitration was hungry, or a free agent for next year was hungry. He said everybody was hungry. They're – everybody wanted to go out there and win together. Everybody was pulling on the same rope. That's why you're the world champs. Everybody was pulling on the same rope. And that's what we're here to honor, a great championship team.

I congratulate Jermaine for being the MVP of the World Series. I congratulate Paul for being the MVP of the American League Championship Series. It must be a pretty cool feeling to hit a grand slam in the World Series. I didn't get one in Little League, much less the World Series. (Laughter.) And you had a grand slam, you caught the last out of the season, and you witnessed the birth of your child all in the same month. Man, what a special month. The Lord has blessed you. That's why you're called Mr. Soxtober. (Laughter.)

I know the affect you had on White Sox fans, and it must have been electrifying. One women in her 90s said, "I've been a Sox fan all my life, I never thought I'd live to see the day." Think about that – think about the joy that you all put in the hearts of this 90-year-old person, and probably some young ones, too, that were pulling for the White Sox.

The people of Chicago turned out en masse not only because you were baseball champs, but because you have brought some character to the city. I want to applaud the organization for supporting inner-city Little League. I think it's really important for this great state of baseball to reach out to people of all walks of life to make sure that the sport is inclusive. The best way to do it is to convince little kids how to – the beauty of playing baseball.

I appreciate the baseball fields you're building in Chicago, kind of little centers of hope, little diamonds of joy for people to come and be able to play the greatest game ever invented. I appreciate the Chicago White Sox Charities, your support of cancer research and cancer treatment in the metropolitan area. Most of all, I appreciate the fact that these players understand they're setting examples for young boys and girls all across Chicago, as well as the country. You're setting the example that serving something greater than yourself is important in life; coming together as a team is a heck of a lot more important and satisfying than worrying about your own batting average or your own ERA.

And so here we are in the White House, Jerry, honoring the great Chicago White Sox. I'm proud to be with you. God bless your championship and God continue to bless the country. (Applause.)

MR. KONERKO: Mr. President, on behalf of our organization, and all the fans on the South Side and all over the world, we want to present you with this jersey and jacket.

THE PRESIDENT: I thought you were going to give me a loan. (Laughter.)

MR. DYE: And also, we know deep down you probably wish this was a Houston Astros jacket. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Now wait a minute –

MR. DYE: Hopefully this will do.

MR. KONERKO: Thanks for having us here today.

THE PRESIDENT: Actually it was a Texas Rangers jacket. (Laughter and applause.)

END 2:46 P.M. EST

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Camp 3 - P. Citra dani

The White House
President George W. Bush

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
February 21, 2006

Roundtable Interview of the President by the Press Pool
Aboard Air Force One
En route Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland

2:42 P.M. EST

1 THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all for coming. A couple of points I want to make to you. First, I'm excited about the energy initiative. American people are beginning to see that we've made good progress on research and development. We've got more to do. We're close to some breakthroughs that will achieve an economic and national security objective.

2 And I've enjoyed traveling around and talking to these scientists and engineers that are really excited about how close we are to some technological breakthroughs. Today, talking to the two scientists involved with the cellulosic ethanol projects was exciting. These guys are pretty fired up about it all, and they realize we've got a chance to change our driving habits.

3 I do want to talk about this port issue. A foreign company manages some of our ports. They've entered into a transaction with another foreign company to manage our ports. This is a process that has been extensively reviewed, particularly from the point of view as to whether or not I can say to the American people, this project will not jeopardize our security. It's been looked at by those who have been charged with the security of our country. And I believe the deal should go forward. This company operates all around the world. I have the list somewhere. We can get you the list. They're in Germany and elsewhere – Australia.*

4 They – in working with our folks, they've agreed to make sure that their coordination with our security folks is good and solid. I really don't understand why it's okay for a British company to operate our ports, but not a company from the Middle East, when our experts are convinced that port security is not an issue; that having worked with this company, they're convinced that these – they'll work with those who are in charge of the U.S. government's responsibility for securing the ports, they'll work hand in glove. I want to remind people that when we first put out the Container Security Initiative, the CSI, which was a new way to secure our ports, UAE was one of the first countries to sign up.

5 In other words, we're receiving goods from ports out of the UAE, as well as where this company operates. And so I, after careful review of our government, I believe the government ought to go forward. And I want those who are questioning it to step up and explain why all of a sudden a Middle Eastern company is held to a different standard than a Great British [sic] company. I'm trying to conduct foreign policy now by saying to people of the world, we'll treat you fairly. And after careful scrutiny, we believe this deal is a legitimate deal that will not jeopardize the security of the country, and at the same time, send that signal that we're willing to treat people fairly.

6 Thirdly, I'm looking forward to my speech tomorrow about my trip to India and Pakistan. It's going to be an important trip, one where we'll work on a variety of issues with both countries – security, prosperity and trade; working with India, of course, on energy security. It will be an important trip.

7 I'll answer some questions, and then we're getting ready to land.

8 Q Mr. President, leaders in Congress, including Senator Frist, have said that they'll take action to stop the port control shift if you don't reverse course on it. You've expressed your thoughts here, but what do you say to those in Congress who plan to take legislative action?

9 THE PRESIDENT: They ought to listen to what I have to say about this. They ought to look at the facts, and understand the consequences of what they're going to do. But if they pass a law, I'll deal with it, with a veto.

0 Q Mr. President, on energy and foreign policy, some Saudi officials have said they're unhappy with being targeted about Middle Eastern oil, saying that you wanted to reduce dependence on Middle East oil. You've got a close relationship with King Abdullah –

11 THE PRESIDENT: I do.

12 Q – he's been to see you. Have you heard something directly, yourself, from the Saudis?

13 THE PRESIDENT: No, I haven't talked to His Majesty, but if I did, I would say, I hope you can understand that the relationship between supply and demand is so tight that any disruption on the supply side of energy causes our prices to go up, and spiking prices hurts our economy. And secondly, there are parts of the world where people would – that don't agree with our policy, namely Iran, for example. And that it's not in our interest to be dependent, when it comes to our economic security, and for that matter, national security, in a market that is volatile. And so hopefully he'll understand.

14 Q So you don't think they should take offense at the comments about Middle Eastern oil?

15 THE PRESIDENT: I would think that he would be understanding that new technologies will enable us to diversify away from our reliance upon crude oil. As a matter of fact, it's not only a message for the United States, that's also a message for India and China. In order for these growing economies to be able to be competitive, they're going to have to learn how to use technologies that will enable them to meet the needs of their people, but also the international demands of the world for good environment, for example. The Nuclear Energy Initiative I'll be talking to the Indians about is an important initiative.

16 Q The understatement today, and one of the concerns of lawmakers seems to be that they want more of a briefing, and they want more details about the things that you know, that have given you confidence that there aren't any national security implications with the port deal. Are you willing to either have your staff or to give any kind of briefing to leaders of Congress –

17 THE PRESIDENT: Look at the company's record, Jim, and it's clear for everybody to see. We've looked at the ports in which they've operated. There is a standard process mandated by Congress that we go through, called the CFIUS process. I'm not exactly sure if there's any national security concerns in briefing Congress. I just don't know. I can't answer your question.

18 Q It seems like – you've already heard from different administration officials, saying, not in as strong terms as you have today, that there aren't problems with this deal, that the deal should go forward. But they seem to want more of a briefing. Would you be willing to give any additional briefings, either –

19 THE PRESIDENT: We'll be glad to send –

20 Q – either in a classified basis, or –

21 THE PRESIDENT: I don't see why not. Again, you're asking – I need to make sure I understand exactly what they're asking for.

22 Yes. Oh, you're not the press.

23 MR. BARTLETT: I could ask a question. You showed some strong leadership today – (laughter.)

24 Q Why is it so important to you, sir, that you take on this issue as a political fight? Clearly, there's bipartisan –

25 THE PRESIDENT: I don't view it as a political fight. So do you want to start your question over? I view it as a good policy.

26 Q Why is it – clearly –

27 THE PRESIDENT: Are you talking about the energy issue?

28 Q No, I'm sorry, the ports issue.

29 THE PRESIDENT: It's not a political issue.

30 Q But there clearly are members of your own party who will go to the mat against you on this.

31 THE PRESIDENT: It's not a political issue.

32 Q Why are you – to make this, to have this fight?

33 THE PRESIDENT: I don't view it as a fight. I view it as me saying to people what I think is right, the right policy.

34 Q What's the larger message that you're conveying by sticking to this UAE contract, by saying that you're not going to budge on this, or you don't want to change policy?

5 THE PRESIDENT: There is a process in place where we analyze – where the government analyzes many, many business transactions, to make sure they meet national security concerns. And I'm sure if you – careful review, this process yielded a result that said, yes, a deal should go forward.

6 One of my concerns, however, is mixed messages. And the message is, it's okay for a British company, but a Middle Eastern company – maybe we ought not to deal the same way. It's a mixed message. You put interesting words in your question, but I just view – my job is to do what I think is right for the country. I don't intend to have a fight. If there's a fight, there is one, but nor do I view this as a political issue.

7 Q I say it because you said you'd be willing to use the veto on it.

8 THE PRESIDENT: I would. That's one of the tools the President has to indicate to the legislative branch his intentions. A veto doesn't mean fight, or politics, it's just one of the tools I've got. I say veto, by the way, quite frequently in messages to Congress.

9 Q Mr. President, Israel is halting payments to the Palestinians – the tax monies. What do you think about that, and what is the next step?

THE PRESIDENT: I'll just give you our government's position, and that is, we have said that – well, first of all, the U.S. government doesn't give direct grants to Palestine, we go through the Palestinian Authority, we go through – we give grants through NGOs from our USAID, to help people. *menghimbau* But my statement still stands that so long as Hamas does not recognize Israel's right to exist, my view is we don't have a partner in peace, and therefore shouldn't fund a government that is not a partner in peace. I thought the elections were important. I was one voice that said the elections should go forward on time.

But I recognized that, one, elections are the first step in many cases in evolution of a true democracy; and secondly, that elections show – give everybody a true look at how – what people are thinking on the street; and thirdly, though, that because the Palestinians spoke, doesn't necessarily mean we have to agree with the nature of – the party elected. And the party elected has said, we're for the destruction of Israel. And our policy is, two states living side by side in peace. And therefore, it's hard to have a state living side by side in peace when your stated objective is the destruction of one of the states. So my policy still stands, what I said day one after the Hamas elections.

Q Can I ask you about a domestic issue, the prescription drug benefit plan. A lot of Democrats are on recess, and they want to make a big campaign issue out of this this year. What makes you think that the problems that this program being rolled out has had are something other than just the glitches that you've described?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm glad that they're making this an issue. This is – the reforms that we passed in the Medicare law were necessary and are going to change people's lives in a positive way. And I look forward to talking about this issue next fall, if that's one of the issues they want to talk about, because I understand the impact that this law is going to have on seniors. And millions have signed up, and millions are realizing the benefit of this program. And so it's – we have done the right thing in passing this law. Seniors are given different options. Seniors are going to get an extraordinarily good drug benefit. We have helped modernize Medicare. And looking forward to talking about it.

Good.

MR. McCLELLAN: Thank you all.

THE PRESIDENT: Pleasant experience working with you all.

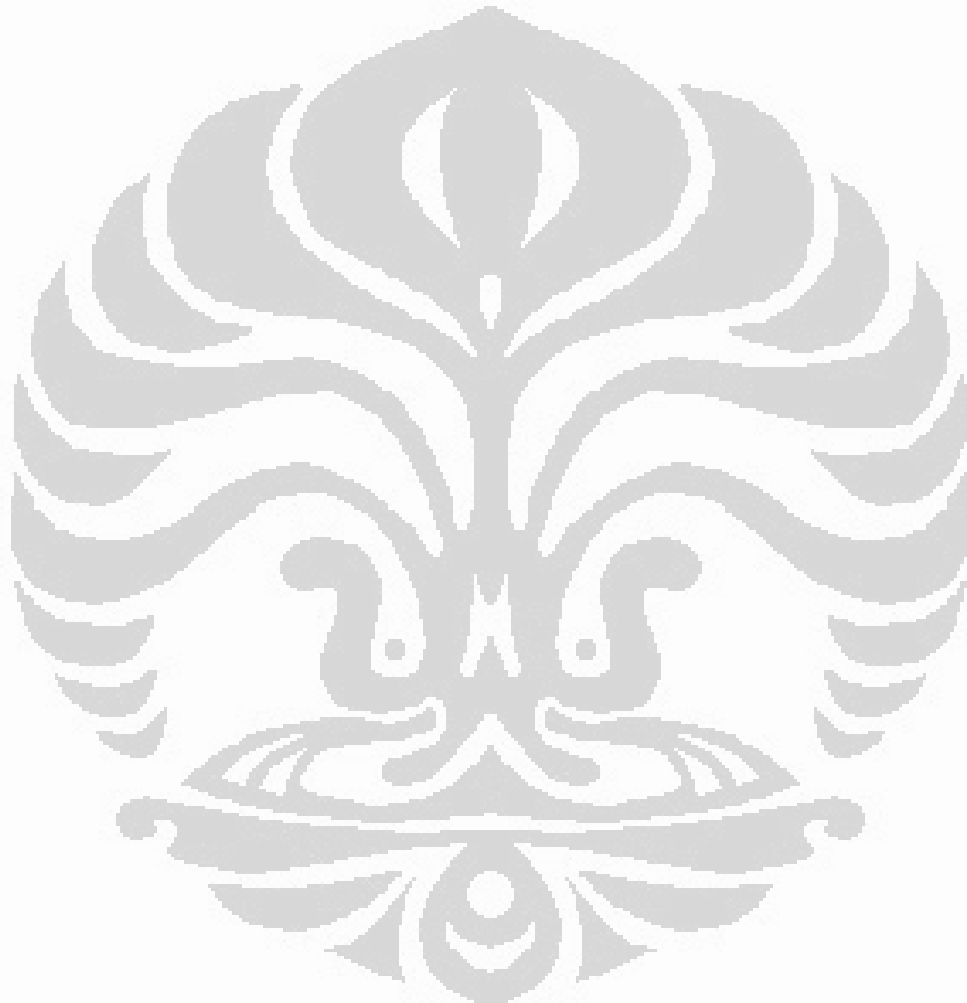
END 2:55 P.M. EST

*FROM MR. McCLELLAN: These are some countries where Dubai has operations: Australia, China, Hong Kong, Romania, Germany, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Djibouti, India, Saudi Arabia.

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President Addresses House Republican Conference

Hyatt Regency Chesapeake Bay
Cambridge, Maryland

12:23 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. It's an honor to be back here again. Mr. Speaker, thank you for your leadership and your friendship. One of the real joys of being in Washington is to be able to work with Speaker Hastert. He is a straightforward – (applause.) Some of my buddies at home say, what's he like? I say he's a straightforward, no-nonsense kind of guy who's here to get things done. And, Mr. Speaker, thank you for your leadership and your friendship. (Applause.)

President's Remarks
WIN

I congratulate the Majority Leader, John Boehner; looking forward to working with you, John, congratulations to you. (Applause.) I appreciate Roy Blunt, he's a – right after I called Boehner from Air Force One, I called Blunt and I said, I want to say two things to you: one, thanks for waging the race for the Majority Leader, and, second, thanks for passing the reconciliation package. He said, if I could count votes as good on my race as I did on the reconciliation package – (laughter.) But I appreciate a man who is gracious in defeat. But he's still got an important position and I'm looking forward to working with you, Roy, thank you. (Applause.)

I appreciate the rest of the folks up here. Thank you all for coming. It is an honor to serve our country with you. I hope you feel that way, as well. There is nothing more heartwarming and exhilarating than to represent the good people of the United States of America here in Washington. I want to thank you all for your service. I particularly want to thank your families for your service to our country, as well. (Applause.) The cause is noble and worthwhile.

A couple of things I want to say, and then I'll be glad to answer some of your questions. First, the state of our union is strong and is getting stronger. And I want to thank you all for putting policies in place that, on the one hand, spread prosperity throughout the country and, at the same time, spread freedom and peace throughout the world.

You know, we've overcome a lot in this country. If you really think about what this economy has been through, it's amazing how resilient and flexible and strong our economy is. We're growing at faster rates than any major industrialized nation in the world. We've added over 4.5 million new jobs since April of 2003. The national unemployment rate is 4.7 percent. Productivity is high. (Applause.)

One of the things we've been working together is to promote an ownership society. More people own a home than ever before in our nation's history. More minority families own a home than ever before in our nation's history. (Applause.) Small businesses are thriving. The economic plan we put in place is working. And it starts with saying to the American people, we trust you with your own money. (Applause.)

We've got a record, and it's a record of accomplishment. We have worked closely together to achieve results for the American people. We've been fiscally wise with the people's money. I want to thank you for that bill you sent me that I signed yesterday. It's hard work to cut out and cut back on programs that don't work. Every program sounds beautiful in Washington, D.C., until you start analyzing the results. And I want to thank you for being wise with the people's money.

You know, you hear people in Washington, D.C. saying, well, we've got to solve the deficit, and the best way to do it is raise the people's taxes. We understand that's not the way Washington works. What happens is, they'll raise your taxes and figure out new ways to spend your money. The best way to reduce the deficit is to keep pro-growth policies in place and be wise with the taxpayers' money. (Applause.)

The House passed a good piece of legislation to help us secure our borders, and I want to thank you for that. The House passed good energy legislation last year. The House passed good tort reform last year,

including class action reform and bankruptcy. The House passed the Patriot Act last year. The House passed CAFTA last year. Last year was a year of accomplishment for the House of Representatives, thanks to the leadership here at the table. (Applause.)

And we're ready to lead again. We don't fear the future, because we're going to shape the future of the United States of America. And that means supporting our troops in harm's way. I want to thank you for supporting the troops last year, and I look forward to working with you to support our troops this coming year. (Applause.)

We'll continue to lead. And I want to appreciate your steadfast support in the war on terror. Our most important responsibility is to protect the American people from harm. And I want to thank the members of Congress for working with the administration to protect the American people from future attack.

You know, in my State of the Union -- thanks for paying attention to it when I got up there the other day -- (laughter) -- I talked about how best to keep the country competitive. You know, some would lose confidence in the capacity of this country to lead, and kind of hide behind walls. That's not what we think. We're confident in America. And we're confident in our people. And we're confident that we can work together to put good policies in place that will keep this country the world's leader when it comes to the economy. So I'm looking forward to working with you to continue to be fiscally sound with the people's money and to put those tax cuts we put in place in a permanent status. (Applause.)

I'm looking forward to working with you on expanding health savings accounts so we can strengthen the doctor-patient relationship. I'm looking forward to working with you on making sure that we become less dependent on Middle Eastern oil by promoting alternative sources of energy. I'm looking forward to working with you on making sure our education system remains strong and our kids can learn math and science so we remain the most competitive nation in the world. (Applause.)

I'm looking forward to working with you, and I'm confident we'll continue the success we have had together. And so I've come to say thanks for your hard work in the past, and thanks for what we're going to do to make this country to continue to be the greatest country on the face of the Earth.

God bless your work. May God continue to bless our country. (Applause.)

END 12:29 P.M. EST

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The White House
President George W. Bush

gov/news/releases/2006/11/print/txx/20061109-3.html
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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 9, 2006

President Bush Meets with Congresswoman Pelosi and Congressman Hoyer at the White House

The Oval Office

1:04 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: We just had a really important lunch. First, I want to congratulate Congresswoman Pelosi for becoming the Speaker of the House, and the first woman Speaker of the House. This is historic for our country. And as the father of young women, it is – I think it's important. I really do. And I appreciate Congressman Hoyer coming, as well. We've had a – I would call it a very constructive and very friendly conversation.

President's Remarks
view

Both of us recognize – or all three of us recognize that when you win, you have a responsibility to do the best you can for the country. I was pleased with a wide-ranging discussion about important issues facing America. The elections are now behind us, and the Congresswoman's party won. But the challenges still remain.

And therefore, we're going to work together to address those challenges in a constructive way. We won't agree on every issue, but we do agree that we love America equally, that we're concerned about the future of this country, and that we will do our very best to address big problems.

And so I want to thank you for coming. This is the beginning of a series of meetings we'll have over the next couple of years, all aimed at solving problems and leading the country. So welcome. Congratulations again.

CONGRESSWOMAN PELOSI: Thank you very much, Mr. President. Thank you for the opportunity to join you and the Vice President in what I think was a very productive meeting. We both extended the hand of friendship, of partnership to solve the problems facing our country, the challenges that America's working families face.

I look forward to working in a confidence-building way with the President, recognizing that we have our differences and we will debate them, and that is what our founders intended. But we will do so in a way that gets results for the American people.

It is very exciting to be the first woman Speaker of the House, God willing, if my colleagues support that in another few days. And again, as Speaker, I understand my responsibility: Speaker of the House, of all of the House, not just the Democrats, and the responsibility to work with the administration to make progress for the American people.

We've made history. Now we have to make progress. And I look forward to working with the President to do just that. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Steny.

CONGRESSMAN HOYER: Thank you very much, Mr. President. I appreciate this opportunity to be with our next Speaker, Speaker Pelosi who is going to do a wonderful job of leading the House, all the House. And as Speaker Pelosi has said, we have a responsibility, and we have a responsibility together, a shared responsibility to address the problems confronting our country.

I said Tuesday night that the American public voted their hopes, not their fears, from my perspective, on Tuesday. And their hopes, of course, not only are for specific objectives, but that we will work together – we, being Republicans, and Democrats, the President, and the Congress – to solve the problems and make their lives better, more secure, and more – and our country more safe. And I think this is certainly a very positive first step in that direction.

So thank you very much for having us down here. I know that Speaker Pelosi speaks for us all in saying that

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we are prepared to work with you towards the objectives that we share in common.

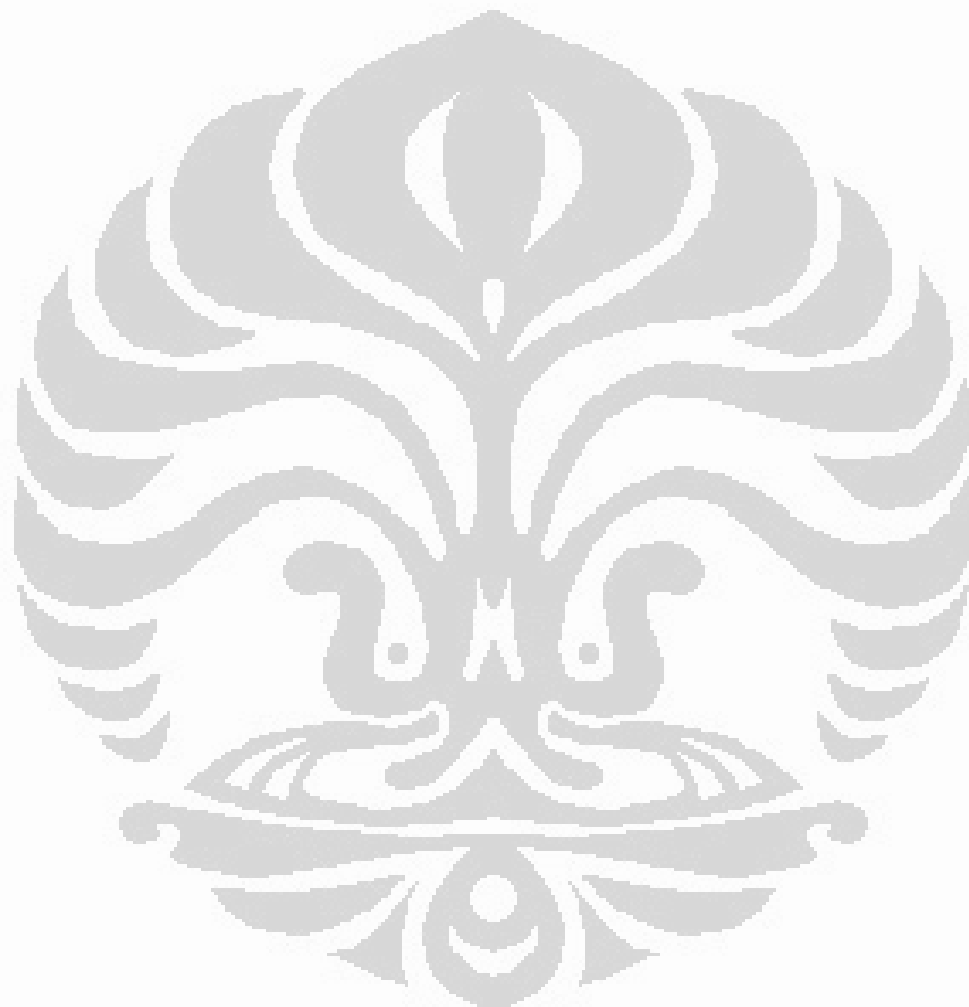
THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all.

END 1:08 P.M. EST

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The White House
President George W. Bush

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 3, 2006

Remarks by the President at Missouri Victory 2006 Rally
Missouri Southern State University
Joplin, Missouri

11:55 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thanks for the warm welcome. It's good to be here in Joplin.

AUDIENCE: Welcome to Missouri, George W. Bush! Welcome to Missouri, George W. Bush! (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: As I was saying – (laughter) – it's good to be back here in Southwest Missouri. I like coming here. (Applause.) You've got pretty countryside, and you've got hard-working, common-sense people. (Applause.) And that's what you need in the United States Senate, someone with common sense – (applause) – someone who brings good, sound Missouri values to the United States Senate – (applause) – someone who has got the right priorities, starting with his family, in the United States Senate. (Applause.) And that someone is Jim Talent. (Applause.)

I appreciate you coming. I appreciate your interest in this campaign. And I urge you to do your duty as a citizen, and vote. And when you vote, your vote is not only going to be good for Missouri, it's going to be good for the United States, when you send Jim Talent back to the Senate. (Applause.)

There's unanimity in my family about who ought to be your senator from Missouri – Laura believes that Jim Talent ought to be the senator from Missouri, as well. (Applause.) She's not with me today, she's campaigning elsewhere. Tomorrow evening, however, I'm going to celebrate with her her 60th birthday party. But don't tell anybody. (Laughter.) I want it to be a surprise. (Laughter.) She sends her love. She sends her thanks. She knows what I know, Jim Talent is about as fine a United States Senator as you'll ever have. (Applause.)

I'm proud to be with your Governor. (Applause.) I was a Governor one time, but I didn't look as young as he looks. (Laughter.) But he's doing a fine job, and you did a smart thing by sending him to the state house. I'm proud to be with the Governor's father – (applause) – Majority Whip Roy Blunt – (applause) – and Majority Whip Roy Blunt's son, Charlie, and today happens to be his second birthday. (Applause.) And from the looks of things, he's trying to figure it out. (Laughter.)

I want to thank Lieutenant Governor Peter Kinder for joining us today. (Applause.) Your Mayor, Jon Tupper is joining us today. Mr. Mayor, thanks for coming. (Applause.) Party Chairman, Doug Russell; all the grassroots activists, I thank you for coming. Grassroots activists are those who put up the signs, make the phone calls, put the envelopes in the mail. In other words, you're the ones who are going to join Jim Talent in working hard until Election Day and turn out the vote. Thank you for doing what you're doing. (Applause.)

I want to thank the Pierce Arrow band. I'm sorry I wasn't here to hear them. (Laughter.) But from all accounts, they did a fabulous job. (Applause.)

Election is four days away, and I'm sprinting to the finish line, and Talent is sprinting to the finish line, and we're asking you to join us as we sprint to the finish line. (Applause.)

You probably heard all the reports from the punditry – (laughter) – in Washington, D.C. Some of them are already measuring for new drapes. That's not the first time, by the way, people have said the election's over before the people vote. (Applause.) You might remember 2004. (Applause.) Some of the crowd up there was picking out their offices in the West Wing. (Laughter.) Then the people of Missouri and people from around the country voted, and the movers were not needed. (Applause.)

And the same thing is going to happen on November 7, 2006. With your help, we'll send Jim back to the United States Senate, and we're going to keep control of the House and the Senate. (Applause.) And there's a reason why – because our party understands the values and the priorities of the American people.

Penalaran strategi ..., Susi Herti Afriani, FIB UI, 2008

(Applause.) We don't need to take an opinion poll to tell us what to think. (Applause.) And we delivered.

First, let me talk about some of the work that Jim Talent has done in Washington. See, I've seen him up close. I know he cares a lot about the people of Missouri. And he understands that this nation is at risk if we remain dependent on foreign oil.

When you get oil from parts of the world where people don't like you, it's a national security problem. And that's why I have worked closely with Jim to advance new technologies that will enable us to use Missouri farm products to power our automobiles. (Applause.) We understand, by the way, that when the farmers and ranchers are doing well, the American economy does well. (Applause.) And if you're a Missouri farmer, or a Missouri rancher, it makes economic sense to send Jim Talent back to the United States Senate. *me nyaranakan,*
(Applause.)

Jim understands small businesses. If you're a small business owner, he understands you. See, he understands small businesses are having trouble getting insurance, and so he's proposed a plan called associated health plans, which enable small businesses to join together to pool risk so they can buy health insurance at the same discounts big companies get to do. (Applause.)

If you're a small business owner in the state of Missouri, it's in your interest to send Jim Talent back to the United States Senate. (Applause.) Jim understands that this nation must have a focus on eliminating methamphetamines. (Applause.) He's done something about it. He passed good law that gives law enforcement new tools to defeat this deadly drug and to shut down meth labs in Missouri and around the United States. (Applause.) If you're concerned about what meth does to your fellow citizens, send Jim Talent back to the United States Senate. *nyaranakan* .

I want to talk about another issue that's important, and that is the nature of the judiciary. (Applause.) A lot of people in Missouri understand what Jim and I know, that in order to have a good, sound judiciary, we need judges who strictly interpret the law and not legislate from the bench. (Applause.) The people of this state have got to understand, when you cast your vote on Tuesday, you're electing more than just a United States Senator. Your vote will determine what kind of judges we have. (Applause.)

You know, I named two really solid judges for the Supreme Court. (Applause.) Smart and capable men who share our judicial philosophy. Thankfully, we had senators like Senator Talent and Senator Bond from Missouri who worked hard to get these men confirmed. However, if the Democrats had control of the Senate, they wouldn't be sitting on the Supreme Court. (Applause.) You tell your friends and neighbors who are still undecided in this race that if you want a judiciary full of judges who will strictly interpret the law and not legislate, send Jim Talent back to the United States Senate. *nyaranakan* .

There are big differences between what we think and what the other bunch thinks. Perhaps the two biggest issues can – two differences can be seen on two issues. One, what's going to happen to your taxes, and which party will take the necessary steps to defend you. (Applause.)

Let me start with taxes. (Laughter.) We have a philosophy: We believe you can spend your money far better than the federal government can. (Applause.) Democrats want to raise your taxes because they believe they can spend your money better than you can.

AUDIENCE: Boo!

THE PRESIDENT: We believe that when you have more money to save, spend, or invest, the whole economy benefits. (Applause.)

We're not just people who philosophize. We're people who act. (Applause.) Thanks to senators like Jim Talent and congressmen like Roy Blunt, I signed the largest tax decreases since Ronald Reagan was the President of the United States. (Applause.) Remind people of our record: We cut the taxes on everybody who pays income taxes; we doubled the child tax credit; we reduced the marriage penalty; we cut taxes on small businesses; we cut taxes on capital gains and dividends, and we put the death tax on the road to extinction. (Applause.)

You're a farmer here in Missouri, you need to remember which senator – or which candidate strongly supports making sure that death tax stays dead. (Applause.) We don't think it's right that you pay taxes while you're alive and then you pay taxes after you die.

You might remember the debate. All the Democrats in Washington predicted the tax cuts would not create jobs. They predicted they would not increase wages, and they predicted the tax cuts would cause the federal deficit to explode. Well, the results are in. (Applause.) The tax cuts have led to a strong and growing economy. (Applause.)

Just this morning, we got additional good news. The unemployment rate around the United States has dropped to 4.4 percent. (Applause.) That's the lowest rate in five-and-a-half years. Our economy added 92,000 jobs in the month of October, and over the past three months, America has added 470,000 new jobs. (Applause.) People are working in the United States. The tax cuts have worked. Real wages went up 2.4 percent over the past year, which means an extra \$1,327 for the typical family of four with two wage earners. (Applause.)

And finally, you might remember all the forecasts, but we have cut the deficit in half three years ahead of schedule. (Applause.) If the Democrat's election predications are as good as their economic predications -- (laughter) -- we're going to have a good day on November the 7th. (Applause.)

Now in this campaign, whether it's here in Missouri or anywhere else across the country, the Democrats don't want you to know their tax plans. Listen to the words of the top Democrat leader in the House, when she said, "We love tax cuts." Well, given her record, she must be a secret admirer. (Laughter.) She and her party voted against reducing the marriage penalty, against cutting taxes on small businesses, against lowering taxes for families with children, against reducing taxes on capital gains and dividends, and against cutting the death tax. I mean, time and time again, when they had their chance to show their love for tax cuts, they voted, no. Now, if this is their definition of love, I'd sure hate to see what hate looks like. (Applause.)

Now there's a difference of opinion in Washington, D.C. about what to do with your money. If these tax cuts are not extended or made permanent, your taxes are going up. You see, if the tax cuts are not made permanent, you can bet the federal government is going to be in your wallet.

And that's precisely what the Democrats want to do. They asked the man who would be the Chairman of the Ways and Means -- that's the tax writing committee in Washington -- could he think of any tax cuts he would extend. And he said, not a one. Not a tax cut. Make no mistake about it, they may not be admitting it on the campaign trail, but they're going to raise your taxes.

If the tax cuts aren't extended, think about what that does to the child tax credit. Right now, the tax credit is \$1,000 per child. If those tax cuts are not extended, those tax credits go down to \$500 a child, which means you've got yourself a \$500 tax increase per child. So tonight, when you're sitting around the dinner table, just count the heads. (Laughter.) If you've got two children, you can count on a \$1,000 tax increase. If you got three little heads there, you can count on a \$1,500 tax increase.

I know some people here in Joplin may have four children. Yes, there you are -- the man right there has got four children, so when you're having dinner this evening, just go: one, two, three, four times \$500; that's a \$2,000 tax increase if the Democrats win.

That may not sound like a lot of money to Washington Democrats, but it's a lot of money to me, and it's a lot of money to Talent. It's a lot of money to you. (Applause.)

So my strong advice is, if you're a small-business owner, if you've got children, if you pay income taxes, you're a farmer and you want to keep the money that you've worked hard to earn, vote for Jim Talent for the United States Senate. (Applause.) *J Menaschati*

This election is taking place in an historic time for our country. And when our children and grandchildren look back on this period, one question will overwhelm the rest: Did we do everything in our power to fight and win the war against the terrorists? That is the question which faces this generation.

I wish I could report to you here in Joplin that we were not at war, but we are. We face a determined enemy. They have no conscience. They kill the innocent in order to achieve objectives. These people are totalitarian, and they share an ideology that is the exact opposite of what we believe. We believe in the right of every person to worship freely; they don't. (Applause.) We believe in the freedom to dissent, freedom to speak. We believe every life is precious. We believe in human dignity. (Applause.)

Their totalitarian point of view is dark and dismal, and yet they have objectives, and they want to spread that

point of view. And they want to create enough chaos and havoc to cause people to withdraw so they can spread their attitude. The best way to protect you is to stay on the offense and bring these people to justice before they hurt America again. (Applause.)

You can't – you can't negotiate with these people. You can't try to talk sense in these people.

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: You must be firm, and determined to protect you. At the same time, here at home, we've got to do enough to be able to say we're doing our duty. See, my most important job and the important job of people elected to Washington is to protect the American people. That's the call of this generation. (Applause.)

The enemy – the enemy has to be right one time when it comes time to attacking us again. We have to be right a hundred percent of the time to protect you. And therefore, I made sure that our professionals had the tools necessary to protect you. There was a wall that separated the intelligence community from sharing information with the law enforcement folks.

It's hard to rationalize that that happened, but that is what happened prior to September the 11th. In other words, you had somebody had some intelligence about somebody who might be coming our way, and he couldn't share that information with somebody whose job it was to stop them. I know it doesn't make sense, but it's the reality of what we faced.

So I asked the Congress to pass the Patriot Act, which brought down that wall. (Applause.) The Senate Democrats tried to filibuster that re-authorization of that important bill. As a matter of fact, the Senate Minority Leader, the head Democrat in the Senate, bragged, "we killed the Patriot Act." See, there's a different mind-set. If our most important job is to protect you, we've got to make sure our professionals have the tools necessary to do so. (Applause.)

I guess, maybe if – I'm just trying to guess the mentality, but they must not think there's an enemy that wants to hit us again. It's the only justification I can give you for not making sure those professionals had the tools.

I decided to institute another program. If al Qaeda or an al Qaeda affiliate is making a phone call into the United States from outside the United States, it seems like it makes sense to know why. (Applause.) They hadn't voted on this bill in the Senate, but they did in the House, and by far, the overwhelming majority of House Democrats voted against the program.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: We have got to understand what the enemy is thinking in order to be able to protect you. And that's why I authorized the program through the Central Intelligence Agency that would allow us to detain and question people we picked up off the battlefield.

And let me give you a reason why. See, we captured Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. Our intelligence services think he's the person that ordered and masterminded the September the 11th attacks. And so when I heard we captured him, I thought it made sense, common sense, to say to our professionals, if he knew the first attack, he might have information on another attack, and why don't you see if you can find out if he does. (Applause.)

Seventy percent of the Senate Democrats voted against that bill.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: We're at war. It's a different kind of war, but is, in fact, a war. That war came home on September the 11th, 2001. You should expect people in Washington, D.C. to give our professionals the tools necessary to protect you. It's a big difference in this campaign, between what Republicans think and what Democrats think. I'm going to tell you something, you can't wait to respond after we're attacked. We must take the necessary measures to make sure we're not attacked in the first place. (Applause.)

That's why I feel so strongly about a person like Jim Talent. He understands the stakes. He also understands what I know: When we see a threat overseas, we must take that threat seriously. That's one of

the lessons of September the 11th. It's important never to forget lessons. That lesson is a clear lesson to me. I saw a threat in Saddam Hussein. Members of both political parties in the Congress saw the same threat. The United Nations saw the threat in Saddam Hussein. The decision to get rid of Saddam Hussein was the right decision, and the world is better off for it. (Applause.)

We're in a global war that's being fought on a variety of fronts, and Iraq is the central front of that war. Now I understand you hear the voices out of Washington, they say, well, Iraq is a distraction in the war on terror. To me, that's a dangerous point of view, but nevertheless, that's what they say. Well, the doubters about Iraq ought to listen to Osama bin Laden before they make up their mind as to whether Iraq is the central front.

See, Osama bin Laden calls the fight we're in in Iraq the third world war. He says that victory for the terrorists in Iraq will mean America's defeat and disgrace forever. Now there's a difference of opinion. I want you to listen to the words of a senior Democrat in Washington who – she said this: "The President says that fighting them there makes it less likely we will fight them here." Yes, that's precisely what I said, and I strongly believe it's right. (Applause.) She went on to say – hold on for a minute – she went on to say, "The opposite is true; because we are fighting them there, it may become more likely that we will have to fight them here."

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: See, that's the kind of mentality that you're voting on on November the 7th. You do not create terrorists by fighting the terrorists. (Applause.)

Iraq is not the reason the terrorists are at war against us. We weren't in Iraq when the terrorists bombed the World Trade Center in 1993. We were not in Iraq when they bombed our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. We weren't in Iraq when they bombed the USS Cole, and we weren't in Iraq when they attacked us on September the 11th, 2001. (Applause.)

The best way to protect you is to bring the terrorists to justice wherever we find them. (Applause.) And they are fighting us in Iraq because they can't stand the thought of a democracy in their midst. And so they're fighting with brutality, the likes of which we haven't seen in a long time. See, they'll kill innocent people.

Our goal in Iraq is victory. Our goal in Iraq is an Iraq that can sustain itself, an Iraq that can govern itself, Iraq that can defend itself, an Iraq that will be an ally against these extremists and radicals. But this enemy, which understands the stakes, also understands that their violence, their unspeakable violence against innocent life gets on our television screens. And they are trying to shake our will because they think our will is shakable.

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: They don't think we have the stomach necessary to defend ourselves in the long run, but they don't understand this administration and many in our country. We will not run from thugs and assassins. (Applause.)

We are constantly adjusting our tactics to meet the enemy. The enemy adjusts, we adjust. I've given our commanders the flexibility necessary and whatever they need to win this war. And we've got a lot going for us. We got a strategy that helps us achieve victory, and we got a military that is the finest military any country has ever assembled. (Applause.)

And whether or not our citizens agree with my decision to fight the enemy in Iraq, all citizens owe a debt of gratitude to those who wear our uniform. (Applause.) And those of us in Washington owe it to our troops and their families to make sure they have the full support, all they need in order to do the jobs I've asked them to do. (Applause.)

Our troops have got no finer supporter than Senator Jim Talent, another reason to send him back to Washington. (Applause.) We've also got something else going for us, and that is brave Iraqis. Listen, these people have suffered unspeakable violence, and yet they still want to live under a free society. I was pleased at the outcome of the elections when the Iraqis voted, but I wasn't surprised. I believe freedom is universal. I believe there's an Almighty, and a great gift of the Almighty to each man and woman and child on the face of the Earth is a desire to be free. (Applause.)

I'm not surprised when 12 million people say, I want to be free. It's in our interests we help this young democracy. It's in our interests we defeat the enemy where we find them. It's in interests we help people realize the blessings of liberty. And that's why our strategy is to help the politics of Iraq succeed, to help their economy grow, and to train Iraqi troops so they can take the fight. One day Iraq will be a government of, by and for the people – unless we quit. (Applause.)

If I didn't think we'd win I wouldn't have our troops there. If I didn't know this mission is noble and important I wouldn't have our troops there.

You know, the debate is interesting about this vital part of protecting the country. If you listen carefully to what the Democrats say about Iraq, you think about what they're saying about their plan for success, there isn't one. This is a major political party that has no plan for success in Iraq. As a matter of fact, their only plan is to leave before the job is done. Oh, you listen to some of them – they say we pull out the troops now. And then they got a bunch of them saying, let's have a fixed date and we'll leave on that fixed date, regardless of whether the job is done. They've actually got a member of the House of Representatives who has recommended moving our troops 5,000 miles away on another island – on an island. Nineteen House Democrats introduced legislation that would cut off funds for our troops in Iraq.

Here we are in the middle of a national campaign that will determine our future, and one of Jim Talent's Democrat colleagues put it this way – she said, "We haven't coalesced around a single plan. But we're in general agreement on the basic principles." She's right. The principle they agree on is, get out before the job is done.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Look, I'm not saying these people are unpatriotic. I'm just saying they're wrong. (Applause.)

On this important issue of Iraq and the global war on terror, the Democrats have taken a calculated gamble. They believe that the only way they can win this election is to criticize and offer no plan of their own. Here's how one senior Democrat describes their strategy: "The election is about them," talking about me and us. So far, they've refused to tell how they plan to secure this country. But there's still four days left. (Laughter.) There's still time. There's still time for them to tell us how they intend to prevail.

Listen, if you happen to bump into a Democrat candidate, you might want to ask this simple question: What is your plan? (Laughter.) If they say they want to protect the homeland, but opposed the Patriot Act, ask them this question: What is your plan? If they say they want to uncover terrorist plots, but oppose listening in on terrorist conversation, ask them the question: What's your plan? You know, if they say they want to stop new attacks on our country, but opposed letting the CIA detain and question the terrorists who might know what the plots are, ask them the question: What's your plan?

AUDIENCE: What's your plan?

THE PRESIDENT: If they say they want to win the war on terror, but called for America to pull out from what al Qaeda says is the central front in that war, ask them this question –

AUDIENCE: What's your plan?

THE PRESIDENT: They're not going to be able to answer that question. They have no plan. When you're rounding up the vote, remind people, harsh criticism is not a plan for victory. (Applause.)

Second guessing is not a strategy. You cannot win the war on terror if you don't have a plan to win the war. The most important duty we have is to protect you. We have a plan, a strategy that we're implementing every single day, and part of our plan to make sure that America does everything we can to protect you is to send Jim Talent back to the United States Senate. (Applause.)

Retreat from Iraq before the job is done would embolden the enemy, make our country more vulnerable to attacks. This is a different kind of war. It's unlike any other war we have fought. If we retreat from Iraq before the job is done, the enemy will follow us here. Leaving before the job is done would enable these extremists and radicals to recruit better. Leaving before the job is done would dash the hopes of millions of people who reject the ideology of hate, and who want to live a simple life that is a peaceful life. Retreating before the job is done would dishonor the sacrifice of the men and women who have worn the uniform of the United States

of America. (Applause.) Retreating before the job is done would be felt for generations to come.

The enemy has said they expect us to retreat, and they want us to retreat. This is their words, not mine. In a time of war, you must take the words of the enemy very seriously. They would like to have another safe haven from which to plot and plan attacks similar to the safe haven they had in Afghanistan before we removed that safe haven. The enemy would like to be in a position to topple moderate governments. They would use any means necessary to do so. Can you imagine what the world would look like if they were able to get a hold of oil resources which they would then use to extract economic blackmail against those of us who want to protect ourselves, and, two, to help freedom expand.

See, imagine what would happen if they were able to control enough energy, if they pulled enough off the market to run the price of oil up, and then said, fine, we'll let the price back down unless you give up your alliance with Israel, or until you withdraw, so that they could establish their – what they declared they want to do, which is a caliphate.

And in the midst, put a country that doesn't like us with a nuclear weapon. And what's going to happen 30 years from now is people will say, what happened to those folks in 2006; how come they couldn't see the impending danger; what clouded their vision?

I want to tell you all: my vision is clear. I see the threat. I understand the consequences of the world in which we live. America must lead. We will support our troops in Iraq. We will fight in Iraq, and we will win in Iraq. (Applause.)

If you got a second, I'd like to share one other story about the power of liberty.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Laughter.) Recently, Laura and I took our friend, who was then the Prime Minister of Japan, to Elvis' place. You might remember that. Oh, they said, why did you go to Elvis's place? Well, I had never been there. (Laughter.) Prime Minister Koizumi wanted to go there – he was an Elvis fan. I also wanted to tell a story. It's important for all people to understand this story, but particularly for people who are trying to figure out the world in which we live and the power of liberty.

See, after the Japanese attacked our country a lot of young Americans signed up. You've got relatives who signed up to fight the sworn enemy, the Japanese. So did I – my dad. And then he, like thousands, went through a bloody battle. We lost a lot of Americans and the Japanese lost a lot – it was a brutal war, brutal war. And yet, it's amazing, isn't it, that years later his son is on the airplane with the Prime Minister of the former enemy flying to Elvis's place. And guess what we talked about – keeping the peace. Isn't that interesting? (Applause.)

We talked about working together to convince the North Korean leader to give up his nuclear weapons. We talked about the fact that Japan has a thousand – had a thousand troops in Iraq. The Prime Minister and I understand that when you find a young democracy in this ideological struggle against reason versus extremists, you got to help those young democracies. It's in our long-term interests that we help people realize the blessings of liberty. We talked about the need to help fight the pandemic of HIV/AIDS on the continent of Africa, which the United States is doing. We talked about feeding the hungry. We talked about keeping the peace.

My dad fought the Japanese; his son is talking about keeping the peace with the Japanese. Liberty – the lesson is this: Liberty has got the capacity to change an enemy into an ally, and liberty has got the capacity to change a region of despair and hopelessness into a region of light and hope. Liberty is the best way to defeat the enemies of freedom in the long run.

Someday, an American President will be sitting down with duly elected leaders from the Middle East talking about keeping the peace, and a generation of Americans will be better off. (Applause.)

These are the stakes in this election, and I'm asking you to go from the hall and find fellow Republicans, discerning Democrats, and open-minded independents and remind them about the stakes in this election. If you want your taxes low so you can have more money to spend and this economy continues to be strong, vote for Jim Talent. (Applause.) If you want the United States to do everything that we can to protect you and to lay the foundation of peace for generations to come, vote for Jim Talent. (Applause.) } menghinbau

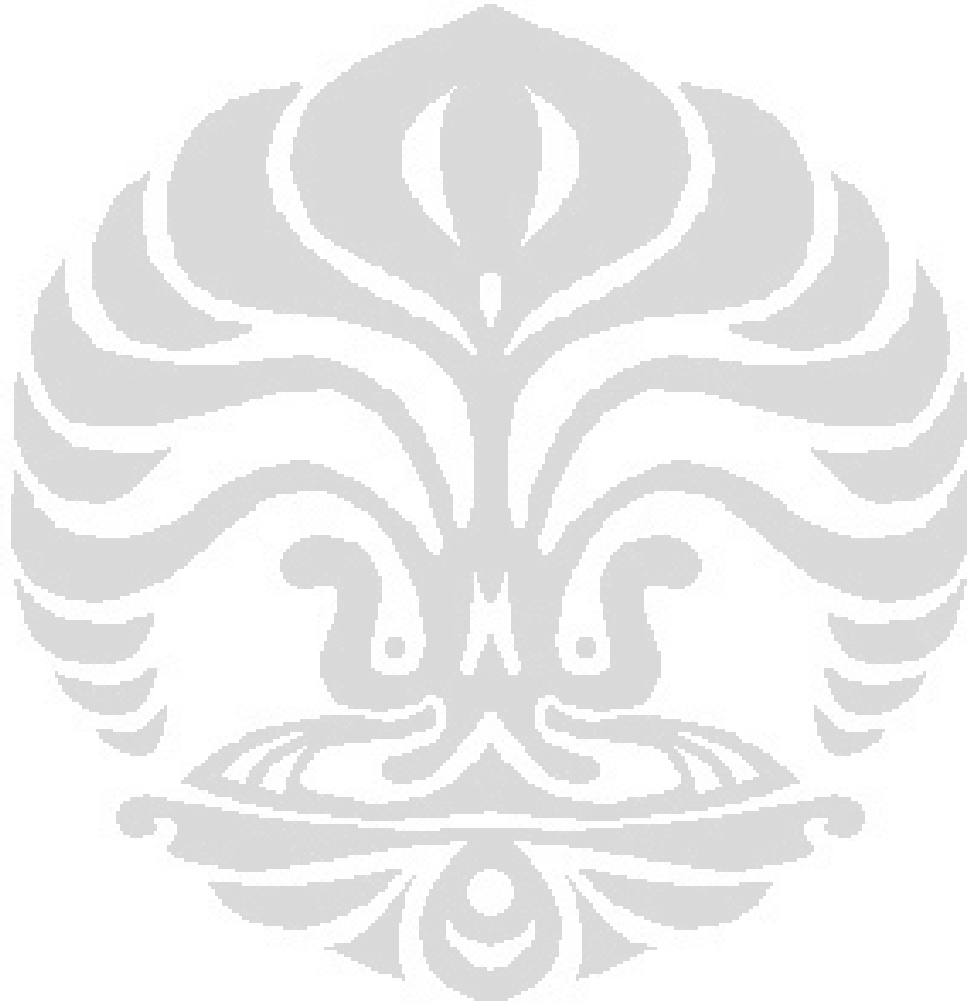
It's such an honor to be with you. I thank you for your time. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless the United States. (Applause.)

END 12:40 P.M. CST

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The White House
President George W. Bush

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
December 15, 2006

President Attends Armed Forces Full Honor Review for Secretary Rumsfeld

The Pentagon

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In Focus: Defense

1:50 P.M. EST

President's Remarks
view

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary and Joyce. Mr. Vice President, thank you for your kind words. Lynne and Senator Warner, Deputy Secretary England, Secretary Harvey, Winter, Wynne, General Pace, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, distinguished guests, men and women of the armed forces.

I'm pleased to join you as we pay tribute to one of America's most skilled, energetic and dedicated public servants, the Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld.

Don Rumsfeld has been at my side from the moment I took office. We've been through war together. We have shared some of the most challenging moments in our nation's history. Over the past six years, I have come to appreciate Don Rumsfeld's professionalism, his dedication, his strategic vision, his deep devotion to the men and women of our nation who wear the uniform, and his love for the United States of America.

That devotion began at an early age, inspired by a man in uniform he called "dad." His father, George, was 37 when America was attacked at Pearl Harbor. Too old to be drafted, he volunteered for service in the United States Navy. One of Don's earliest memories is of standing on the hangar deck of his dad's aircraft carrier, the USS Hollandia, at the age of 11. He was taking in the sights and sounds of the ship as it prepared to leave for the Pacific War.

His father's example stayed with him, and after graduating from Princeton, Don Rumsfeld joined the United States Navy, rising to become a pilot, a flight instructor and a member of the Naval Reserve for nearly 20 years.

In the decades since he first put on the uniform, Don Rumsfeld has served with distinction in many important positions: Congressman, Counselor to the President, Ambassador to NATO, White House Chief of Staff, Secretary of Defense. Yet, to this day, the title that has brought him his greatest pride is "dad," and now, "granddad." And so today, as we honor a fine man, we also honor his family, Joyce Rumsfeld and his children. (Applause.)

Don Rumsfeld is the only man to have served as Secretary of Defense for two Presidents in two different centuries. (Laughter.) In 2001, I called him back to the same job he held under President Gerald Ford, and I gave him this urgent mission: Prepare our nation's armed forces for the threats of a new century.

memorandum

Don Rumsfeld brought vision and enthusiasm to this vital task. He understood that the peace of the post-Cold War years was really the calm before the next storm, and that America needed to prepare for the day when new enemies would attack our nation in unprecedented ways. That day came on a clear September morning. And in a moment of crisis, our nation saw Donald Rumsfeld's character and courage.

When the Pentagon was hit, Secretary Rumsfeld's first instinct was to run toward danger. He raced down smoke-filled hallways to the crash site, so he could help rescue workers pull the victims from the rubble. And in the weeks that followed, he directed the effort to plan our nation's military response to the deadliest terrorist attack in our nation's history.

Under Secretary Rumsfeld's leadership, U.S. and coalition forces launched one of the most innovative military campaigns in the history of modern warfare, sending Special Operations forces into Afghanistan to link up with anti-Taliban fighters, to ride with them on horseback, and to launch a stunning assault against the enemy. In Operation Enduring Freedom we combined the most advanced laser-guided weapons with one of the oldest tools in the military arsenal -- a man with a weapon on a horse.

History will record that the first major ground battle in the 21st century involving American forces began with a cavalry charge. I guess that's what you get when you bring together a President from Texas with a Secretary of Defense who actually remembers when America had a cavalry. (Laughter and applause.)

In 2003, on my orders, Secretary Rumsfeld led the planning and execution of another historic military campaign, Operation Iraqi Freedom. In this operation, coalition forces drove Saddam Hussein from power in 21 days. And in the years that followed, Don Rumsfeld helped see the Iraqi people through the resumption of sovereignty, two elections, a referendum to approve the most progressive constitution in the Middle East, and the seating of a newly elected government.

On his watch, the United States military helped the Iraqi people establish a constitutional democracy in the heart of the Middle East, a watershed event in the story of freedom.

As he met the challenges of fighting a new and unfamiliar war, Don Rumsfeld kept his eyes on the horizon and on the threats that still await us as this new century unfolds.

He developed a new defense strategy and a new command structure for our nation's armed forces, with a new northern command to protect the homeland, a new joint forces command to focus on transformation, a new strategic command to defend against long range attacks, and a transformed U.S. Special Operations command ready to take the lead in the global war on terror.

He launched the most significant transformation of the Army in a generation. He led my administration's efforts to transform the NATO Alliance, with a new NATO response force ready to deploy quickly anywhere in the world. On his watch, NATO sent its forces to defend a young democracy in Afghanistan, more than 3000 miles from Europe. It was the first time NATO has deployed outside the North Atlantic area in the history of the Alliance.

He helped launch the Proliferation Security Initiative, an unprecedented coalition of more than 80 nations working together to stop shipments of weapons of mass destruction on land, at sea and in the air.

He undertook the most sweeping transformation of America's global defense posture since the start of the Cold War, repositioning our forces so they can surge quickly to deal with unexpected threats, and setting the stage for our global military presence for the next 50 years.

He took ballistic missile defense from theory to reality. And because of his leadership, America now has an initial capability to track a ballistic missile headed for our country and destroy it before it harms our people.

Most importantly, he worked to establish a culture in the Pentagon that rewards innovation and intelligent risk taking, and encourages our military and civilian leaders to challenge established ways of thinking.

The record of Don Rumsfeld's tenure is clear. There have been more profound change – there has been more profound change at the Department of Defense over the past six years than at any time since the Department's creation in the late 1940s. (Applause.)

And these changes were not easy, but because of Don Rumsfeld's determination and leadership, America has the best equipped, the best trained, and most experienced armed forces in the history of the world. All in all, not bad for a fellow who calls himself a "broken-down ex-Navy pilot." This man knows how to lead, and he did, and the country is better off for it. (Applause.)

In every decision Don Rumsfeld made over the past six years, he always put the troops first, and the troops in the field knew it. A few years ago, the editors at Time Magazine came to his Pentagon office, and Don correctly suspected they were thinking of naming him "Person of the Year." Without hesitation, Don Rumsfeld told them, don't give it to me. Give it to our men and women in uniform – and that's exactly what Time Magazine did. (Applause.)

Don Rumsfeld's selfless leadership earned him the admiration of our soldiers and sailors and airmen and Marines. And we saw how they feel about him this week when he paid a farewell visit to our troops in Iraq.

Don Rumsfeld's strong leadership has earned him my admiration and deep respect. We stood together in hours of decision that would affect the course of our history. We walked amid the rubble of the broken Pentagon the day after September the 11th, 2001. He was with me when we planned the liberation of Afghanistan. We were in the Oval Office together the day I gave the order to remove Saddam Hussein from

power.

In these and countless other moments, I have seen Don Rumsfeld's character and his integrity. He always ensured I had the best possible advice, the opportunity to hear and weigh conflicting points of view. He spoke straight. It was easy to understand him. He has a sharp intellect, a steady demeanor, and boundless energy. He began every day at the Pentagon with a singular mission – to serve his country and the men and women who defend her.

Mr. Secretary, today your country thanks you for six outstanding years at the Department of Defense. And I thank you for your sacrifice and your service and your devotion to the men and women of our armed forces.

I want to thank Joyce for her poise and her grace and for the example she has set for our nation's military families. Laura and I will miss you both, and we wish you all the best in the years to come.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I bring to this podium America's 21st Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld. (Applause.)

SECRETARY RUMSFELD: Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you so much.

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, I thank you so much for joining us, and I thank you for those generous words, and for your support these many years.

Chairman Pace, thank you for your sound advice and for your unfailing good humor through enormously challenging times.

Deputy Secretary Gordon England, you've been a valued partner in this mission, and I thank you so much. You make a difference here every single day. Thank you, Gordon. (Applause.)

Service Secretaries, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, combatant commanders – I saw my friend, former Chairman General Dick Myers, down here in the front row. Dick, it's always good to see you. Chairman Warner, members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen, thank you all. And all of those gathered, military and civilian, who make this great Department what it is, thank you so much for what you do for our country.

As I look back over these past six years and reflect on what's been achieved, I feel a sense of gratitude – gratitude to Joyce, to be sure, and our three wonderful children and seven grandchildren, we have been together in this every minute; gratitude to the hundreds of thousands of people in this Department who, out of love of country, contribute so much; and gratitude to all those amazing young people who volunteer and step forward and proudly wear our nation's uniforms.

Last weekend I was in Iraq. I wanted to personally express my heartfelt appreciation to the troops for their service and for their sacrifice. I wanted to leave them a sense of what they have given me: pride in mission, and an abiding confidence in our country. It has been the highest honor of my life to serve with them, these makers of history.

Mr. President, over the past six years, at your request, as you pointed out, this Department has been determined to create a new framework to better defend against the irregular threats of this new era. These folks have had to depart from the conventional and the familiar, to wrestle with the new and the unfamiliar. And they do it with no guidebook, with no road map, and they do it in full view of the Congress and the press and the world, with generous scrutiny from all sides. (Laughter.)

Today I'll break with convention one more time, and instead of the traditional farewell remarks on past achievements, I will focus squarely on the future. I say this with the perspective of one, as the President indicated, who's had the opportunity to lead this Department in two different eras, in two different world conflicts, for two different Presidents – and, yes, it's true, in two different centuries.

When I last departed this post in 1977, I left cautioning that weakness is provocative, that weakness inevitably entices aggressors into acts that they would otherwise avoid. Then, our country was engaged in a long struggle – a struggle of uncertain duration against, what seemed at the time, as an ascendant ideology, and clearly an expanding empire.

Few would have believed that 15 years later, the Soviet Union would cease to exist, or that the dissidents then trapped behind the Iron Curtain would lead people out of the dustbin of history and into the family of

free nations, which they did. That history did not happen by accident. And it most assuredly was not made by people sitting safely on the sidelines. It occurred only because America and our allies withstood the tough times, the bitter disagreements, and they stayed at the task with conviction that our security was linked to the defense and the advance of human freedom.

This is what history asks of us today. And as I leave the Pentagon for the second – and I suspect the odds are, the last time – (laughter) – I do feel a sense of urgency about the very real challenges ahead. As the President noted seven years ago, he said, we're living in an era of barbarism emboldened by technology. We live a time when our enemies mix an extremist ideology with modern weaponry, and they have the ability to kill thousands, indeed even hundreds of thousands of our people in a single, swift, deadly stroke. We forget that at our peril.

A number of us came here in 2001 with that mission and mandate to prepare this defense establishment to protect the American people from the unconventional and the irregular threats. That mission was given powerful impetus that bright September morning when that mighty building just a few yards away shook, burned, and smoked – and 125 members of our Pentagon team did not come home.

The attacks of September 11th awakened Americans to the global extremist movement; a movement with networks in nations all around the world, even our own; a movement with tens of thousands of adherents who believe it is their calling to kill Americans and other free people. Ours is a world of unstable dictators, weapon proliferators and rogue regimes. And each of these enemies seeks out our vulnerabilities. And as free people, we have vulnerabilities.

Ours is also a world of many friends and allies – but sadly, realistically, friends and allies with declining defense investment and declining capabilities – and I would add, as a result, with increasing vulnerabilities – all of which requires that the United States of America invest more.

Today, it should be clear that not only is weakness provocative, but the perception of weakness on our part can be provocative, as well. A conclusion by our enemies that the United States lacks the will or the resolve to carry out missions that demand sacrifice and demand patience is every bit as dangerous as an imbalance of conventional military power.

This is a time of great consequence. Our task is to make the right decisions today so that future generations will not have to make much harder decisions tomorrow. It may well be comforting to some to consider graceful exits from the agonies and, indeed, the ugliness of combat. But the enemy thinks differently.

Under the President's leadership, this country made a decision to confront the extremist ideology of hatred that spawned a worldwide movement, and to take the fight to the enemy. The alternative was inaction and defense, a pattern that history has shown only emboldens the enemy.

Our country has taken on a bracing and difficult task – but let there be no doubt, it is neither hopeless, nor without purpose. Leadership is not about doing what's easy. It's about doing what's right, even when it's hard – especially when it's hard. President Lincoln once said, "Determine the thing that can and shall be done, and then we shall find the way to do it."

That remains true today. We're in what will be a long struggle. It's new, it's complex, and even after five years, it's still somewhat unfamiliar. That we have been successful – I would add, fortunate – to have suffered not one single attack here at home since September 11, 2001, has contributed to a misperception in some quarters that the threat is gone. It is not.

As I leave, I do feel urgency, but I also feel optimism. I know that the American people can summon the same grit that helped our founders forge from a wilderness a new frontier. I know it because I've seen it over my own lifetime. It's the same steel that sent our fathers and grandfathers across oceans to defend free nations from tyrants; that same grit that gave the Americans to endure 40 years of a Cold War under the specter of nuclear annihilation.

So it is with confidence that I say that America's enemies should not confuse the American people's distaste of war, which is real, and which is understandable, with a reluctance to defend our way of life. Enemy after enemy in our history have made that mistake to their regret.

To those in uniform here and abroad who proudly serve, always remember that America's example is a message of hope for hundreds of millions of people all across the globe. America is not what's wrong with

this world. Ours is a message that was heard and fought for in places like Berlin, Prague, Riga, Tokyo, Seouf, San Salvador, Vilnius and Warsaw. And that message is even now being whispered in the coffeehouses and the streets of Damascus and Tehran and Pyongyang. The great sweep of human history is for freedom. And America is on freedom's side.

As I end my time here, some ask, what will I remember. Well, I will remember all those courageous folks that I have met deployed in the field; those in the military hospitals that we visited; and I will remember the fallen, and I will particularly remember their families from whom I have drawn inspiration. And I will remember how fortunate I have been to know you, to work with you, to have been inspired by your courage, and by your love of country. You will be in my thoughts and prayers.

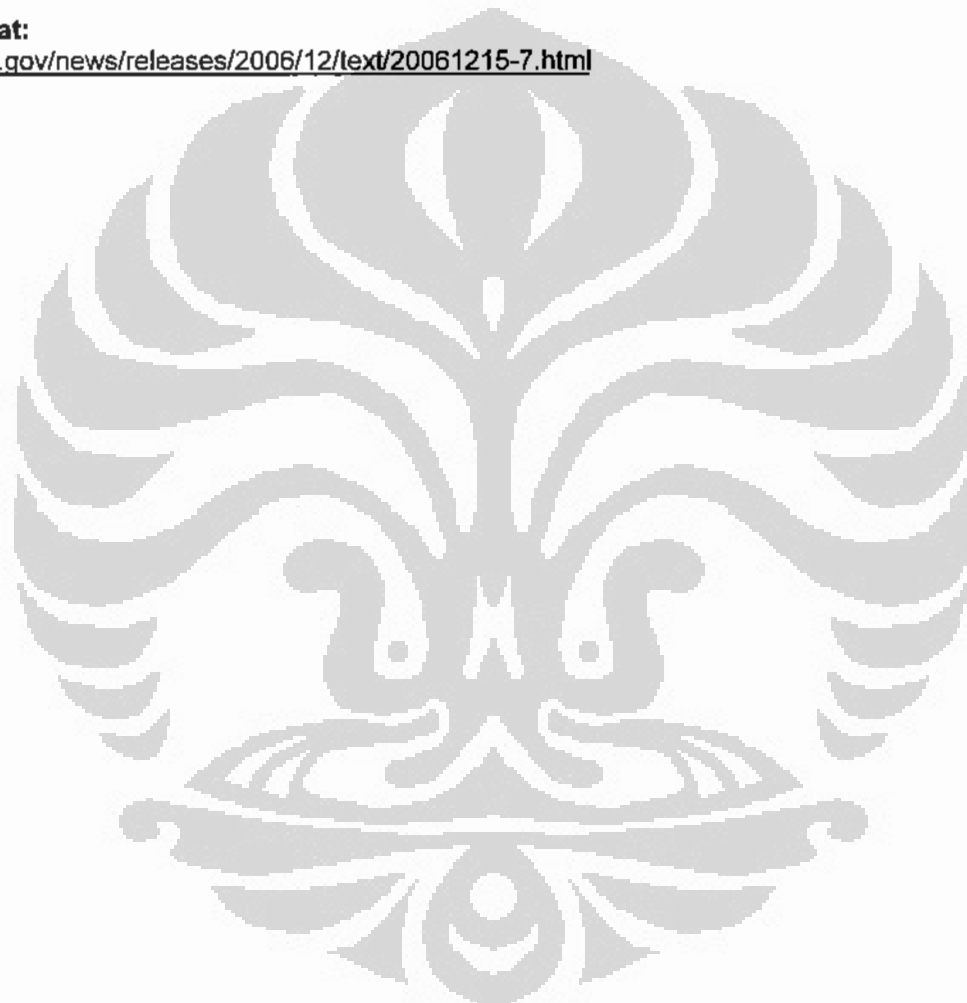
God bless you. (Applause.)

END 2:16 P.M. EST

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The White House
President George W. Bush

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
March 22, 2006

President Discusses War on Terror, Progress in Iraq in West Virginia

Capitol Music Hall
Wheeling, West Virginia

[In Focus: Renewal in Iraq](#)
[In Focus: National Security](#)

President's Remarks
[view](#)

12:17 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Please be seated. Thanks for coming. First of all, Terry, thanks for the invitation. My purpose is to share with you what's on my mind, and then I look forward to hearing what's on yours.

I regret only one thing, Terry, and that's that Laura didn't come with me. No, I know, most people generally say, you should have brought her and you should have stayed at home. (Laughter.) They love Laura, and so do I. And she is a fantastic First Lady. She is a great – (applause.) And she is a great source of comfort and strength for me, and I wish she were here.

I want to thank the Chamber and the Board of Directors of the Chamber for allowing me to come. You know, I'm – as Terry said, I'm the Commander-in-Chief, I'm also the Educator-in-Chief. And I have a duty to explain how and why I make decisions. And that's part of the reason I'm here.

I want to thank your Governor for being here. Joe Manchin is a – (applause.) He's a good, decent man. He showed his heart during the mine tragedies. He asked the country – (applause.) He represented the best of West Virginia. He showed great compassion, great concern. He asked the nation to pray on behalf of the families. We still must continue to pray for those who lost their loved ones. (Applause.) Joe is a problem-solver, see. He said, we're going to deal with this issue head on. And I appreciate you working closely with the federal government to make sure that there are safety regulations that work, that the inspection process works so that the miners here in this important state are able to do their job and their families can be secure in them doing their job.

So, Joe, thank you very much for your leadership. Thanks for bringing Gayle. Like you, I married well, too. (Laughter and applause.)

I appreciate Congresswoman Shelley Moore Capito. Thanks for being here. I appreciate working with you. (Applause.) She's a good one, as we say in Texas. (Laughter.) I probably shouldn't bring up Texas too much today, given the fact – yeah, I know – (laughter.) Never mind. (Laughter.) I'm a little worried for my Long Horns, though, I tell you that. I'm fully informed – (applause.) I'm fully informed that they're going to play a fine team.

I want to thank the Mayor for being here. Mr. Mayor, I'm honored that you were at the airport. I appreciate you coming. Thanks for serving your great community. God bless you, sir. (Applause.)

Members of the statehouse greeted me. I appreciate Senator Mike Oliverio. He's here. Mike I think did the country a great service when he worked on behalf of Judge Sam Alito to get him approved by the United States Senate. I appreciate your – I want to thank you for that, Mike. (Applause.) I want to thank – Mike said, don't hold it against me, I'm a Democrat. I said, Mike, what we – first and foremost, we're all Americans. (Applause.)

I thank Chris Wakim. He also was out at the airport. It's a little chilly for you all standing out there without your overcoats on, but it's all right. Thanks for being here, Chris. Thanks to all the members of the statehouse and local officials who've joined us today. Thank you for serving your state and your community.

I want to thank John Anderson and Janis LaFont. They're from the – Valley National Gases employees. They presented me with a check for \$100,000 for the Katrina Relief Fund. They represent – (applause.) I

want to thank you all for doing, and I want to thank the folks you work with for doing that.

It's an amazing country, isn't it, when you think about it, that folks right here in this part of West Virginia care enough about folks in the southern part of our country that they would take some of their hard-earned money and contribute to a relief fund so people can get their lives back together. It means a lot to the people in Louisiana and Mississippi to know that there is love and compassion for their – and concern for their lives here in West Virginia.

Ours is an incredible nation. And you're going to hear me talk about our military. And if you ask questions about the economy, you'll hear me talk about our economy. But I want to remind everybody that the true strength of America lies in the hearts and souls of our citizens. That's where America is its greatest. And I appreciate you representing that. (Applause.)

I met a woman named Kristen Holloway at the airport. Kristen, where are you? There you go. Gosh, you thought you had a better seat, but nevertheless – (laughter.) She came out to say hello. I had a chance to thank her for her being the founder of Operation Troop Appreciation. She has decided to support those who wear our uniform in any way she can. Listen, I understand war is controversial, and I'm going to talk about the war. But America has got to appreciate what it means to wear the uniform today, and honor those who have volunteered to keep this country strong. (Applause.)

It doesn't matter whether – it doesn't matter whether you agree with my decision, or not. But all of us should agree with the fact that we have a remarkable country, when people who know that they're going to be sent into harm's way raise their hand and say, I volunteer to serve. And no state has presented – had more people volunteering to serve than the great state of West Virginia. (Applause.) Now, they'll say, maybe some states have more people, but they got greater populations. But 75 percent of your National Guard has gone into harm's way. And we appreciate that service. And I want to thank those of you who wear the uniform for your service. I want to thank your loved ones for supporting those who wear the uniform. And I want you to hear loud and clear, the United States of America stands with you and appreciates what you're doing. (Applause.)

The enemy, a group of killers, struck us on September the 11th, 2001. They declared war on the United States of America. And I want to share some lessons about what took place on that day. First of all, I knew that the farther we got away from September the 11th, 2001, the more likely it would be that some would forget the lessons of that day. And that's okay. That's okay, because the job of those of us who have been entrusted to protect you and defend you is really to do so in such a way that you feel comfortable about going about your life, see. And it's fine that people forget the lessons. But one of my jobs is to constantly remind people of the lessons.

The first lesson is, is that oceans can no longer protect us. You know, when I was coming up in the '50s in Midland, Texas, it seemed like we were pretty safe. In the '60s it seemed like we were safe. In other words, conflicts were happening overseas, but we were in pretty good shape here at home. And all that was shattered on that day when cold-blooded killers hijacked airplanes, flew them into buildings and the Pentagon, and killed 3,000 of our citizens. In other words, they declared war, and we have got to take their declaration of war seriously. The most important responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief and those who wear the uniform and those who are elected to public office is to defend the citizens of this country. That is our most vital and important responsibility. I have never forgotten that, from September the 11th on. It's just been a part of my daily existence.

Secondly, the best way to defend America is to stay on the offense. The best way to protect you is to rally all the strength of national government – intelligence and military and law enforcement and financial strength – to stay on the offense against an enemy that I believe wants to hurt us again. And that means find them where they hide, and keep the pressure on, and never relent, and understand that you can't negotiate with these folks, there is no compromise, there is no middle ground. And so that's exactly what we're doing.

And there's some unbelievably brave troops and intelligence officers working around the clock to keep an enemy that would like to strike us again on the move, and to bring them to justice. And we're making progress about dismantling al Qaeda. Al Qaeda, after all, was the enemy that launched the attacks.

The second part of a lesson that we must never forget is the enemy, in that they're not a nation state – in other words, they don't represent a nation state like armies and navies used to do – need safe haven. They need places to hide so they can plan and plot. And they found safe haven, as you all know, in Afghanistan. And they were supported by a government that supports their point of view, which is a government that

absolutely can't stand freedom. That was the Taliban. If you were a young girl growing up under the auspices of the Taliban, you didn't have a chance to succeed. You couldn't go to school. If you dissented in the public square, you'd be in trouble. If you didn't agree with their dark vision, whether it be religion or politics, you were in trouble. In other words, they can't — they couldn't stand this concept of a free society — and neither can al Qaeda. See, we're dealing with ideologues. They have an ideology.

Now, I understand some say, well, maybe they're just isolated kind of people that are angry and took out their anger with an attack. That's not how I view them. I view them as people that believe in something; they have an ideological base. They subverted a great religion to meet their needs, and they need places to hide. And that's why I said early on in the war that if you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist, understanding the nature of the enemy, and understanding they need safe haven. In order to protect ourselves, we must deny them safe haven.

By the way, if the President says something he better mean it, for the sake of peace. In other words, you want your President out there making sure that his words are credible. And so I said to the Taliban, get rid of al Qaeda, or face serious consequences. They didn't, and they faced serious consequences, and we liberated Afghanistan. We removed the Taliban from power. We denied al Qaeda safe haven. And that young country, that young democracy is now beginning to grow; 25 million people are liberated as a result of the United States defending itself. And that's important for us to realize, that not only are we defending ourselves, but in this instance, we've given chance to people to realize the beauties of freedom.

An interesting debate in the world is whether or not freedom is universal, see, whether or not — people say, there's old Bush imposing his values. See, I believe freedom is universal. I believe liberty is a universal thought. It's not an American thought, it is a universal thought. And if you believe that, then you ought to take great comfort and joy in helping others realize the benefits of liberty. The way I put it is, there is an Almighty God. One of the greatest gifts of that Almighty God is the desire for people to be free, is freedom. And therefore — (applause) — and therefore, this country and the world ought to say, how can we help you remain free? What can we do to help you realize the blessings of liberty?

Remember, as we debate these issues — and it's important to have a debate in our democracy, and I welcome the debate — but remember, we were founded on the natural rights of men and women. That speaks to the universality of liberty. And we must never forget the origin of our own founding, as we look around the world.

Afghanistan — I went there with Laura. We had a good visit with President Karzai. I like him — good man. You can imagine what it's like to try to rebuild a country that had been occupied and then traumatized by the Taliban. They're coming around. They got elections. They had assembly elections. He, himself, was elected. We expect them to honor the universal principle of freedom. I'm troubled when I hear — deeply troubled when I hear the fact that a person who has converted away from Islam may be held to account. That's not the universal application of the values that I talked about. Look forward to working with the government of that country to make sure that people are protected in their capacity to worship.

There's still a Taliban element trying to come and hurt people. But the good news is, not only do we have great U.S. troops there, but NATO is now involved. One of my jobs is to continue to make sure that people understand the benefits of a free society emerging in a neighborhood that needs freedom. And so I'm pleased with the progress, but I fully understand there's a lot more work to be done.

Another lesson of September the 11th, and an important lesson that really does relate to the topic I want to discuss, which is Iraq, is that when you see a threat now, you got to take it seriously. That's the lesson of September the 11th — another lesson of September the 11th. When you see a threat emerging, you just can't hope it goes away. If the job of the President is to protect the American people, my job then is to see threats and deal with them before they fully materialize, before they come to hurt us, before they come and strike America again.

And I saw a threat in Iraq. I'll tell you why I saw a threat. And by the way, it just wasn't me. Members of the United States Congress in both political parties saw a threat. My predecessor saw a threat. I mean, my predecessor saw a threat and got the Congress actually to vote a resolution that said, we're for regime change. That's prior to my arrival. The world saw a threat. You might remember I went to the United Nations Security Council; on the 15-to-nothing vote, we passed Resolution 1441 that said to Saddam Hussein, disclose, disarm or face serious consequences. We saw a threat.

I'll tell you why I saw a threat. I saw a threat because, one, he'd been on the state — he was a state sponsor

of terror. In other words, our government — not when I was President, prior to my presidency — declared Saddam Hussein to be a state sponsor of terror. Secondly, I know for a fact he had used weapons of mass destruction. Now, I thought he had weapons of mass destruction; members of Congress thought he had weapons of mass destruction; the world thought he had weapons of mass destruction. That's why those nations voted in the Security Council. I'm finding out what went wrong. In other words, one of the things you better make sure of when you're the President, you're getting good intelligence, and, obviously, the intelligence broke down. But he had that capacity to make weapons of mass destruction, as well. He had not only murdered his own people, but he had used weapons of mass destruction on his own people.

That's what we knew prior to the decision I made. He also was firing on our aircraft. They were enforcing a no-fly zone, United Nations no-fly zone, the world had spoken, and he had taken shots at British and U.S. pilots. He'd invaded his neighborhood. This guy was a threat. And so the world spoke. And the way I viewed it was that it was Saddam Hussein's choice to disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences. And he made the choice, and then I was confronted with a choice. And I made my choice. And the world is better off without Saddam Hussein in power. (Applause.)

The biggest threat America faces is that moment when terror and weapons of mass destruction come together. And if we ever suspect that's happening, we got to deal with that threat seriously. Committing our troops into harm's way is the most difficult decision a President can make. I'm going to meet with some — two families of those who lost a loved one. It's my duty to do so. I'm looking forward to being able to hug them, weep with them. And so for anybody out there in West Virginia who thinks it's easy to commit troops — it's hard. It's the last option of the President, not the first option. The first option is to deal with things diplomatically; is to rally the world, to send a clear message that the behavior, in this case, of Saddam Hussein was intolerable. And we did that.

Now the fundamental question is: Can we win in Iraq? And that's what I want to talk about. First of all, you got to understand that I fully understand there is deep concern among the American people about whether or not we can win. And I can understand why people are concerned. And they're concerned because the enemy has got the capacity to affect our thinking. This is an enemy who will kill innocent people in order to achieve an objective. And Americans are decent, honorable people, they care. We care about human life. We care about human dignity. We value life. We value the life of our own citizens, and we value the life of other citizens. And so it's easy for an enemy that is willing to kill innocent people to affect us.

The enemy has told us their objectives in Iraq. And I think it's important for the Commander-in-Chief to take the words of the enemy very seriously. They have said that they want to spread their philosophy to other parts of the Middle East. They have said that. They have said they want to attack us again. They believe that democracies are soft, that it's just a matter of time for the United States to lose our will and create a vacuum in Iraq so they can use their terror techniques and their willingness to kill to develop a safe haven from which to launch attacks. That's what the enemy has said. This is — I hope the citizens of this country understand that we have intercepted documents and we put them out for people to see. I take the words very seriously.

Iraq is a part of the global war on terror. In other words, it's a global war. We're dealing with a group of folks that want to spread an ideology, and they see a problem developing in Iraq, and so they're heading into Iraq to fight us, because they can't stand the thought of democracy. Democracy trumps their ideology every time. Freedom and democracy represent hope; their point of view represents despair. Freedom represents life and the chance for people to realize their dreams; their philosophy says, you do it my way or else. And so they're trying to fight us in Iraq.

And we have a strategy for victory in Iraq. It's a three-pronged strategy, starting with — it's politics, it is a — it's security, and it's economy. On politics, was to get the people to the polls to see if they even cared about democracy, give them a chance to vote, see what the people thought. And you might remember the elections — it probably seems like an eternity. It was just a year ago that they started voting — a little more than a year, in January of last year. And the first election round came off okay, but the Sunnis didn't participate. They were a little disgruntled with life there. They liked their privileged status and they were boycotting the elections. Then they wrote a constitution, which is a good constitution. It's a progressive constitution for that part of the world. More people came out to vote than last December. About 75 percent of the eligible voters said, I want to be free; I want democracy; I don't care what Mr. Zarqawi and his al Qaeda killers are trying to do to me, I'm going to defy them, and go to the polls.

And the people have spoken. And now it's time for a government to get stood up. There's time for the elected representatives — or those who represent the voters, the political parties, to come together and form

a unity government. That's what the people want; otherwise they wouldn't have gone to the polls, would they have?

I spoke to our Ambassador today, and General Casey, via video conferencing, and we talked about the need to make it clear to the Iraqis, it's time; it's time to get a government in place that can start leading this nation and listening to the will of the people. It's a little hard. You can imagine what it's like coming out of the – having been ruled by a tyrant. People are – when you spoke out before, no telling what was going to happen to you. It generally wasn't good. And now people are beginning to realize democracy has taken hold.

By the way, if you look at our own history, it was a little bumpy on our road, too. You might remember the Articles of Confederation. They didn't work too well. It took us a while from the moment of our revolution to get our Constitution written, the one that we now live by.

The second part is to help people with their economy. And we had to change our strategy there. We first went in there and said, let's build some big plants. The problem was the big plants served as big targets for those who are disgruntled, the terrorists who are going into Iraq to use it as a safe haven, plus some of their allies, the Saddamists. These were Saddam's inner-circle buddies and stuff like that that had received special privileges. They weren't happy that they were no longer in privileged status. And so they were destroying some of the infrastructure we were building. So we changed our strategy and said, look, why don't we go with smaller projects, particularly in the provinces, so people can begin to see the benefits of what it means to have a democracy unfold.

And the third aspect is security. When we got in there, it became apparent to our troops on the ground that we had a lot of training to do. We had to really rebuild an army to make sure that people had the skills necessary to be able to fight off those who want to stop the march of democracy. First we trained the army for threats from outside the country. But we realized the true threats were inside the country, whether it be the Saddamists, some Sunni rejectionists, or al Qaeda that was in there torturing and killing and maiming in order to get their way.

And we're making progress when it comes to training the troops. More and more Iraqis are taking the fight. Right after the bombing of the Golden Mosque, for example, is an interesting indication as to whether or not the Iraqi troops are getting better.

The enemy can't defeat us militarily, by the way. They can't beat us on the field of battle. But the only thing they can do is they can either try to stop democracy from moving – they failed on that. Last year, they failed. Their stated objective was just not to let democracy get going, and they flunked the test. Now they're trying to foment a civil war. See, that's the only way they can win. And they blew up the mosque. And there was some awful violence, some reprisals taking place. And I can understand people saying, man, it's all going to – it's not working out. But the security forces did a pretty good job of keeping people apart.

In other words, it was a test. It was a test for the security forces, and it was a test for the Iraqi government. The way I like to put it is they looked into the abyss as to whether or not they want a civil war or not, and chose not to. That's not to say we don't have more work to do, and we do – (applause.) But it's important for me to continue – look, I'm an optimistic guy. I believe we'll succeed. Let me tell you this – put it to you this way: If I didn't think we'd succeed, I'd pull out troops out. I cannot look mothers and dads in the eye – (applause) – I can't ask this good Marine to go into harm's way if I didn't believe, one, we're going to succeed; and, two, it's necessary for the security of the United States. (Applause.)

And it's tough fighting. It's tough fighting, because we got an enemy that's just cold-blooded. They can't beat us militarily, but they can try to shake our will. See, remember, I told you, they have said that it's just a matter of time, just a matter of time before the United States loses its nerve. I believe we're doing the right thing, and we're not going to retreat in the face of thugs and assassins. (Applause.) Thank you.

It's the Iraqis' fight. Ultimately, the Iraqis are going to have to determine their future. They made their decision politically; they voted. And these troops that we're training are going to have to stand up and defend their democracy. We got work, by the way, in '06 to make sure the police are trained as adequately as the military, the army. It's their choice to make. And I like to put it this way: As they stand up, we'll stand down.

But I want to say something to you about troop levels, and I know that's something that people are talking about in Washington a lot. I'm going to make up my mind based upon the advice of the United States military that's in Iraq. I'll be making up my mind about the troop levels based upon recommendations of those who are on the ground. I'm going to make up my mind based upon achieving a victory, not based

upon polls, focus groups or election-year politics. (Applause.)

I talked about a city named Tal Afar the other day in a speech I gave in Cleveland. Just real quick, it's an important place. It's a place where — close to the Syrian border, where al Qaeda was moving the terrorists from outside the country inside the country, trying to achieve their objective. And right after we removed Saddam Hussein, they started moving in. And I cannot describe to you how awful these people treat the citizens there. I mean, they are — I told a story about a young boy who was maimed, taken to a hospital, was pulled out of the hospital, was killed by the terrorists. His dad went to retrieve him on the side of the road and they put a bomb underneath him and blew up the family. I mean, Americans cannot understand the nature — how brutal these people are. It's shocking what they will do to try to achieve their objectives.

But it really shouldn't shock us when you think about what they did on September the 11th. It's the same folks, same attitude, same frame of mind. But they're able to lock down cities, particularly those that are worried about their security, and so they basically took control of Tal Afar. So our troops went in with Iraqis and cleaned it out. The problem — oh, not through yet. (Laughter.) A little early on the clap. (Laughter.) The problem was, we continued to pursue the enemy, and they moved back in, these killers and murderers moved back in, and just created a mess. I mean, they — I said in my speech, they mortared children in a playground, they recruited young kids, abused them, violated them. There's one boy in particular who told our guys, once the city eventually got liberated, his dream was to behead somebody with a — anyway, we started working with the local folks again. This time, though, we had trained more Iraqi army ready to go.

And the difference in the story between the first time we liberated Tal Afar from them and the recent liberation was that the Iraqis were in the lead. And not only were they in the lead, they stayed behind after we left. So our troops are chasing high-value targets and training, and capable Iraqi forces are providing security. And so the day of terror began to change when they saw capable forces and a new mayor and police forces.

I mean, this is — it's hard to put ourselves in the shoes of the folks in this town that had been traumatized. But the strategy of clear, hold and build, began to create a sense of confidence. And what's interesting is, I can say that — I got one datapoint that I can share with you — the vote in the January '05 election was the second-lowest vote in the — as percentage of voting population, in the country, and the last vote, 85 percent of the eligible voters voted. In other words, people had a sense of security and hope.

A free Iraq is important for the United States of America. It was important to remove a threat; it was important to deal with threats before they fully materialized; but a free Iraq also does some other things. One, it serves as an amazing example — it will serve as an amazing example for people who are desperate for freedom.

You know, this is, I guess, quite a controversial subject, I readily concede, as to whether or not the United States ought to try to promote freedom in the broader Middle East. Our foreign policy before was just kind of, if the waters look calm, great. Problem is, beneath the surface was resentment brewing, and people were able to take advantage of that, these totalitarians, like al Qaeda. So I changed our foreign policy. I said, freedom is universal; history has proven democracies do not fight each other, democracies can yield peace we want, so let's advance freedom. And that's what's happening. (Applause.)

It's a big idea, but it's an old idea. It's worked in the past. I strongly believe that by promoting liberty we're not only protecting ourselves, but we're laying the foundation of peace for a generation to come. And I'll tell you why I believe that — and then I'll answer questions. Thank goodness Laura isn't here, she'd be giving me the hook.

Two examples that I use that are obviously — well, I'm living one example, and that is my relationship with the Prime Minister of Japan. He is one of my best buddies — I don't know if you're supposed to call them "buddies" in diplomacy — one of my best buddies in working to keep the peace. I find that a really interesting statement to say to you, knowing my own family's history — 18-year-old — my dad, when he was 18, went to fight the Japanese. I think it's really one of the interesting twists of history that I stand here in West Virginia saying to you that Prime Minister Koizumi and I talk about ways to keep the peace, ways to deal with North Korea, he's helping in Iraq, ways to deal with other issues. And 60 years prior to that, when the country called, George H. W. said, I want to go, just like, I'm sure, relatives of you all. And Japan was a sworn enemy. And there was a lot of bloodshed in order to — remember, they attacked us, too. And yet, today, the President says, we're working to keep the peace. And what happened? It's an interesting lesson that I hope people remember. Something happened. What happened was, Japan adopted a Japanese-style democracy.

I believe freedom and liberty can change enemies into allies. I believe freedom has the power to transform societies. It's not easy work, it's difficult work. But we've seen history before. I know you've got relatives who were in World War II. On that continent, hundreds of thousands of Americans lost their lives in two world wars during the 1900s. And yet today, Europe is whole, free and at peace. What happened? Democracies don't war. And so part of my decision-making that I'm trying to explain to you today about war, about what you're seeing on your TV screens, about the anxiety that a lot of our citizens feel, is based upon, one, the need to protect the American people, and my deep reservoir of commitment to doing what it takes – to look at the world realistically, to understand we're in a global war against a serious enemy.

But also my thinking is based upon some universal values and my belief that history can repeat itself, and that freedom and liberty has a chance to lay a foundation of peace so that maybe 40 years from now, somebody is speaking here in West Virginia saying, you know, a bunch of folks were given a challenge and a task, and that generation didn't lose faith in the capacity of freedom to change, and today, I'm able to sit down with the duly elected leaders of democracy in the Middle East, keeping the peace for the next generation to come. (Applause.)

That's what I've come to talk to you about, and that's what's on my mind. And now I'll be glad to answer any questions you got.

Yes, sir. First man up.

Q – (inaudible) –

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, sir. (Applause.) I'll be glad to answer any question on any subject, but always appreciate a good editorial. (Laughter.)

Yes, sir. Hold on for a second. We're going to do it little more orderly here. Right here. Right there. Yes, there you go. Get moving on the mike, please. (Laughter.) Generally what happens if they don't have a mike, the guy yells the question, and I just answer whatever I want to answer. (Laughter.)

Q Mr. President, I have a son that's special forces in Iraq. And I have another son – (applause.) I have another son that's in the Army. He left college to join the Army. He's out in Hawaii. He's got the good duty right now. (Laughter.) But I thank God that you're our Commander-in-Chief. And I wouldn't want my boys – (applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, thanks.

Q Again, I thank God you're our Commander-in-Chief. You're a man for our times. And I'm supporter of yours. And I think it's good that you come out and tell your story. And I think you need to keep doing more of it, and tell the story and the history of all this. And God bless you. And I thank you for your service.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I appreciate you saying that. (Applause.) A couple of points. First, you tell your kids thanks. The good news is, for moms and dads and husbands and wives and children, that, in spite of the debate you're seeing in Washington, that there is a commitment to support our troops when we – when they're in harm's way. There may be an argument about tactics and whether or not we should have done it in the first place; I understand that. But the Congress has stood up, and that's what the Congress should do. And take comfort, please, sir, in knowing that the debates that you're seeing will not lessen our government's support for making sure the people are well-trained, well-paid, well-equipped, well-housed. We owe that. And I'm pleased with the congressional response to supporting troops.

Second, you can email them. It's an interesting war we have where moms and dads and wives and husbands are in touch with their loved ones by email. It's really interesting.

And I want to thank you very much for saying what you said. I am – as I said, I'm Educator-in-Chief, and I'm going to spend a lot of time answering questions and just explaining – explaining to people as clearly as I can about why I made decisions I made and why it is important for us to succeed.

And, again, I understand debate. I understand there's differences of opinion, and we should welcome that in America. People should never fear a difference of opinion, particularly on big matters. And war is a big matter, war and peace. And it's healthy for our country for people to be debating, so long as we don't send the wrong signals to our troops; so long as they don't think that we're not behind them; and so long as we don't send mixed signals to the enemy. The enemy believes that we will weaken and lose our nerve. And I

just got to tell you, I'm not weak and I'm not going to lose my nerve. I strongly believe that we're doing the right thing. (Applause.)

Do you want to say something, Joe? How about the Governor? Make it easy.

GOVERNOR MANCHIN: – (inaudible) –

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I appreciate it.

Joe talked to me about how do we use the natural resources of the state of West Virginia in such ways to become less dependent on oil. (Applause.) Now, let me talk about that, starting with coal gasification leading to coal liquification. I appreciate the subject.

I know it shocked some of you, I know it shocked some of you when I stood up in the State of the Union and said, we got a problem, we're addicted to oil. Texas, you know, the whole thing. (Laughter.) I'll tell you why I said it. I'll tell you why I said it. One, because when the demand for fossil fuels goes up, for non-renewable resources goes up in other parts of the world, it affects the gasoline price here at home. When somebody else's economy starts to boom and they start using more fossil fuel, it affects your price, too. It's important for people to understand. And there are some new economies emerging that are growing – and that need and use – that are using a lot of hydrocarbons.

Secondly, we get oil from parts of the world that don't like us, is the best way to put it, which creates a national security issue. And, therefore, it is in our economic interest and national interest that we get off of our addiction to oil. We import about 60-something percent of our oil from overseas. What Joe is talking about is a different use of resources to help us achieve that objective.

First thing is, we got a lot of coal, a 250-year supply of coal, which helps us on our electricity. And we're spending a lot of money on clean coal technology. The whole idea is to use taxpayers' money to develop a technology that will enable us to have zero-emission plants, which will help us achieve an environmental objective, as well as an energy independence objective.

Joe is talking about spending research money on the gasification of coal, which then will lead to the liquification – in other words, we're able to develop a product that way. And I believe we ought to attack this issue on all fronts, on a variety of fronts. I know we ought to use nuclear power. It is a renewable source of energy that has got zero greenhouse gas effect.

And by the way, I went to a plant that's making solar panels, photovoltaic cells – not bad for a history major. (Laughter.) Technologies are coming. And to me, it makes sense to work with Congress to spend money on new technologies aiming for a national objective.

The place where we're really going to effect reliance upon oil is changing our automobile – how automobiles are powered. One is battery – technologies are coming around. One of these days, I am told, that if we continue stay focused in research, you're going to be able to have a pretty good-sized vehicle, plug it in, and will be able to drive 40 miles before you need to use any gasoline in your engine. Now, that's not going to help some of you rural folks in West Virginia or Texas, but it's going to help urban people who generally tend not to drive more than 40 miles a day. But imagine if we're able to have battery power where you plug your battery into – when the electricity is down, low usage at night, and they drive 40 miles. That will save – that will reduce demand for gasoline, which reduces demand for crude oil.

Secondly, we're going to be able to drive our cars based upon – with a sugar base, or a corn base, or sawgrass. I said that one day – what the heck is sawgrass? It's just grass. It just grows out there, and you bulk it for them. And the idea is to develop technology so that we're using more ethanol. It's happening in the Midwest, by the way. They've got what they call E85, that's 85 percent ethanol that's powering automobiles now. A whole new industry is beginning to grow. And the more we use alternative sources of energy, the less dependent we are on oil.

So Joe has been – Joe is always thinking, and he's a practical fellow, which is sometimes not the case in government. (Laughter.) But what he's saying is, can't we use our resources here, in a way, Mr. President, that helps you achieve a grand national objective, which is getting off Middle Eastern oil? And the answer is, yes, we can. (Applause.)

Yes, you got a question? Are you in school?

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Good. Did you use me as an excuse to skip school?

Q Of course. (Laughter.) Mr. President, I was wondering actually how you felt about America's double standard on nuclear energy, as far as countries like Iran, India, and Israel go?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I appreciate that. I may ask you to clarify your question of "double standard."

Q Well, how we don't allow Iran to have nuclear energy, yet we're supporting India.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, no, I got it, good, good, good.

Q And Israel's nuclear weapons --

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't -- I wouldn't necessarily -- well, first of all, let me explain the policy and then you can draw whatever conclusion you want. First of all, it's in our interests that India use nuclear power to power their economic growth because, as I told you, there is a global connection between demand for fossil fuels elsewhere and price here. And so I went to India and I said -- actually, it's a very sophisticated question, by the way -- but I said, we ought to encourage you to use nuclear power.

Now, the difficulty with that issue, and that Congress is going to have to deal with, is that India has heretofore been denied technologies from the United States because of previous decisions they made about nuclear weaponry. My attitude is that over 30 years they have proven themselves to be a nonproliferator, that they're a transparent democracy; it's in our interest that they develop nuclear power for -- to help their economy grow -- they need power and they need energy to do so -- and they're willing to go under the safeguards of the IAEA, which is an international forum to make sure that there are certain safeguards.

Iran -- the Iranians are a nontransparent society. They're certainly not a democracy. They are sponsors of terrorism. They have joined the IAEA, and yet we caught them cheating. In other words, they weren't upholding the agreements, and they started to try to enrich uranium in order to develop a weapons program. India is heading to the IAEA; the Iranians are ignoring IAEA.

And so to answer your question about potential conflict of civilian energy power, I have said that I support the Russian proposal that says the Iranians should have a civilian nuclear industry, however Russia and other suppliers would give them the enriched -- the product necessarily to power their industry and collect the spent fuel, but not enable the Iranians to learn how to enrich in order to develop a weapons programs. That's I think how -- hold on for a second -- oop, oop, oop. (Laughter.) That's how we addressed the inconsistency on the power side, apparent inconsistency.

However, in that the Iranians are nontransparent, in that they are hostile to the United States and hostile to allies, we've got to be very careful about not letting them develop a weapon. And so we're now dealing with this issue diplomatically by having the Germans and the French and the British send a clear message to the Iranians, with our strong backing, that you will not have the capacity to make a weapon, the know-how to make a weapon. Iran with a nuclear weapon is a threat, and it's dangerous, and we must not let them have a weapon. (Applause.)

Yes.

Q Sir, thank you for being in West Virginia. I'm the recruiting commander of the West Virginia Army National Guard. And there are a lot of National Guardsmen here with you in Wheeling today. West Virginians are a proud and very patriotic people. I'd like for you to share with us what you would say to a young person today who would like to join the National Guard, and maybe give some encouraging words in that respect.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, thanks -- kind of doing your job for you. All right. (Laughter and applause.) My statement to all Americans is serve your country one way or another. I -- and service can be done by wearing the uniform. Wearing the uniform is a fantastic way to say, I want to serve my country. A lot of people have chosen that way, and it's a rewarding experience to wear the uniform. If you want to go to college, it's a good way to gain some skills to help you in your education.

There are also other ways to serve. You can mentor a child and you're serving America. You can help the Katrina victims and you're serving America. You can be a Boy Scout troop leader and you're serving

America.

What's really interesting about our country -- and I said this early on -- is the notion of people coming together to serve a concept greater than themselves. It is -- I know it's not unique to America, but it certainly helps define our spirit. De Tocqueville, who's a French guy, came in 1832, and recognized -- and wrote back -- wrote a treatise about what it means to go to a country where people associate voluntarily to serve their communities. And he recognized that this -- one of the great strengths of America -- this is the 1830s -- it is still the strength of America. It is a vital part of our society and our communities, the idea of people volunteering to help a neighbor in need.

And one of my jobs is to honor people who are serving our country that way, and to call other people to service, as well. As you know, one of the interesting and at times controversial proposals was whether or not government should open up grant money for competitive bidding for faith-based organizations. I'm a big believer in providing grant money available for faith-based organizations, so long as the money doesn't go -- to be used to proselytize, but is used to help serve a purpose, like if your mother or dad is in prison, that it would help to go find a mentor for that child. Or if you're a drug addict, or got hooked on alcohol, that you could redeem the government help at a faith-based institution.

In other words, we in government ought to be asking the question, does the program work? And a lot of times, programs based upon faith do work, that it is -- there's nothing better than a faith-based program which exists to love a neighbor like you'd like to be loved yourself. (Applause.) And therefore, one of my jobs is to not only help recruit for the Guard, which -- put a plug in there for you, there you go -- but also to call other -- to call people to serve, to help change our society one person at a time. And it's happening. It's a remarkable part, I'm confident, of this community, just like it is all around the United States. And thanks for your question.

All right, yes, sir. Yes, the guy in the yellow hat. Give it to the guy on the aisle. Well, no, you're not a guy. (Laughter.) Right behind you, there you go.

Q President Bush, I'm a professional firefighter here in Wheeling, West Virginia.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, sir. (Applause.)

Q And back during 9/11, I lost over 300 of my brothers in New York. And I was glad that you were our President at that time and took the fight to the terrorists. But as I see you, I said earlier about the guy in Afghanistan that is going to convert to Christianity, he may get killed over there for doing that. Do you have an army of sociologists to go over there and change that country, or are you hoping that in a couple decades that we can change the mind-set over there?

THE PRESIDENT: I appreciate the question. It's a very legitimate question. We have got influence in Afghanistan and we are going to use it to remind them that there are universal values. It is deeply troubling that a country we helped liberate would hold a person to account because they chose a particular religion over another. And so we are -- we will make -- part of the messaging just happened here in Wheeling. I want to thank you for that question.

No, I think it's -- we can solve this problem by working closely with the government that we've got contacts with -- and will. We'll deal with this issue diplomatically and remind people that there is something as universal as being able to choose religion.

So thank you for the question. I understand your concerns. I share the same concerns.

I had a little guy back here. Yes, sir.

Q Do you like living in the White House?

THE PRESIDENT: Do I like living in the White House? (Applause.) Yes. That's a good, fair question. Your brother has got one, too. Do you want to back-to-back them?

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Well, I've been the President for five and a half years. I do like living in the White House. It's an interesting question -- for some practical reasons. I've got a 45-second commute to my office.

(Laughter.) The food is pretty good. (Laughter.) It is a – I've enjoyed every second of the presidency. That's probably hard – like my buddies come up from Texas; one of the things that Laura and I are most proud of – we're proud of a lot – we're most proud of our girls, but we're also very proud of the fact that we had friends prior to being in politics from Texas that will be our friends after we're in politics. (Applause.)

And they come up from Texas, and they're kind of looking at you like, man, are you okay? Yes – you know. (Laughter.) And I tell them, I say, you know, I can't tell you what an honor it is to do this job. They often ask, what's the job description? I say, making decisions. And I make a lot. Obviously, I'm trying to share with you – you may not agree with the decision, but at the very minimum, I want you to understand that I make my decisions based upon some principles I hold dear. In order to make decisions, you have to be enthusiastic about your job, you have to be optimistic about the future, and you have to stand for something. You can't be a President trying to search for what you believe in the midst of all the noise in Washington. (Applause.)

Yes, ma'am. Yes. No, right here. There you go.

Q Good afternoon, Mr. President. It is an honor to be here today. Thank you for coming. Greetings from Columbus, Ohio.

THE PRESIDENT: There you go. (Applause.)

Q My husband, who is sitting right here with me –

THE PRESIDENT: Actually, my grandfather was raised in Columbus, Ohio – not to change subjects, but –

Q That's okay, you can do whatever you want to do.

THE PRESIDENT: Prescott S. Bush. (Laughter.)

Q I have a comment, first of all, and then just a real quick question. I want to let you know that every service at our church you are, by name, lifted up in prayer, and you and your staff and all of our leaders. And we believe in you. We are behind you. And we cannot thank you enough for what you've done to shape our country. (Applause.)

This is my husband, who has returned from a 13-month tour in Tikrit.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes. Thank you. Welcome back. (Applause.)

Q His job while serving was as a broadcast journalist. And he has brought back several DVDs full of wonderful footage of reconstruction, of medical things going on. And I ask you this from the bottom of my heart, for a solution to this, because it seems that our major media networks don't want to portray the good. They just want to focus – (applause) –

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, hold on a second.

Q They just want to focus on another car bomb, or they just want to focus on some more bloodshed, or they just want to focus on how they don't agree with you and what you're doing, when they don't even probably know how you're doing what you're doing anyway. But what can we do to get that footage on CNN, on FOX, to get it on headline news, to get it on the local news? Because you can send it to the news people – and I'm sorry, I'm rambling – like I have –

THE PRESIDENT: So was I, though, for an hour. (Laughter.)

Q – can you use this, and it will just end up in a drawer, because it's good, it portrays the good. And if people could see that, if the American people could see it, there would never be another negative word about this conflict.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I appreciate that. (Applause.) No, it – that's why I come out and speak. I spoke in Cleveland, gave a press conference yesterday – spoke in Cleveland Monday, press conference, here today. I'm going to continue doing what I'm doing to try to make sure people can hear there's – why I make decisions, and as best as I can, explain why I'm optimistic we can succeed.

One of the things that we've got to value is the fact that we do have a media, free media, that's able to do

what they want to do. And I'm not going to – you're asking me to say something in front of all the cameras here. (Laughter.) Help over there, will you? (Laughter.)

I just got to keep talking. And one of the – there's word of mouth, there's blogs, there's Internet, there's all kinds of ways to communicate which is literally changing the way people are getting their information. And so if you're concerned, I would suggest that you reach out to some of the groups that are supporting the troops, that have got Internet sites, and just keep the word – keep the word moving. And that's one way to deal with an issue without suppressing a free press. We will never do that in America. I mean, the minute we start trying to suppress our press, we look like the Taliban. The minute we start telling people how to worship, we look like the Taliban. And we're not interested in that in America. We're the opposite. We believe in freedom. And we believe in freedom in all its forms. And obviously, I know you're frustrated with what you're seeing, but there are ways in this new kind of age, being able to communicate, that you'll be able to spread the message that you want to spread.

Thank you for your concerns, and thank you for your prayer. I want to tell you something interesting about the job of President, and, frankly, I didn't anticipate this part of the presidency, but it's an amazing part of my job to know that millions of people pray for me. It's a – (applause.) It really is. It's – think about that. Strangers stand up and say, in front of a couple thousand people, I'm praying for you. And it helps. And I appreciate it, and I want to thank you for your prayers. It helps do the job, it helps keep perspective.

Yes, sir.

Q I'm a senior at the local high school, Wheeling Park High School, and I just want to know what your views are on what type of America my generation will lead.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, interesting question. First, I hope that your generation will lead – no doubt, your generation will lead. Generations, when called, somehow find the courage to lead. That's step one. Two, I think you'll be dealing in a world in which you will be confronted with making values choices – for example, family, understanding that the family is an important aspect of society. Secondly, the choice of life. For example, you'll be confronted with a very difficult debate between science, on the one hand, and the hopes of science, and life. And it's – that debate is just beginning. In other words, do you destroy life to save life, for example, is one of the very difficult debates that your generation will be confronted with – to what extent does science trump morality, as some see it.

You'll be confronted, hopefully, with a world that has been able to be free enough so that this war that's going on now is – has kind of faded out. This war is not going to stop like that. It's not going to be like we'll have the signing ceremony somewhere. But it's a matter of marginalizing those who espouse violence and empowering those who love freedom.

You'll be confronted with a world in which – we're seeing a little bit of it now in America – whether or not we will be bold and confident in our economic policy to shape the future, or we'll be worried about competition and retreat within our borders. It's an interesting debate. My attitude is, as I said in the State of the Union, we cannot become an isolationist nation. But you'll be confronted with making that decision. If we're an isolationist nation, it means we'll just say, let them – don't worry about them over there, let them deal with it themselves. If it's an isolationist nation, we won't worry about HIV/AIDS on the continent of Africa, which we should worry about. See, I believe to whom much is given, much is required, and that we have an obligation not only to help our folks here at home, but also to help save lives elsewhere.

And you'll be confronted with that decision. You'll be confronted with the decision as to whether or not we can confidently compete against nations like India and China on the economic front. And it will be an interesting challenge. We're facing that challenge somewhat now, and in my judgment, this is the beginning of what will be a constant set of decisions that future generations are going to have to make.

You'll be confronted with privacy issues – privacy on the Internet, privacy in electronic medical records that I think ought to happen, in order to make sure we save costs in medicine. But you'll be confronted with making sure that these new technologies that we're going to use to help improve, for example, the information of medicine, that it doesn't encroach into your private business, into your life. That will be a confrontation that you'll have to deal with.

Anyway, you'll be confronted with some stuff. Hopefully, our job is to make sure you're confronted with less issues, like being hooked on oil. One of the issues that we're confronting with now that I hope you'll not have to confront with is jobs going elsewhere because our – because we don't have the math and science skills,

and engineering skills and physics skills that are taught to our children here. One of the really interesting challenges we have is to make sure not only the education of our children focuses on literacy, but there's literacy in math and science and physics and chemistry, where the jobs of the 21st century – the skills necessary for the jobs of the 21st century. Hopefully, we'll have dealt with that. Otherwise, you're going to be confronted with playing catch-up. And that's why it's important for us to get that job done.

You're going to be confronted with, unless we act now, a Social Security system and a Medicare system that's gone broke. (Applause.) I want to talk about that right quick, now I thought about it. No. (Laughter.) I think about it a lot because I see what's coming down the road – a lot of baby boomers like me, turning 60 this year. I'll be retirement age in two years, in 2008. (Laughter.) Kind of convenient, isn't it? (Laughter.) And there's a lot of me – people like me, a lot of people like me, a whole lot of baby boomers. That's one of those statistical facts that people got to pay attention to.

And interestingly enough, my generation has been promised more benefits than the previous generation. People are running for office saying, vote for me, I'm going to make sure this next generation gets a better deal than the previous generation. And because there was a lot of folks like me, being promised greater benefits, who are living longer – I don't know how plan – how other 60-year-olds, how long they plan to live – I plan on kind of stretching her out, you know. And there are fewer people paying in the system for beneficiary. And so we got a problem coming. The system is going to go broke. And I addressed the issue last year, and I'm going to address the issue again and again and again to call Congress to the table. (Applause.)

My strategy last time was to go around the country and explain the problem, on the belief that once the people heard there was a problem they would then demand their representatives do something about the problem. It didn't work. There was no legislation last year. So I got another idea, and that is I'm going – we're going to set up a group of members of Congress from both parties, both chambers, recognizing that nothing can get done on this issue unless it's a bipartisan issue – and say, now is the time. That's what we're here for. We have been elected to confront problems and deal with them. That's what the people expect. And they're tired, by the way, of all the politics in Washington, D.C. They expect people to come together, to sit down at the table, and to solve this problem so you don't have to deal with it. (Applause.)

All right, last question. Then I got to go back to work. This isn't work. Yes, go ahead. Hold on for a minute. Please. Like – I can't – okay, two questions. Who yelled the loudest? You did? All right, go ahead. Then you're – you're the last guy. You're next to last. You're last.

Q Mr. President, thank you again for coming. My question – I believe that one of our greatest resources is our self-sufficiency. And as you drive down the road, you'll see that our community is dying because of the importation of cheap steel. I'd like to know what your plans are to help alleviate this.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Well, as you know, right before – right after I got elected I put a 201 in place that – (applause) – that was our way of providing breathing space so that the firm could adjust. And I fully understand the problems that the steel mills are going through here. The Governor spending a lot of time briefing me on that, on the way in, as did Shelley Moore. And it's – obviously, it's going to require good energy policy – your plant can exist if it's got decent energy and reliable supplies at reasonable prices. Your plant can exist, if you've got reasonable health care costs. And that's why it's important for us to do a variety of measures to help reduce the cost of health care. I just mentioned one on information technology. Another is to get rid of these junk lawsuits that are running up the cost of medicine. (Applause.)

In order for you to be competitive, we got to make sure that products are treated fairly. As you know, I'm a free trader, but I also believe that people ought to treat the United States the way we treat them. If we're letting products coming in here, they ought to let our products in on the same basis. (Applause.) I believe that – I'm aware of the issue you brought up, and thank you bringing it up.

Yes, sir. Final guy. Got to head back home. I hope you understand. Otherwise we'd be here all day. Wouldn't mind being here all day, but I got something else to do. (Laughter.)

Let her go.

Q Mr. President, I want to say it's a privilege and a blessing to be here with you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

Q And thank you for having integrity since you've been in office, and character.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, sir. (Applause.)

Q I'm statewide field director for the campaign for Hiram Lewis for U.S. Senate. And as you close -- I appreciate what you had stated earlier about politicians. And as you close today, I did two years of volunteer work for the Republican Party while I worked a full-time job, and it paid off for me in this position now. And I see folks that are increasingly discouraged with the status quo, because the difference --

THE PRESIDENT: No campaign speeches.

Q No, sir, I'm not.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay.

Q My only question is, what would you say to those, whether Democrat or Republican, how could you encourage those that are dissatisfied with the status quo?

THE PRESIDENT: Right. No, I appreciate that. Look, it is really important for people to at least trust the decision-making process of those of us in public office. You may not agree with the decisions. You may not -- and look, I understand a lot of people don't agree, and that's fine, that's fine. But they've got to understand, at least in my case, that I'm making my decisions based upon what I think is right, and that making decisions that are the kind that I make, for example, got to be based upon a set of principles that won't change. People got to understand that.

When there's any doubt about the integrity of the public servant, like in Washington there has been recently, they got to clean up -- they got to work to clean it up. There's got to be lobby reform in this case. I mean, the truth of the matter is, a couple of members of the House of Representatives disgraced the process. A person took money in order to put things in appropriations bills. That's unacceptable in our democracy. And it needs to be dealt with in order to be able to earn the confidence of the people.

I worry about lack of voter participation. I'm concerned that people don't participate at the ballot box. And it is something that we've all got to work on, because democracy is -- really depends upon the participation of our citizenry. It's really important for high school students. And one of the challenges you'll face is whether or not our democracy is able to continue to get people to say, I can make a difference in the ballot box.

And so, to answer your question, integrity is a central part of the process. Integrity in decision-making, integrity in how we deal with the people's money, integrity of -- and part of a system based upon integrity is one that deals with, like in this case, unethical behavior, very quickly, with certainty, so that people have got confidence in the system.

I appreciate you working in the process. I want to thank you for your question. I wish I could stay longer to answer your questions. I can't, I got to go back to D.C. I'm not necessarily saying I'm rather be in D.C. than here; I'd rather be here than there. But nevertheless, that's what my life dictates. God bless you all. (Applause.)

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President George W. Bush

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February 3, 2006

President Participates in American Competitiveness Panel in New Mexico

Intel New Mexico
Rio Rancho, New Mexico

American Competitiveness Initiative
In Focus: Jobs and Economy

President's Remarks
view

9:10 A.M. MST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. Thanks for the warm welcome. Thanks for the Mexican food last night, Pete. (Laughter.) I hope you picked up the tab. (Laughter.) Laura and I are thrilled to be here. This is going to be an interesting discussion. What you'll watch is a way to talk about how to put good policy in place, not only through my voice, but through the voices of many who are living exactly the strategy that we want to implement for the rest of the country.

So, first of all, I want to welcome my wife, Laura. We don't get to travel that much —

MRS. BUSH: Together.

THE PRESIDENT: Together. (Applause.) We both we're raised in West Texas, and occasionally slipped across the border to go in New Mexico. And every time we did we were better for it. (Laughter.) It's a great state.

Do you want to have a few words?

MRS. BUSH: Well, I'm going to just speak and, as they say in the political business, step off the message a little bit. George is going to be talking today about what we can do to make sure our children are educated and our economy is competitive. But I also just want to remind everyone that earlier this week, he signed a proclamation to make February American Heart Month. And a lot of people are wearing their red tie or their red dress. I'm wearing my Red Dress pin today to remind the American people that heart disease is the number one killer, it's the number one killer among women in the United States.

A lot of women don't know that, and if they start to suffer the signs of a heart attack or the symptoms of a heart attack, they wait. They don't go to the emergency room like they might rush their husbands to the emergency room, but they don't go themselves as fast.

So I want to encourage Americans to remember that heart disease is the number one killer, to talk to people about all the ways we can prevent heart disease through exercise, healthy eating, not smoking, seeing your doctor on a regular basis so you can find out if you have any early signs of heart disease.

The other thing that fits into the message that George is going to talk about is, we know that if our children have the chance to study more math and science, we'll have even more doctors, we can produce even more doctors, and many, many more medical breakthroughs.

So, remember that February is National Heart Month, and take good care of your heart. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Before we get started, I do want to recognize some folks. Obviously, Senator Domenici is here. I know you are very proud of his service in the United States Senate. What a good man he is. (Applause.) And with him is Senator Bingaman, who is also doing a fine job.

What happened the other day was, I got a phone call from Domenici, and generally when someone of that — with that much power calls you, you say, "Yes, sir, Mr. Senator." (Laughter.) And he said, I want to come by and I want to bring Jeff Bingaman with me and Senator Alexander. And I said, fine, come on over. And they come over the Oval Office and sit down and say, look, at your State of the Union, we want you to seriously consider announcing an agenda that we think is important to make this country competitive. And I said, I'll

consider it. One of the things you want to do when you're the President is kind of keep your cards close to your vest. (Laughter.) I said, "I'll give that serious consideration, Senator."

But I knew prior to him coming in that he had looked at the same report I had seen, which is called the Augustine Report. Craig Barrett, who I'm going to talk about here in a second, was on that committee. Chuck Vest – I don't know if Chuck is with us, or not. We had dinner with Chuck last night, as well as Augustine – Norm Augustine, himself. But they're a group of distinguished citizens and scholars and businesspeople who started looking out beyond the immediate and asking the question, what does America need to do to remain the preeminent economy in the world so our people can have a good life? And they made some suggestions. And Jeff and Pete looked at it, fine-tuned it, brought me some ideas. And at the State of the Union, I talked about how to keep this country strong.

And want to give credit to the Senators. I also want to give credit to the Senators after they get the deal done, too, see. (Laughter.) And so I want to thank both Senators for being here.

I also want to thank the Congressman from this district, Tom Udall. Thank you, Mr. Congressman, for joining us. Proud you're here. (Applause.) Two other Congresspeople – Heather Wilson – thank you for coming, Heather, appreciate you. And Steve Pearce from eastern New Mexico. (Applause.)

Is it Hobbs? Yes, Hobbs, that's right. (Laughter.) Flying Eagles. That's the name of the basketball team. I do want to thank the Mayor, Jim Owen. Mr. Mayor, thank you for being here. I appreciate you coming. You're kind to take time out of your day. (Applause.)

Before I talk about the Intel family, I do want to recognize the Vice President of the Navajo Nation, and his wife, Virginia – and that would be Frank Dayish. Frank is here. Good to see you again, Frank. (Applause.) The reason I want to bring up Frank and Virginia is that their daughter, Staff Sergeant Felissa Dayish, is with us. She has been to Iraq twice. Thank you for serving. God bless. (Applause.) I remember the pride that Frank had when he described his daughter's service to me. And I know you're doubly proud, Frank. Thanks for being here – proud you're here.

And finally, the Governor of the great state of New Mexico has joined us, Governor Bill Richardson. Governor, thank you for being here. Good to see you. (Applause.) I appreciate you coming. I know you're proud of the Intel facility and the Intel family, as you should be.

One of the things we're going to talk about is the importance of research and development and technology. And the people here in this part of the world understand that when you have a research and development facility that promotes modern technology, it improves the quality of the life of the community in which the facility exists. And that has been, really, Craig Barrett's credo as the CEO of this company. He wants to provide a product that people want to buy, obviously – otherwise, you're not going to be in business. (Laughter.)

But he also understands in something called corporate responsibility. It's in his interest that there be corporate responsibility in Intel. In other words, Intel can only be strong if it has a workforce that's capable of making sure this company is competitive in a global economy. And so I really want to say thanks to Craig and all the employees here for doing the following things – besides making a good product and providing jobs – to provide people from this company to teach in local schools.

And if corporate CEO is paying attention to this little seminar, I strongly urge you to follow the Intel example of making employees available to make sure math and science becomes an important part of the curriculum of the local schools. They provide internships for young students here to encourage them to become involved with math and science. They help train teachers. And we're going to talk a little bit about teacher training. And then they provide scholarships.

And so for those of you who work here, thanks for being such – so generous with your knowledge and your talent. And, Craig, thanks for having us. It's not easy to host the President here. It kind of disrupts – (laughter) – disrupt – yes, I know. (Laughter.)

A couple of points I want to make, and the reason why this subject is relevant, first, we've got a strong economy. Today you're going to see that in January we added 193,000 new jobs, 81,000 new jobs – extra jobs were added as a result of upgrading the November and December numbers. And we got steady growth. And that's important. We want our people working. We want people to be able to realize opportunity and hope. And in order to do that you got to have a growing economy, obviously.

And we've overcome a lot. I really ascribe that to mainly the entrepreneurial spirit of America is strong, the small business sector is strong. I do happen to think good tax policy helped. I think keeping taxes low is an important way to make sure this economy continues to grow. (Applause.)

But what's interesting about the numbers is that beneath that there's a certain amount of uncertainty amongst some in America. Yes, we've got a lot of competition, and people begin to see an emerging China, and India, and that makes people uncertain. It creates certain anxiety when they hear the stories about India and China beginning to grow robustly, or jobs going to India and China, or India and China consuming a lot of natural resources.

Secondly, there's a lot of turnover in the job market. People are changing jobs, and that creates uncertainty. And during times of uncertainty, we're faced with certain choices. And there's a tendency throughout our history, our economic history and foreign policy history, to withdraw. Times of uncertainty sometimes encourage folks to say, well, why do we need to compete? Why don't we just come within ourselves? Why don't we protect ourselves off from the world? Why do we need to be trying to spread freedom when the world is a dangerous place? Why don't we just come home?

And I strongly reject that notion. And I want to explain to you why. First of all, with an enemy that lurks, if we were to withdraw it would only embolden the enemy and make this country less secure. If we were to withdraw from the world it would be a missed opportunity to lay the foundation of peace for generations to come by spreading liberty and freedom. See, part of my foreign policy is this: I believe that there is an Almighty and I believe that the Almighty's gift to everybody on the face of the Earth, regardless of where they live, regardless of their religion, is freedom. And I believe deep in everybody's soul is the deep desire to live in freedom. And I believe that this country, if it were to retreat, would miss an opportunity to help others realize their dream. And I also know that history has proven that free societies yield the peace that we all want.

Secondly, when it comes to competition, the world is going to be competitive whether we're in the mix, or not. For example, this competitive world is going to demand a job skill set that emphasizes math and science, which we'll talk about here in a second. And if our kids don't have the talents necessary to compete, those jobs won't go away, they'll just go to another country.

I mean, we're in a global competition. Here's my attitude: With the right policy we can compete with anybody, any time, anywhere. This has been the history of America, and it's going to be the future of America. We should not fear the future because we intend to shape it.

The American – this American economy leads the world, and we're going to continue to lead it. And here's how: good fiscal policy out of Washington, D.C.; making sure that this economy is flexible. In other words, when you say that, that means there's not a lot of rules and regulations that prohibit capital moving freely and people making investment.

We've got to have an energy policy that gets us off this dependence on Middle Eastern oil. I spent a lot of time on that before; I'm going to spend a little more time on it next week. But I'm going to tell you something – with research and development and technology, we can change the fuels we put in our cars, and we can become less dependent on unstable sources of energy overseas. And if we intend to be the leader of the world, we've got to do that. It's a goal that can be achieved and it's a goal that's necessary.

I've talked about health care – and will continue – in the past. I want to talk about trade real quick, and then we're going to talk about the education initiative. Our panelists are beginning to wonder – (laughter.) It's called a filibuster. (Laughter and applause.) First, let us talk about trade. The first sign that the country is becoming protectionist is when we refuse to ratify trade agreements. That's a sign. It's an indication that the elected officials are beginning to get worried about the capacity of this country to compete. It's hard to get trade agreements through Congress, and I'm worried that that is an indication that we're losing our confidence.

But if you're working at Intel, you better be for open trade, because 80 percent of the products this company makes are sold overseas. Yesterday we were at 3M in Minnesota. It's a great United States company, very much like Intel – 60 percent of the products they manufacture are overseas – sold overseas. We're 5 percent of the world's population, which means the rest of the 95 percent could be, and should be, customers to United States products, either grown or manufactured.

Now, the role of the government, it seems like to me, is to not only open up markets for our products, but at

the same time, say to our competitors and/or other markets, treat us the way we treat you. That's all we ask. In other words, level the playing field. It is very important if this country is to remain competitive that we do not lose our nerve, that we open up markets for our products, that we level the playing field – because nobody can out-compete us when the rules are fair.

Now, let me talk about education. That's kind of the – that's part of the cornerstone of making us competitive, shaping our destiny, refusing to lose our great desire to continue to lead. But perhaps the most important thing of all is to make sure that we lead the world in innovation and technological development, and make sure we have a workforce that has the skill sets necessary to do so. And that's really the heart of the American Competitive Initiative. And that's why we're here at Intel.

Again, I want to repeat to you, all the people who understand the connection between technology and jobs ought to be the people in this part of the world. I remember when this plant didn't exist – and neither did much of the neighborhood around it. I mean, one of the most exciting things that's happened to the Albuquerque area is the arrival of Intel – not only because it's provided good jobs, but the spinoff of those jobs, the small businesses that have occurred as a result of – when this amazing center of brilliance came here.

I want to talk about three things, and then we'll start visiting. Here's some things, practical things the government can do. First of all, the government can't do everything. The government is a partner. For those of you who think the government can solve all problems, this is not the way it works. Most problems are solved locally. First – one thing the government can do is to spend money on research. In other words, we can be a partner with enterprise.

Do you realize that the Internet came to be as a result of federal government research into basic sciences? In other words, research yields practical applications that improve people's lives – is what I'm trying to say. And so I proposed to Congress that we double basic research programs in physical sciences over the next 10 years. (Applause.)

They tell me that by doing so, we'll be the leader in nanotechnology research. I'm just beginning to understand what that means. (Laughter.) But the smart people tell you, if you're the leader in nanotechnology research you'll be the leader in quality jobs and quality of life.

The second thing that the Congress needs to do is to encourage private investment in research and development. As a matter of fact – this makes sense – most of the research done in the United States is done through the private sector. About two-thirds of it is done through private sector research; 15,000 companies take advantage of what's called the research and development tax credit. It's part of our tax code. It says, if you spend money on research, you'll be rewarded through the tax code.

Seems to make sense, if we're trying to encourage people to spend private sector dollars. The problem is, is that the research and development tax credit is only a temporary measure. And so, you're a CEO of a major company like Intel, or a CEO of a small company that's thinking about spending research dollars, and you're uncertain as to whether or not that research and development tax credit will be available.

People don't plan big amounts of money to invest on a short-term basis. It's important to provide stability in the tax code so that the planners and thinkers and investors have confidence that if they make an investment five years from now, the reason they made the investment in the first place – besides trying to improve product lines – the reason they made the tax – the reason they made the investment because of tax incentive will still exist. And so Congress needs to make the research and development tax credit a permanent part of our tax code to encourage more private sector research to keep America on the leading edge of innovation. (Applause.)

Finally – you'll be happy to hear – (laughter) – how do we make sure the folks who are going to be running this economy, our workers and entrepreneurs, have the skill set necessary to do so? How do we encourage people to stay focused on math and science? And that's really an important subject. I – here's what the government can, and should do.

First of all, we passed the No Child Left Behind Act. It's a great piece of legislation. It basically says, let's raise standards and measure. I can remember people said, why would you want the government to cause people to measure? I said, because we're spending a lot of money. If you're running a business and you're spending money, you want to measure. You want to look at results. People in America want to know, you see? And if a child can't read at the third grade, we want to know why. And we also want to be able to

analyze curriculum to determine if that's one of the reasons why. And equally importantly, by diagnosing, you're able to say, this child deserves extra help.

I strongly believe all government is locally controlled. However, I believe that it's the responsibility of government that spends money to say to those who designed the curriculum, please, show us whether or not you're achieving results; and if not, correct what you're doing and solve problems early before they're too late. We need to send that same spirit into – that we've got in reading in the No Child Left Behind Act into math.

Now, the positive news is that we're doing fine, relative to the rest of the world, in math in the early grades. And you know why we know? We measure. I can remember when I was governor of Texas and we didn't measure, people would say, gosh, my schools are doing great – until the kids graduated from school and they couldn't read very well and then had to be re-educated at college. Measuring lets you know. Measuring let's you compare. And measuring lets us know how we're doing with the rest of the world. If we're in a competitive world, we want to make sure our students can compete.

And we're doing fine in the fourth grade. We're doing lousy in junior high. Something happens between elementary school, where our teachers are able to get the kids interested in math and they test well, to junior high. And that's where we ought to emphasize focus. In the early – in the initiative – in the reading initiative in No Child Left Behind, we say that if you're not up to grade level, there's extra money for you. It's called supplemental services. There's extra money to correct problems early before they're too late.

We're now going to ask Congress to apply that same supplemental service to junior high kids in math. If the kids aren't testing well in math in junior high, in other words, if they're part of the falloff, let's intervene. Let's make sure there's tutorials available, after-school mathematics available, for these children so that they can remain competitive.

And they'll go to high school. So how can we help in high school? Well, one thing that we've learned is that our teachers have got to have the skill set necessary to teach the skills in math and science. And one effective program – and Laura and I are fixing to go to Dallas after this to herald this program – is an advanced placement program. And the federal government can be a partner in helping teachers train to be AP teachers. Advanced placement works. Advanced placement raises standards. Advanced placement gives teachers the tools to teach kids to take this advanced placement test, which is a measurement. It's a go-by to determine how competitive our workforce can be in the 21st century.

And finally, we want to get 30,000 adjunct professors into classrooms. That's a fancy word for saying we want engineers and chemists and physicists in places like Intel, or retired professionals, to go in the classroom and excite students about the possibility of math and science. That's what we need. We need role models. We need people walking into a classroom full of youngsters and say, you're not going to believe how cool this profession is. You're not going to believe the horizons that will be available to you. And one of the things Craig has encouraged Intel to do is do just that.

And so here's an initiative that makes sense. Here's a chance for Republicans and Democrats to put aside all the foolishness that's going on in Washington and come together and get something done for the future of this country.

And I want to thank you all for giving me a chance to lay out the strategy. And now I want to turn this over to Craig Barrett. He's the CEO of this company. He, himself – he probably won't tell you this, but I will – is an engineer, highly qualified engineer. I asked him last night where he spent most of his youth. He said on the Stanford campus. And here he is now the CEO of one of the great companies. He was able to take his degree – for those of you who are interested in whether or not a degree makes sense – he took his engineering degree, and now he runs one of the world's preeminent companies. And he's sitting right here. (Applause.)

MR BARRETT: Thank you, Mr. President. You said absolutely all the right things, from my perspective. As I look at the U.S. economy, the major driving force has been technology in the high-tech area over the last several decades. It's going to be that way going forward. The base of technology is math and science, as I think we all know, so the ability to get young people educated in math and science to a higher level comparable to their international counterparts is very important.

And that's why Intel, as a company, has worked with just about everyone around this table. We built Nicole's high school. And she was a finalist in the International Science and Engineering Fair last year. (Applause.)

We helped educate Justin, who is an employee here. He got an MBA while he was here. He's now off in a start-up, an entrepreneur. We work with Chris and Matt in educating young people, New Mexicans, in math and science and to appreciate that technology. And one of the reasons we really do that here in New Mexico is we have 55,000 employees here; we want those jobs to go primarily to New Mexicans. They need to be educated. Frankly, they were worried about Texans coming in here and taking over all the jobs. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's nothing new. Either that, the ski slopes. (Laughter.)

MR. BARRETT: And, obviously, we work with Dr. Hunter and Sandia. We've had a long interactive relationship in joint projects that move technology forward. So we try to interact with all aspects of the community. We do believe that one of the most important things is, in fact, teacher training. And one of our major programs around the world has been training teachers to bring technology in the classroom. We've trained over 3 million teachers around the world.

THE PRESIDENT: Really?

MR. BARRETT: We've trained 30 percent of the K-through-12 teachers here in New Mexico on how to bring that technology in the classroom, make it – not just technology, but make every subject more interesting for kids – math, science, English, history. You pick the subject, you can use technology to make it more interesting.

Our company is very proud to spend over \$100 each year on education. And that's basically in the local communities and across the United States and around the world. We think every child – not just here in New Mexico, but every child ought to have the opportunity to learn and to develop to their fullest. And we take that as part of our corporate responsibility.

THE PRESIDENT: I appreciate that. (Applause.) One of the good things about being the President is you tend to draw cameras. (Laughter.) Good or bad, depending on your perspective. I hope people listening hear what Craig has just said, those particularly in CEO America, corporate America, that there is such a thing as corporate responsibility. He said, I take this responsibility serious. It's in your interest, by the way, to help train a teacher. It's in your interest to provide a scholarship. It's in your interest to help a young group of Americans learn math and science because, after all, if you intend to stay in business, you better have a workforce that's capable.

And so, thanks for setting such a good example. Thanks for joining us.

We're also joined today by Tom Hunter. He's the president of Sandia. The last time I was with him, we were standing out kind of in a desert area, and he fired up one of these new solar research beams. (Laughter.) All I can tell you is I was glad I wasn't at the other end of the beam. (Laughter.) But they're doing some good stuff when it comes to research and development here at Sandia.

Welcome. Thanks for being here. What's on your mind?

DR. HUNTER: Thank you, Mr. President. Well, I should say it's a real pleasure today to represent, I presume, about 10,000 of the most committed and best men and women in the national security role and support for our economy and our energy future. It's probably important to say, though, that this initiative could not have been more important to the future of the country, and could not be more important to me.

As I look back on my life, I actually was born, of course, a number of years ago, but in a place and time when opportunities weren't that great. I was a middle child of a recently widowed mother, and the economic conditions were not good. I ended up through that period having a mother who loved me and encouraged me about some things – education and hard work. And because of that I was able to arrive at a position where I can represent this fine institution and be seated with you today.

And it makes me feel good that those values of education are so important in this initiative that you have. As we look forward, though, which is going to be absolutely critical I think to this country in how we work across the global, we're going to do some new thinking. It's going to be necessary to not look back at how we have done science and engineering in the past, but look ahead and ask questions about, how can we encourage the scientific thought from its very roots? How can we reengineer, if you will, engineering? How can we say there are different ways to do things than we've done in the past?

We have just begun to realize the important power of these large supercomputers that are now present

everywhere. As I sit here today, a few miles away at our laboratory there's a computer doing something like 40 trillion calculations every second. And that allows people to realize and see things they could never have dreamed of years ago.

We're also seeing now -- and Intel being one of the most prominent examples -- what I call small, smart things that will redefine how all of our lives work, from our ability to understand the functions of the human body to how we process information, to how we provide lighting -- all those questions. And, finally, looking very deep at the atoms, themselves, and asking, how can we build them up in a way that allows new material to be created? How can we understand how they go. This nanotechnology is opening a new frontier.

So as we think about educating this next generation of scientists, engineers, technicians, it's really critical that we just think differently and newly about how we can have a prominent role in those areas across the globe.

Our view is to help -- view of ourselves and our institution is to help partner with all the people that you see on this table, and to try to bring forward new ways to look at education and support for education and be prominent in that. And we have a large number of partnerships to do so, not only here, but with every university across the country. And I'm proud to be able to be a part of that -- proud you called such prominent attention to it, and thank you for being here.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, let me ask you something. I think it's very important for people listening to understand when you say nanotechnology that it's got an application to their life. In other words, when the federal government says we're going to spend money on research, the taxpayers got to understand that there's something -- their life is going to improve. And the question is how.

The other day, I was talking about how research is -- I mean, how technology has changed our strategy, and I ended with the example, I remember driving across Texas playing the license plate game, and they're driving across Texas watching a DVD. And it all happened in 20 years.

But when you talk about supercomputing will have an application that could help somebody, or nanotechnology, share an example with people.

Dr. Hunter: Well, let me give you an example. If you look at the lights in this room or other places, you'll find that about 20 percent of electricity is devoted to lighting, just to make light, at night and as we see today. If you could understand how to change the atoms in one of these little photo-diodes that -- and rearrange them in such a way that you could put a little electricity and out would come light, then you could end up, by a factor of ten, changing the energy consumption just in lights all across the globe.

The issue, of course, is how you make white light. Today we can make lots of red light and other colors, but we can't make white light. So with research, going in and bending the atoms around a bit, we can figure out how to make that lighting just so much more efficient. And I predict, like DVDs in the cars across Texas, that you'll see lighting in a few years which is all done by other means, and save us enormous amount of energy.

THE PRESIDENT: Yesterday we saw nanotechnology being applied to a fuel membrane that will go into a hydrogen-powered automobile at some point in time, which means we'll be using hydrogen as opposed to extract from oil, the byproduct of which will be water. And it's coming. And technology and research will help us achieve that. We want to be the ones with the hydrogen breakthrough. It means there will be jobs here for American that will improve your quality of life, as well.

Okay, thanks. Good job.

Matt, welcome. Tell everybody what you do.

DR. PLEIL: Okay, I'm Matt Pleil. I'm a faculty member at TVI Community College in Albuquerque. I joined them about three years ago, and with support from Perkins Grants and NSF funding, I've been able to work on a microsystems education program. I'm the Principal Investigator for the Southwest Center for Microsystems Education. And what we're doing now --

THE PRESIDENT: Wait, let me stop you a minute. NSF is the National Science Foundation. Don't speak in initials, because we're -- (laughter.)

DR. PLEIL: I'm originally from industry, and everything was an acronym. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's right. Imagine what it would be like if you were originally from government.

DR. PLEIL: They have longer acronyms. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: National Science Foundation. And you're doing what?

DR. PLEIL: I'm working creating educational materials for college students, and also for college and high school teachers so that we can teach the future technologists about microsystems, which a lot of people don't know much about.

THE PRESIDENT: And microsystems are what?

DR. PLEIL: Well, microsystems are here and now, and they include the circuitry that Intel produces, but also micromachines, as well. And we're collaborating with Sandia National Labs. They're on the cutting edge of making surface micromachines, it's called. And I've been fortunate enough to work there part-time, learn from Sandia and help them create educational materials that they use in their University Alliance program.

And we've also been able to train teachers at several workshops. So we're creating a group of folks now that are understanding microsystems and hopefully energizing the kids in school.

THE PRESIDENT: And is there an interest – I presume with Intel being here, it serves as a magnet for kids to say, gosh, that's a good place to work. I need the skill set necessary, and TVI provides that skill set.

DR. PLEIL: Absolutely, Intel supported TVI over the years to create our semiconductor manufacturing technology program. We have a teaching clean room that was sponsored primarily by Intel, and many of our students go and work for Intel. In fact, one of my students is actually working in the lab, probably today.

THE PRESIDENT: We hope so. (Laughter.) It's interesting, isn't it – I want to kind of take off on what Matt was talking about. One of the really great assets we have in America is the community college or technical school system. And the reason why is, is that these schools tend to be market-driven. And by that I mean the curriculum adjusts to the needs of the local folks. And what he just said was, is that here's a job provider, here's an education institute – they collaborated to design a curriculum that actually means something to the graduate.

I'm not saying my history degree didn't mean anything. (Laughter.) It did, it meant a lot. But, nevertheless, if you're interested in work, and you're getting out of school and you want to be trained in a job which actually exists, this collaboration is a vital part. And I urge communities all across the country to utilize their community college or their technical vocational schools, to work with the local industry to design curriculum that matters.

And so one of the ways to make sure that we're competitive in the 21st century is to adequately utilize our community college system, and make sure that they are incented to constantly adjust by working with the job providers.

And so thanks for bringing that up. It's an interesting idea, and I bet a lot of people in Albuquerque didn't even know this is going on. And for people who are looking to find work, you ought to look at the TVI as an opportunity. And the other thing people ought to do – you may be 35 years old or so; there's money to help you upgrade your job skills. And what education does, it enables you to become a more productive worker. And as your ability to be a more productive worker increases, so do your wages. Education adds – makes it more likely you're going to have a higher wage. And that's what Matt is doing – I think that's what you just said. (Laughter.)

DR. PLEIL: Yes, absolutely. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Good job. Now, we've got an interesting person here, Nicole Lopez. Nicole, welcome. Tell people your story, if you don't mind.

THE PRESIDENT: You have learned to communicate. (Laughter.) That was fantastic. So what are your

dreams?

MS. LOPEZ: I plan on going to the University of New Mexico and major in civil engineering. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Fantastic. This isn't exactly on the subject, but it is kind of – Laura is involved, leading what's called Helping America's Youth. The whole spirit of the program is a mentor can make a difference in a person's life; that we can change America one heart at a time. A person can, by just taking time out of his or her life and surrounding somebody with love and compassion, can make a significant contribution to the country.

And so you just described the whole spirit of Helping America's Youth. You also just described the true strength of the country. Our country's strength is not our military or the size of our wallet, it's the fact that there are millions of people that have got great heart who want to improve somebody else's life, love a neighbor like they'd like to be loved themselves.

Nicole, so you're interested in sciences, obviously.

MS. LOPEZ: Yes, I have found that math and science have become my niche and it's my passion, and I want to continue it.

THE PRESIDENT: Awesome. You know, a lot of people probably think math and science isn't meant for me – it kind of seems a little hard, algebra. I can understand that, frankly, but – (laughter.) I'm looking for a mentor, by the way. (Laughter.) Both in math and English. (Laughter and applause.) But I hope people listening and hear Nicole's story take a look at math and science. I'm sure there's some – kind of the "nerd patrol." (Laughter.) It's not, it's the future. That's what Nicole just said – she said the future is engineering and physics and chemistry and math.

Really good job, by the way. Thanks for coming.

Chris Baca is with us. Chris, why don't you give everybody your job description.

THE PRESIDENT: Clubhouses, go ahead and explain what that is.

MR. BACA: Clubhouses are – Intel has provided both mentors and equipment and actually a design for a clubhouse that involves using state of the art technology.

THE PRESIDENT: You mean there's a physical plant that people go to where there's the latest technology?

MR. BACA: Exactly it. And that's located right in a neighborhood where you won't – you wouldn't expect it to be.

THE PRESIDENT: And you run the clubhouse?

MR. BACA: Yes, sir. My program runs the clubhouse.

THE PRESIDENT: I mean the program. Good.

MR. BACA: And so the kids can walk from – after school, we get these little kids dropping in. They don't even go home. They stop by. We help them do their homework, and then they can play.

THE PRESIDENT: Chris just laid out the strategy which is government, corporate, community involvement – all aiming at making sure that we save the lives of our children, and not only saves their lives, but give them the skills necessary to be productive leaders into the 21st century.

You're right, old guys like us, we'd better be – count on the next generation to – (laughter) – now, we got to make sure they got the skills. Finally – we want to make sure that we're in entrepreneurial heaven, and by that I mean that if you've got the instinct and the drive to start your own business, that that you'll be comfortable in doing so. Government can't guarantee your product is successful. We can guarantee you –

good legal policy, good tax policy, good regulator policy, and then go for it.

And one of the things that I notice about our country when I travel the world is we really are entrepreneurial heaven. We got people from all walks of life saying, I want to realize my dream. One of them is Justin Sanchez.

Welcome, Justin. Let her rip.

THE PRESIDENT: I think it's going to happen. I think what you're talking about is that one of these days our homes are going to be little sources of power, and to the extent that we have excess power, we'll feed it back into the grid.

MR. SANCHEZ: That's right, that's absolutely correct.

THE PRESIDENT: How far away are we from that, in terms of your thinking?

MR. SANCHEZ: You know, solar is a technology that the time has come, and I think with some of the more recent innovations and some of the things that we're doing now, in the next five to ten years you could see that happen.

THE PRESIDENT: One reason why it makes sense for the taxpayers to have research and development into solar energy, which we're doing through the Energy Department, in collaboration with Sandia Labs, is because he's just describing a product that's going to come as a result of the research money spent, and that is, it's conceivable that you'll have a little unit on top of your house that will power your own house, and that to the extent that you don't use the power generated from the unit, you actually sell it back to the grid, so you become a mini-power plant.

MR. SANCHEZ: Absolutely. A million mini-power plants.

THE PRESIDENT: And what's the average age of your team, would you say?

MR. SANCHEZ: Average age of the team? Well, that's a good question.

THE PRESIDENT: Management team. Thirty?

MR. SANCHEZ: Forty.

THE PRESIDENT: Forty? Old guys.

MR. SANCHEZ: Of the management team, or the team?

THE PRESIDENT: Management team.

MR. SANCHEZ: Management team, it's probably closer to 50.

THE PRESIDENT: Really?

MR. SANCHEZ: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: So you're bringing down the average.

MR. SANCHEZ: Bringing down the average. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: We want Justin Sanchez of the country to dream big dreams and to think big. Look at the product they're thinking about. I mean, this is a big idea. And there's people willing to risk capital on the idea, and you're willing to risk time in it.

MR. SANCHEZ: Absolutely.

THE PRESIDENT: And it's going to happen, isn't it?

MR. SANCHEZ: It will happen.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and America will be better off for it. This is a good way to end, for our people to understand there's a direct connection between research and development, technology, and quality of life. This country has a chance -- it needs to make a choice: Are we going to lead, or are we going to fear the future? I hope after this discussion, people sitting around here and listening ought to realize we ought not to fear the future, but shape the future, and continue to be the leader. And by leading, our people will realize a more peaceful world and a more prosperous world, and a chance to realize dreams. And that's what America has been all about in the past and it should be about in the future.

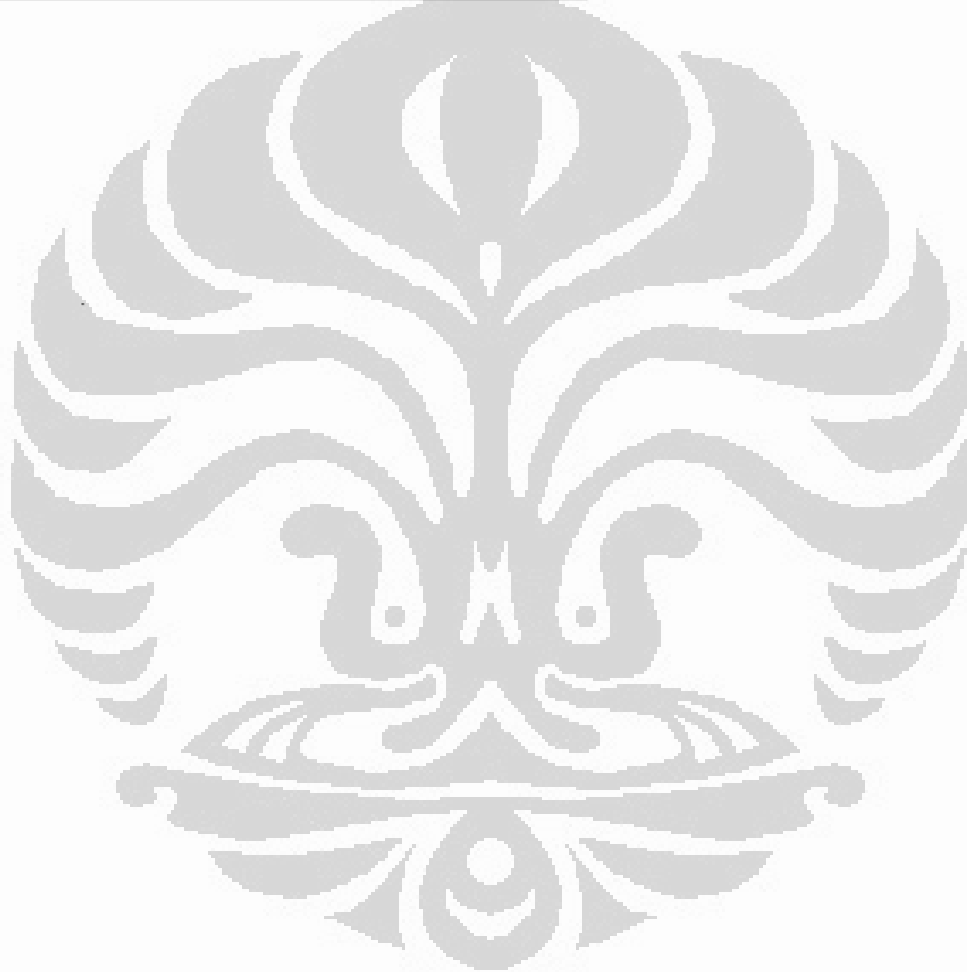
Listen, thank you all for the panel. It's been a great discussion. God bless. (Applause.)

END 10:05 A.M. MST

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President Participates in Panel Discussion on Health Care Initiatives
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
Washington, D.C.

Reforming Health Care for the 21st Century
In Focus: Health Care
In Focus: Medicare

President's Remarks
WIN

1:18 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. Thanks for the warm welcome. Thanks for coming. We're about to have a discussion about how this country can make sure our health care system is available and affordable. I want to thank our panelists for joining us. It's an interesting way to describe and discuss policy – it's a lot better than me just getting up there and giving a speech, you don't have to nod. (Laughter.)

You want to kick things off, Mark?

DR. McCLELLAN: I'd be glad to. I'd like to welcome all of you to the Department of Health and Human Services. As you know, there are many people who are working day and night to protect the public health, to help our health care system work better.

We have the privilege of working with the best health professionals in the world – doctors, nurses, others who have some great ideas about delivering better care and about finding ways to do it with fewer complications and at a much lower cost. But in many ways our health care policies haven't kept up with what our health care system can do, and we're going to spend some time talking about that today.

Mr. President, we're very pleased to have you here today to lead this discussion of some new ideas for improving our health care.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mark. Thanks, Mike Leavitt – where are you, Michael? Surely, he's here? (Laughter.)

DR. McCLELLAN: He's in Florida, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, he's in Florida. Okay. Surfing. (Laughter.) Actually, I saw him this morning – don't make excuses for him. He's doing a heck of a job, he really is, and I hope you enjoy working for him. (Applause.)

I am really pleased that Nancy Johnson is here. Madam Congresswoman, thank you for coming. (Applause.) If you want to meet somebody in Congress who knows something about health care, talk to Nancy; she is a tireless advocate for making sure the health care systems are efficient and compassionate. And I really want to thank you for coming. It's a joy to work with you on these big issues.

I thank all the folks here at HHS. Thank you for working hard on behalf of our fellow citizens. You've got a tough and important job, and you're doing it well. One of the reasons why is because, you know, we've clearly defined the roles of government – with the role of government in health care. And one of the roles is to make sure our seniors have a modern, reformed Medicare system. And I want to thank those of you who are working on making sure that the Medicare system is explained to and available for seniors all across the country.

We did the right thing when it came to saying that if we're going to have a program for seniors, let's make sure it works as good as possible. And part of that meant modernizing the system so it included a prescription drug benefit. It's not easy to sign up millions of people in a quick period of time to a new program, and there were some glitches. The good thing about this Department, and the good thing about Mike and Mark is that they have prioritized problems to be fixed, and have gone around the country fixing

them.

Millions of folks – about 25 million people have signed up for the new Medicare benefit. I don't know if you remember when we first had the discussions about the Medicare benefit, and people said, it will cost about \$37 a month per beneficiary. One of the interesting reforms is not only making sure that medicine was modernized, but seniors actually were given choices to make in the program. And Mark has done a fine job of encouraging providers to be the markets. And as a result of choice in the marketplace, the average anticipated cost is \$27 a month.

In other words, giving people a decision to make is an important part of helping to keep control of cost. We have a third-party system – a third-party payer system. When somebody else pays the bills, rarely do you ask price or ask the cost of something. I mean, it seems kind of convenient, doesn't it? You pay your premium, you pay your co-pay, you pay your deductible, and somebody pays the bills for you.

The problem with that is, is that there's no kind of market force. There's no consumer advocacy for reasonable price when somebody else pays the bills. And one of the reasons why we're having inflation in health care is because there is no – there is no sense of market. We're addressing the cost-drivers of health care, and this discussion today is a part of helping to make sure health care is affordable. And as it becomes affordable, it becomes more available, by the way.

A couple of ideas other than the subject at hand to make sure health care is affordable is – and we'll talk a little bit about information technology; I know there's a great initiative here at HHS to help bring the health care industry into the modern era by implementing information technology reforms. And for those of you working on the project, thanks, and we take it very seriously at the White House, and I know you take it seriously here.

Secondly, I want to thank those of you who are working on community health centers. One way to help control costs is to help people who are poor and indigent get costs [sic] in places that are much more efficient at delivery of health than emergency rooms. And so we're committed to expansion of community health centers. Again, thanks on that, Nancy, for helping in Congress. They work. We're measuring results and the results are good results.

Thirdly, lawsuits are running up the cost of medicine. The practice of – the defensive practice of medicine or the practice of defensive medicine – I'm a Texan. (Laughter.) It costs about \$28 billion a year when doctors over-prescribe, to make sure that they kind of inoculate themselves against lawsuits. It runs up federal budgets. It costs the economy about \$60 billion to \$100 billion a year.

And so we've got to do something about these junk lawsuits. I mean, they're running good people out of practice. I said a statistic the other day in the State of the Union that's got to startle you if you're involved with the health care delivery in America: 1,500 counties don't have an OB/GYN because lawsuits have driven a lot of good docs out of those counties. And that's not right.

And so we've got to get medical liability reform. The House has done a good job of passing it. It's stuck in the Senate. So for the sake of affordable and available health care, is to get a good, decent bill passed.

One other way to help control costs is to interject market forces, as I mentioned. And one way to do that is through what's called health savings accounts. Health savings accounts are an innovative product that came, really, to be as a result of the Medicare bill that I was honored to sign. They're an innovative account that combines savings on a tax-free basis with a catastrophic health care plan. We'll have some consumers here of health savings accounts that will describe how they work and whether or not they're working worth a darn.

But the key thing in a health savings account is you actually put a patient in charge of his or her decisions – which we think is a vital aspect of making sure the health care system is not only modern, but a health care system in which costs are not running out of control. And part of making sure consumers, if they have a decision to make, can make rational decisions is for there to be transparency in pricing. In other words, how can you make a rational decision unless you fully understand the pricing options or the quality options. When you go buy a car, you know, you're able to shop and compare. And, yet, in health care, that's just not happening in America today.

And so one of the – this discussion is centered around encouraging consumer-based health care systems and strengthening private medicine through transparency and pricing and quality. And I hope you find this as

interesting a discussion as I will.

I'm going to start off with Dr. Gail Wilensky. Do you know anything about health care? (Laughter.) She knows a lot about health care. You've been working the health care industry for, what – tell us what you do.

DR. WILENSKY: I'm now a Senior Fellow at Project HOPE. A while ago I had Mark's position, trying to manage Medicare and Medicaid, a very challenging activity.

You've given a lot of what I wanted to say; let me say it quickly, in terms of why this is an issue and what we need to do about it.

For far too long Americans haven't known what they pay for health care. They haven't really cared much about what they pay for health care. They haven't realized that questions about patient safety and quality were appropriate questions to ask. The biggest reason is because the employers were making all the decisions for individuals, and individuals didn't usually realize this was their money.

Now it has changed in part, for some employees, because as a result of the Medicare law employers can offer health savings accounts paired with high-deductible health plans. And for those employees – and they're now, estimates are about 3 million people have these health savings accounts, they have the motivation to find out more about what health care costs and what they're getting for their money.

There's been a problem that people who don't have employer-sponsored insurance or who aren't eligible for some reason, they don't have that opportunity, and you had mentioned in the State of the Union that's one of the next steps that needs to happen, that it's fair that people who don't have employer-sponsored insurance also have this option.

But while making people conscious of what it might cost will help, if you're really going to empower someone you've got to give them the information. It's got to be easily obtainable. They need to know what it costs to go into a hospital, or to have a major procedure, or to have a major device implanted. And they need to know something about what they're getting for their money. They need to know whether there are major complications when a particular hospital does something. Or whether someone has good outcomes and whether the patients are satisfied in going to them.

So that's really this next step. In order to empower patients, they need to know what it costs and they need to know what they're getting for their money. And it means insurers doing something and providers doing something and the government and Medicare helping where they can. And that's really where we are today.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you for the lead-in. We spend a lot of money at the federal level, and you would expect that if we're sitting up here talking about transparency then we ought to do something about it. I mean, the federal government is the largest purchaser of health care – am I right – 46 percent of all health care dollars.

DR. McCLELLAN: That's right.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. What are you going to do about it? (Laughter.)

DR. McCLELLAN: Well, Mr. President, we are doing a lot about this already, as you know. Before the Medicare drug benefit, Medicare provided a drug discount card for millions of seniors to enable them to save billions of dollars. And with that card we made available information on discounted drug prices for all the prescription drugs and all the pharmacies around the country. Seniors use that information to keep prices down. They shopped, and we saw during the course of this program savings actually increase over time. We also saw lots of seniors switching to drugs that they found out about that could meet their medical needs at a much lower cost.

THE PRESIDENT: One thing a person watching out there – what we're talking about, for example, when it comes to putting information out on drugs, a brand name drug and a generic drug do the same thing, but there's a huge price differential. And what Mark is saying is, is that we made, as a result of our government policies, the providers to provide a shopping list, a comparison for people to get on the Internet and find out whether they can buy a drug cheaper or not.

DR. McCLELLAN: That's right. And many people are saving 70 percent or 80 percent or more on their drug cost by switching to generics. You can get his information on the Internet. You can also get it by calling

1-800-MEDICARE. And we're doing the same thing with the drug benefit. And that's one reason the drug benefit costs now are so much lower than people expected, as you mentioned earlier.

We're trying to make more information available on hospital quality, on nursing home quality, on many other aspects of health care. But we can't do this alone; we've got a public/private health care system, so we need to work with health professionals, with consumer groups, with business purchasers and with the health plans in this country to get useful information out. We started to do that through collaborative efforts, like the Hospital Quality Alliance and the Ambulatory Care Quality Alliance. These are groups that include all of the different key stakeholders in our health care system working together to make useful information available on quality and cost.

Some of that has happened already, but I think with the leadership from the President and with the full backing of the federal government we can move this effort along much more quickly and much more extensively to get information out about satisfaction with care; to get information out about outcomes of care and complications; and to get information out about cost. And, Mr. President, we're very pleased to be starting right now a new program that will be piloted in six large communities around the country, where all these different groups – the health professionals, business groups, government organizations, including Medicare and the Agency for Health Care Research and Quality, and health plans – are going to be working together to make useful information available to consumers and health professionals in these communities about the quality and costs of their health care. And, hopefully, we'll be able to move this project along very, very quickly.

THE PRESIDENT: Good.

DR. McCLELLAN: We're working.

THE PRESIDENT: Nice going. Yes, I know you are. You're working hard. Mark has also been responsive to some of the issues of the Medicare roll-out. And they've been moving hard and traveling around the state. And thanks for responding to what's going to end up being a really, really important program for our seniors – let me say, a revitalized important program for our seniors. It's going to make a big difference. Thanks for working so hard.

Robin Downey. What do you do, Robin?

MS. DOWNEY: I'm head of product development for Aetna.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MS. DOWNEY: And I was instrumental in launching our HSA program. We've been doing consumer-directed plans since 2002. And so we're the first national plan to offer an HSA in the health plan arena.

THE PRESIDENT: Good move. I bet you're really selling a lot of them.

MS. DOWNEY: Yes, we are. The adoption is higher in the HSA than it is the HRA now. It's increasing, and I'm probably one of Aetna's first members in the HSA.

THE PRESIDENT: You and I both. We own an HSA.

MS. DOWNEY: Yes, yes, both in it.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me ask you something. Aetna, obviously, is a big health insurance company. Do you – obviously you've got an opinion on transparency, otherwise you wouldn't be sitting here – but give us from your perspective, from the insurance company's perspective, tell us what transparency means to you and how best we can work together to implement the transparency.

MS. DOWNEY: Well, transparency to us means giving the consumer the information on both cost and quality so that they can make an informed decision and they can understand the value of what it is that they're purchasing. And from our perspective, we tackled a lot of issues on clinical quality and cost efficiency a couple of years ago and some things we did in our high-performance networks.

Cost was kind of the black box – nobody wanted to open it up. Everyone said health plans will never give

access to that information. And our CEO said, it is time because of the adoption of the HSAs and how many people are in consumer-directed products now. We needed to see that consumers were getting the right information. So we decided to take a leadership role and in the summer of '05 we launched a pilot in Cincinnati where we're providing what we call "true price transparency." We actually negotiate discounted rates with providers and that is the amount the patient is responsible for. In a high deductible health plan, that's going to go against your deductible, it's going to come out of your HSA – so that is the amount you would be responsible for. And we negotiate those prices, but we never told you as a consumer what those prices would be.

And so what we did is we worked with the physicians in Cincinnati and we worked with consumer groups and we have on our website now about 600 procedures – up to 25 procedures for different specialties – that you can go out and see, by doctor, what our negotiated rate is for that doctor, for that procedure, and it's about 5,000 doctors that are participating and about 600 different procedures.

THE PRESIDENT: Good. And I presume there was resistance at first?

MS. DOWNEY: Not resistance, they wanted to know why. I think physicians are wondering why the consumers need that kind of information. So they are getting used to that. And then they were actually pretty helpful when we were talking about how we were going to display it. They were saying, make it easy for the patients to understand, so they're helping us take the medical terminology, put it into layman's terms. They wanted to make sure it wasn't going to create more work for them; were people going to be calling their offices constantly. And that's what we want to do, we want to put it on the website so they don't have to constantly call. So we want to provide easy access.

And so they were also concerned with if you put cost information there, and you don't have quality, then people will price shop on cost alone, and they're very afraid of that – and they should be, because people should understand the –

THE PRESIDENT: So how do you handle that?

MS. DOWNEY: We're marrying that now. We're going to expand that pilot. It was so successful, we're going to expand it into more locations in the fall of 2006, and we're going to be marrying that information with the quality information so the consumer can go out and see what the unit cost is, what the efficiency is, what the clinical quality is. And so they can look at the overall value. We're pretty pumped about it.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I appreciate you doing it. It must be exciting to be on the leading edge of an interesting innovation and to a – into health care. It's hard to believe that ours is a market society in which people are able to shop based upon price and quality in almost every aspect of our life, with the exception of health care. And it's no wonder that we're dealing with what appears to be ever increasing costs.

You know, it's really interesting, LASIK surgery is a good example of a procedure that was really – was not a part of a third-party payer, just came to be. People could choose it if they wanted to choose it, could pay for it if they didn't want to – would pay for it themselves if they chose to use it. And more doctors started offering LASIK surgery, there was more information about LASIK surgery, and the price came down dramatically over time, and the quality was increasing. And now LASIK surgery is eminently affordable for a lot of people, because the market actually functioned. And I think what Robin is saying is that they're trying to introduce those same kind of forces in Cincinnati.

Thanks for doing what you're doing. I met with your old boss today. Maybe he's watching out there.
(Laughter.)

MS. DOWNEY: He talks to me just the way you talk to Mark – "just do it." (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: A little bossy. (Laughter.)

MS. DOWNEY: But you get stuff done.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that's right.

Dan Evans is the president and CEO of Clarion Health Partners in Indianapolis, Indiana. Thanks for coming. You're doing some interesting things. He's a hospital guy.

MR. EVANS: I'm the CEO of an academic medical center, so we have both a university and a hospital. We have 4,000 peer review projects ongoing right now, including –

THE PRESIDENT: Tell everybody what a peer review project is.

MR. EVANS: It's a research project that's overseen by a review board, so it's scientific. And at the end of the day then it can be translated from bench to bedside. So, for instance, if Lance Armstrong came to our hospital for his cutting-edge testicular cancer treatment – just for an example – we have the doctor on the staff that changed the mortality rates from 90 percent to 10 percent, so we consider that one of our core functions, if not the core function, is the research.

But what I'm running into is the same thing that Robin and Mark and Gail described, and that is our patients want to be treated like customers and they want to know what the value proposition is. So people are starting to ask. As the HSAs become more popular and they become more informed, what does this cost and, oh, by the way, is the institution that's doing it any good at doing it. Because it's one thing to know the cost, but it's quite another thing to know whether or not your length of stay is going to be twice as long as it should be or you're likely to get an infection – all the things that CMS monitors.

We're in partnership with the CMS also on information technology. We believe if we successfully manage my mom's information as she goes from place to place – including our competitors – we'll reduce that over-prescription that you talked about to protect docs from tort lawsuits. As big as we are, we are the defendant in many tort lawsuits, and a great many of them have no merit whatsoever, but the system takes you through that. So the information technology for us converts data to information, in real-time. I've seen it myself. There are patients at this table and those patients are our customers. And not a day goes by that I don't walk out and talk to a customer.

I work 20 feet from where I was born, so I'm in my hometown, which means that I get the retail calls at my desk on a Wednesday afternoon – you know, mom has had a TIA, or, dad has had a heart attack, tell me, what do you know about this Dr. McClellan. And we've –

THE PRESIDENT: He's not very good, but – (laughter.)

MR. EVANS: We've got the data, and what we need to do is marry up that data with Aetna, so that Aetna steers those patients to the high quality docs and systems. Then the value proposition will take off.

THE PRESIDENT: So how easy is it to establish a matrix, or a – information for consumers to be able to really accurately understand?

MR. EVANS: It requires willing partners, for starters. Everybody in this room can relate to the kid who breaks her leg on the soccer field, goes to the quick-check place for pain, ends up at the ED at a suburban hospital, turns out to be a multiple fracture, is life-lined, or taken downtown to the academic medical center, and you carry your data with you, right? You're your own mule.

The information technology will knit all that together so the doc downtown can pull up my mom's data, my daughter's data, and look at it. It requires willing partners who are willing to share data, not hoard it. And the basic principle is the data belongs to the patient, not to the hospital system.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. EVANS: That's the paradigm. Heretofore the attitude has been the information is owned by the insurance company, or it's owned by the hospital, or it's owned by CMS. No, it's owned by the patient.

I recently went through this with my own mother, where she was handed the films at the radiology center and told to walk them across the street to the hospital. So in the real world, it happens every day. And through the leadership of CMS and others, Indianapolis has become a demonstration project for trying to link all these things together. At the end of the day, it will drive down costs dramatically and improve quality significantly.

THE PRESIDENT: We're really talking about making sure each American has an electronic medical record over which he or she has got control of the privacy. An interesting – another example was what happened – the Veterans Administration, by the way, has implemented electronic medical records. In other words, they're using modern technology to bring this important agency into the 21st century. A lot of files at your

hospital still – probably not your hospital, but the typical hospital are handwritten.

MR. EVANS: Well, you know, what happens is, they may be electronic in the hospital, but handwritten in the doctor's office –

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and the doctors can't write anyways. (Laughter.)

MR. EVANS: Well, the pen is a very dangerous thing.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, it is.

MR. EVANS: Yes, as you well know. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: And so the idea is to modernize doctors' offices and hospitals and providers through information technology. And so the Veterans Department has done this. In other words, each veteran has got an electronic medical record. And so when Katrina hit, a lot of veterans were scattered and they were just displaced. And you can imagine the trauma to begin with. And the trauma is compounded if you're worried about your record being lost somewhere, your medical record.

And, fortunately, because the veterans at the Department had already acted, these medical records went with the patient and a lot of veterans got instant help. And so a doc could, you know, kind of download their record, take a look at what was prescribed before, take a look at other procedures and, boom, the medicine and the help was brought up to speed quickly, which is great. And I want to thank you for doing that.

Information technology is going to help change medicine in a constructive way, and it does dovetail with price and equality.

Getting kind of a drift of what we're talking about here? (Laughter.) I hope so. If not, we'll go over to Jerry, she'll help – (laughter.) Jerry, welcome. Where do you live? What do you do?

MS. HENDERSON: Mr. President, I live in Baltimore, Maryland.

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome.

MS. HENDERSON: And I am a nurse and I've been in health care for over 30 years. And for the last nine years I've had the responsibility of running an ambulatory surgery center in Baltimore.

THE PRESIDENT: Good. Called?

MS. HENDERSON: The Surgery Center of Baltimore.

THE PRESIDENT: Very good. And tell us, you know, the transparency issue – we had a little visit ahead of time, since it's not the first time I've seen her, she gave me a little hint about what she was going to talk about. Go ahead and share with people – small clinic, relatively small clinic, big hospital guy, small clinic person.

MS. HENDERSON: I think the ambulatory surgery centers offer a good, low cost alternative for outpatient surgery for patients. And what we do, I think we do a very good job of offering transparency for the patients because we think it's important that they have the information that they need, both for quality, safety and price. And so for our patients we offer information on our website about our payment policies, we give them a brochure about our patient payment policies. Then we also call the insurance companies and make sure that they have their coverage and how much that insurance company is going to pay. And then we call our patients and we tell them, okay, your insurance is going to cover this amount and you're going to be responsible for this other amount.

But it's really difficult for patients to make those comparisons on price because the payment systems are outdated and ambulatory surgery centers are not paid on the same type of a payment system as the hospital. And it would be a lot more transparent for the patient if they had a system that was paid on the same type of a system.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, apples to apples.

MS. HENDERSON: Apples to apples, and then they could make those comparisons. We give them information, but I'm not sure that they can get that same information across the health care system.

THE PRESIDENT: Right. And the reason why they can't yet is because you happen to be on the leading edge of what is an important reform.

MS. HENDERSON: I think so.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, it is. Well, so do the patients, more importantly. And thank you for sharing that with us.

You happen to have a patient here.

MS. HENDERSON: I do.

THE PRESIDENT: You've known Gail before?

MS. HENDERSON: Gail Zanelotti was a patient at our center, and I think she'll tell you that probably it was a more convenient and comfortable and patient –

THE PRESIDENT: You're not putting words in her mouth are you? (Laughter.)

MS. HENDERSON: No, no. But I bet she would tell you that. (Laughter.)

MS. ZANELOTTI: It was more convenient and comfortable. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: It was? Very good. (Laughter.)

MS. HENDERSON: See? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: You were diagnosed with what?

MS. ZANELOTTI: With bilateral breast cancer in October. And I had several procedures performed at the Surgical Center of Baltimore. And they treated me as if I were the main event. That's how I felt – socially, emotionally, physically. The whole gamut was covered. And I chose the surgeon first for quality, and then went on to find the pricing and everything else through them, which they were very transparent about. It was a very positive experience. And I'm still in communication with them because – through the reconstructive process. And I would do it the same way again.

THE PRESIDENT: And so how does – I mean, so you're the consumer. You walk in, obviously, pretty well traumatized to a certain extent. You've got this horrible disease that's attacked you. And you come to them, and they – and you're asking what questions?

MS. ZANELOTTI: I saw the surgeon that night, and I think we were there at 10:30 p.m. at night.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, great.

MS. ZANELOTTI: I mean, it's amazing how dedicated some of these doctors are. And then they take you through the process of different diagnostic steps that you have to take. And, really, you see how curable things can be if it's caught early. And I was very lucky to be able to be faced with step-by-step approach to get back to my journey of full health.

THE PRESIDENT: Good job. Congratulations.

MS. ZANELOTTI: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: You've got that sparkle in your eye, you know. (Laughter.)

MS. ZANELOTTI: Thank you. Very lucky.

THE PRESIDENT: And so I appreciate it. It's an interesting – the transparency reform is going to take place in both large entities and smaller entities, because consumers shouldn't be restricted to shopping only in a

large entity or a small entity. "Shopping" isn't the right word, but you know what I mean – in other words, out there looking for the procedure that fits their needs at the right cost and the right price.

It almost doesn't matter if we have transparency if consumers, however, are not in a position to make decisions. In other words, if somebody is making the decision for you, transparency only matters to the decider. And so Bruce is with us today – Bruce Goodwin. He's an HSA owner.

Bruce, describe HSAs – well, first of all, tell us what you do.

MR. GOODWIN: My company manufactures computer plate technology for the graphic arts printing business.

THE PRESIDENT: How many employees?

MR. GOODWIN: We have 20 employees. We're a small company.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. By the way, two-thirds of new jobs in America are created by small businesses. And if a small business can't afford health care, it's pretty likely they're not going to be aggressive in expanding. And I presume you have some health care issues.

MR. GOODWIN: Well, I'm here as an employer who is concerned about health care costs for sure, and a strong advocate of health savings accounts. I'm a firm believer that for employers, health savings accounts is probably the best weapon we've got in the battle of these rapidly escalating costs. And I'm very much hopeful, and I appreciate very much your leadership in trying to help strengthen the health savings accounts.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we'll talk about it in a minute. So tell people what a health savings account is. This is kind of a foreign language to everybody but the 3 million people who own one. It's just a new product. It's just beginning to happen.

MR. GOODWIN: Well, I will say that, again, I'm an employer who has implemented a health savings account, and I'm a participant in that account. So speaking as an employer I can say that over the past two years we have saved tens of thousands of dollars against what we would have paid for our preferred provider plan had we continued that plan. So from that aspect, we're quite pleased as an employer.

As a participant, I'm very pleased to see these dollars accumulating in my account that I know that I can use to help decide what I need to do with my health care dollars. But it makes transparency an even bigger issue, because now that I've got this money, how do I go spend it in the best way? So transparency is a very important issue as we look forward

THE PRESIDENT: An insurance plan with a health savings account is a high-deductible catastrophic plan coupled with a tax-free health savings account to pay routine medical costs up to the deductible. That's the way they're structured now. Many employees – I was at Wendy's yesterday; Wendy's has now got 9,000 employees using health savings accounts. The company pays for part of the premium, as well as the contribution into the cash account to be paid by the customer for routine medical expenses.

If you don't spend all your money in your cash account, you can save it tax-free, and roll it over to next year, and then you contribute again. Wendy's premiums rose this year, I think, at less than 2 percent – maybe even less than 1 percent, if I'm not mistaken. And they were increasing at double-digit rates – I hope I'm not exaggerating – they were going up quite dramatically, let me put it to you that way. And now their premiums were significantly lower. And the savings enabled them to put additional money into their employees' accounts, additional contributions.

It's an interesting concept, because all of a sudden it puts an individual in charge of health care decisions. There's an incentive, by the way, for people to make rational choices about what they consume – like, if you don't smoke and drink, it's more likely you'll stay healthy and not spend money in your account. If you exercise – I'd strongly urge mountain biking – (laughter) – it helps you stay healthy. And by staying healthy, you actually save money. There's a remuneration for good choice.

And what Bruce is saying is that it has helped his business afford health care. It has helped a lot of small businesses. If you're a small business owner, please look into health savings accounts for the good of your employees.

Interestingly enough, about a third of those who've purchased the new health savings accounts were uninsured. Many of the uninsured in America are young people, kind of the bullet-proof syndrome -- you're never going to get sick, so, therefore, why buy insurance. Now there's an incentive to buy insurance because it means you can save tax-free.

And so Bruce has used -- and he reports that he's able to better control his costs, which is really important for the small business sector. And it's also important for the large business sector to say to their employees, here is something that's really beneficial for you and your families because when -- you save the money, it's your money. Savings in health care doesn't go to a third party entity, it goes to the consumer. It's a new concept that's just coming to be.

In order for it to work, there has to be transparency. How can you expect somebody to make rational decisions in the marketplace if they don't see price and quality? It's going to be a very important -- what we're talking here is a very important reform to really fit into a -- making sure the private medicine aspect of our medical system remains the center of medicine.

There's a debate here in Washington about who best to make decisions. Some up here believe the federal government should be making decisions on behalf of people. I believe that consumers should be encouraged to make decisions on behalf of themselves. And health savings accounts and transparency go hand-in-hand.

with clear implikasi: mendorong lebih jalean

There are some things we need Congress to do to make health savings accounts work even better than they are. One is to make sure that one's contributions into the health savings account is -- can be -- will be equal to the deductible, plus any co-pays that may have to be made. In other words, we shouldn't cap the contribution, cash contribution where it is. It needs to be raised.

Secondly, we need to make sure the tax code treats employees in large companies and employees in small companies equally when it comes to purchasing health savings accounts. And, thirdly, and a key component of making sure health savings accounts works, that addresses one of the real concerns in our society, and that is people changing jobs but fearful of losing health care as they do change jobs is to make sure health savings accounts are portable in all aspects, a health care plan that encompasses health savings accounts. Today the rules enable one to take with them the cash balances in their health savings accounts, but not the insurance in their health savings accounts. In order to make these plans truly portable, so as to bring peace of mind to people, we've got to make sure that health savings accounts are genuinely portable accounts.

memperhatikan

I look forward to working with Congress to strengthen, not weaken, but strengthen these very important products that puts the doctor and the patient in the center of the health care decision. Today, we've heard some interesting, innovative ideas that are taking place from the insurance industry, to the providers, to the federal government. And we will continue to implement transparency. And it's just the beginning. And I predict that when this -- as this society becomes more transparent, as the consumers have more choice to make, you'll see better cost containment. And as we're able to contain costs, we achieve some great national objectives: one, is to make sure health care is affordable and, two, make sure it's available.

I want to thank you all for coming to join us. It was an interesting discussion. I appreciate your time. God bless. (Applause.)

implikasi: menarik minat, menanamkan kepercayaan kepada Partai Republik -> PKRA

END 1:58 P.M. EST

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The White House
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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
February 21, 2006

President Participates in Energy Conservation & Efficiency Panel
National Renewable Energy Laboratory
Golden, Colorado

Advanced Energy Initiative
State of the Union: The Advanced Energy Initiative
In Focus: Energy

President's Remarks


9:19 A.M. MST

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated. Thank you. Thank you all. Thanks for having me. I'm honored to be at the National Renewable Energy Lab – which will be henceforth called NREL. (Laughter.) We – I have come today to discuss unbelievable opportunities for our country to achieve a great national goal, and that is to end our addiction on oil.

I know it sounds odd for a Texan to say that. (Laughter.) But I have spent a lot of time worrying about the national security implications of being addicted to oil, particularly from parts of the world where people may not agree with our policy or our way of life, and the economic security implications of being hooked on oil, particularly since the demand for oil is rising faster than the supply of oil. And any time that happens it creates the conditions for what could be price disruption and price spikes at home are like hidden taxes on the working people of our country.

And so we're here to discuss ways to achieve this really important national goal. And there's no better place to come than NREL, and I want to thank you all for hosting me. I appreciate – (applause.) I really appreciate the scientists and dreamers and, more importantly, doers who work here to help achieve this important goal.

I recognize that there has been some interesting – let me say – mixed signals when it comes to funding. The issue, of course, is whether or not good intentions are met with actual dollars spent. Part of the issue we face, unfortunately, is that there are sometimes decisions made, but as a result of the appropriations process, the money may not end up where it was supposed to have gone. I was talking to Dan about our mutual desire to clear up any discrepancies in funding, and I think we've cleaned up those discrepancies. My message to those who work here is we want you to know how important your work is; we appreciate what you're doing; and we expect you to keep going it and we want to help you keep doing it. (Applause.)

I want to thank Dan. He's going to be saying some stuff here in a minute, so we're not going to – I'm just going to thank him. I want to thank your staff for hosting us. It's a pain to host the President. (Laughter.) Anyway, you've done a fine job. I want to thank the Governor of the state of Colorado, Bill Owens, for joining us. (Applause.) Your United States Senator Ken Salazar – thanks for coming, Ken, I appreciate it. (Applause.) The Congressman from this district, Bob Beauprez – I appreciate you being here. (Applause.) The Congressman from the adjoining district, Mark Udall – Mark, there you go. Thanks for coming. (Applause.)

We got all kinds of people – we got the Mayor – appreciate you coming, Mayor Baroch. Thanks for coming, Mayor. Just fill the potholes. (Laughter.) You got a great city – thanks for having us. I appreciate the Statehouse folks – Senator Andy McElhany and Joe Stengel from this district. I think that's right. Appreciate you coming. (Applause.) Thank you, Andy. Good to see you. I want to thank the directors – thank everybody. (Laughter.)

So the challenge is what do we do to achieve objectives. In other words, we set goals – so what do we need to do? What do we need to do as a nation to meet the goal? How can we fulfill our responsibilities that really say we understand the problems we face? So here's what we need to do.

substance
First, we need to make sure we're the leader of technology in the world. I don't mean just relative to previous times in American history. I think this country needs to lead the world and continue to lead the world. And so

how do you do that? One, first, there's a federal commitment to spending research dollars. In my State of the Union, I called on Congress to double the research in basic sciences at the federal level. This will help places like NREL. It will continue this grand tradition of the federal government working with the private sector to spend valuable research money in order to make sure we develop technologies that keep us as a leader.

menghimbau

In order for us to achieve this national goal of becoming less dependent on foreign sources of oil, we've got to spend money, and the best place to do that is through research labs such as NREL. Now, we also got to recognize that two-thirds of the money spent on research in the United States comes from the private sector. So it's one thing for the federal government to make a commitment of doubling the funding over a 10-year period, but we've got to recognize that most of the money is done through corporate America, through the private sector.

And one thing that seems like a smart thing to do for me is to make the tax rules clear. The research and development tax credit expires on an annual basis. It doesn't make any sense to say to corporate America or the private sector, plan for the long run, but we're not going to tell you whether or not the tax code is going to be the same from year to year. And so, in order to encourage that two-thirds of the investment in the private sector – necessary to help us achieve national goals and objectives, one of which is to stay on the leading edge of innovation – is to have the research and development tax credit a permanent part of our tax code.

Now, in order to get us less addicted to oil, we got to figure out where we use oil, and that's pretty easy when you think about it. We use a lot of oil for our transportation needs. And so if we can change the way we drive our cars and our trucks, we can change our addition to oil. And laboratories such as this are doing unbelievably interesting work on helping us change the way we drive our automobiles. And you're going to hear some interesting discussion with people on the front lines of these technological changes.

just want to tell the American people three ways that we can change the way we drive our automobiles.

One is through the use of hybrid vehicles. And Congress wisely increased the tax credit available to those who purchase hybrid vehicles. In other words, we're trying to increase demand for hybrid vehicles. You can get up to a \$3,400 tax credit now if you buy a hybrid vehicle. Hybrid vehicles are vehicles that use a gasoline engine to help charge a battery, and when the battery is charged, the battery kicks in, and if the battery gets low, the gasoline engine kicks back in to charge the battery. It's a hybrid – in other words, two sources of power for the engine.

The new technological breakthrough, however, is going to be when we develop batteries that are able to enable an automobile to drive, say, the first 40 miles on electricity alone. Those are what we call plug-in hybrid vehicles. And yesterday I was at Johnson Controls, which is one of the private sector companies that are developing the new technologies to enable cars to be able to not need the gasoline engine to charge the battery. Now, that saves a lot of – you can begin to think about how this technology is going to enable us to save on gasoline use, which makes us less dependent on crude oil, since crude oil is the feed stock for gasoline.

The idea is to have an automobile, say, that can drive 40 miles on the battery, as I mentioned. But if you're living in a big city, that's probably all you're going to need for that day's driving. And then you can get home and plug your car right into the outlet in your house. This is coming. I mean, we're close to this. It's going to require more research dollars. The budget I submitted to the Congress does have money in it for this type of research for new types of batteries. But I want the people to know we're close. The hybrid vehicles you're buying today are an important part of making sure you save money when it comes to driving. But they're going to change with the right research and development. Technology will make it so that the hybrid vehicles are even better in getting us less addicted on oil, and making it good for the consumer's pocketbook.

Secondly, there is a fantastic technology brewing – I say brewing, it's kind of a catch on words here – (laughter) – called ethanol. I mean, it's – there's a lot of folks in the Midwest driving – using what's called E85 gasoline. It means 85 percent of the fuel they're putting in their car is derived from corn. This is exciting news for those of us worried about addiction to oil. You grow a lot of corn, you're less dependent on foreign sources of energy. Using corn for fuel helps our farmers and helps our foreign policy at the same time. It's a good deal.

The problem is we need more sources of ethanol. We need more – to use different products than just corn. Got to save some corn to eat, of course. (Laughter.) Corn flakes without corn is kind of – (laughter.) And so one of the interesting things happening in this laboratory and around the country is what's called the

development of cellulosic ethanol. That's a fancy word for using switch grass, corn – wood products, stuff that you generally allow to decompose, to become a source of energy.

And as our fellow citizens begin to think to whether or not it makes sense to spend research, imagine – dollars on this technology, imagine people in the desert being able to grow switch grasses that they can then convert into energy for ethanol for the cars that they're driving there in Arizona. All of a sudden the whole equation about energy production begins to shift dramatically. And we're going to hear a lot about cellulosic ethanol.

^{finally} Finally, hydrogen fuel cells. It's not a short-term solution, or an intermediate-term solution, but it's definitely a long-term solution. It will help us achieve grand objectives, less dependence on oil, and the production of automobiles that have zero emissions that could harm our air. And we'll talk a lot about hydrogen fuel cells.

Finally, I do want to talk about technologies that will enable us to change the way we power our homes and businesses, which is the second part of the strategy, the Advanced Energy Initiative strategy.

First of all, there's huge pressure on natural gas – people in Colorado know what I'm talking about. We've been using a lot of natural gas for the generation of electricity. And we got to change that. Natural gas is important for manufacturing, it's important for fertilizers. But to use it for electricity is causing enormous pressure, because we're not getting enough natural gas produced.

One way to alleviate [sic] the pressure on price is to expand the use of liquified natural gas through new terminals. And I want to thank the Congress for passing new siting rights in the energy bill that will enable us to have more terminals for us to be able to receive liquified natural gas from parts of the world that can produce it cheaply – liquified, and then ship it to the United States.

But the other way to take the price off of gas is to better use coal, nuclear power, solar and wind energy. Now, when you hear people say coal, it causes people to shudder, because coal – it's hard to burn it. But we have got – we're spending about \$2 billion over a 10-year period to develop clean coal technologies. If technology can help the way we live, technology can certainly help change the way we utilize coal. And it's important that we spend money on new technologies so we can burn coal cleanly, because we got 250 years worth of coal reserves.

One way to take the pressure off natural gas is to use coal more efficiently. We believe, by 2015 we'll have developed the first zero emission coal-fire electricity plant. We're making progress. We're spending money, research is good. The American taxpayers have got to know that by spending money on this vital research, that we're going to be able to use our abundant sources of coal in an environmentally friendly way, and help with your electricity bills.

Secondly, we've got to use nuclear power more effectively and more efficiently. We haven't built a plant since the 1970s. You're seeing now, France has built a lot of plants since the 1970s. They get about 85 percent of their electricity from nuclear power. And technology has changed dramatically, and I believe we can build plants in a safe way and, at the same time, generate cost-effective electricity that does not – that the process of which won't pollute.

And so we've begun to, in the energy bill, begun to provide incentives for the nuclear power industry to start siting plants. It just doesn't make any sense to me that we don't use this technology if we're interested in becoming less dependent on foreign sources of energy and we want to protect our environment.

And finally, solar and wind technologies. We are – we're also going to talk about that. NREL is doing a lot of important work on solar and wind technology. The vision for solar is one day each home becomes a little power unit unto itself, that photovoltaic processes will enable you to become a little power generator, and that if you generate more power than you use, you can feed it back into the grid.

I was, yesterday, in Michigan, and went to United Solar. And they've got some fantastic technologies. Dan was quick to remind me, others have fantastic technologies, as well. (Laughter.) I just hadn't seen them firsthand. But the American people need to know, with additional research dollars, which we're proposing to Congress, we're close to some important breakthroughs – to be able to use this technology to help folks – to help folks power their homes by the sun.

And finally, wind. We don't have a lot of turbines in Washington, but there's a lot of wind there, I can assure you of that. (Laughter.) But there are parts of the country where there are turbines. They say to me that

there's about six percent of the country that's perfectly suited for wind energy, and that if the technology is developed further, that it's possible we could generate up to 20 percent of our electricity needs through wind and turbine.

What I'm talking about is a comprehensive strategy. In other words, we're not relying upon one aspect of renewable energy to help this country become less dependent. We're talking about a variety of fronts. And we're willing to work with both the public sector and private sector to make sure that we achieve breakthroughs. And I'm fired up about it and so should the American people be. I mean, we're close to changing the way we live in an incredibly positive way. And, therefore, I want to thank the folks at NREL for being a part of this exciting movement. It's got to be pretty interesting to be one of these guys working on how to make switch grass go to fuel. I mean, it's got to make you feel good about your work, because you're doing the country a great service.

And so, with that in mind, I've asked Dan Arvizu to join us. He's the Director of NREL. That means he's -- that means you're the boss? (Laughter.)

MR. ARVIZU: Only part of the time.

THE PRESIDENT: Only part of the time.

MR. ARVIZU: Until I get home. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Why don't you tell the folks -- he's a smart man. (Laughter.) Why don't you tell the folks what you do here so people can understand.

THE PRESIDENT: I think what he's saying is one of these days, we're going to take wood chips -- (laughter) -- put them through the factory, and it's going to be fuel you can put in your car. Is that right?

DR. ARVIZU: That's absolutely true. (Laughter and applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's the difference between the PhD and a C student. (Laughter.)

DR. ARVIZU: I didn't want to say that.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, right. (Laughter.) Anyway, keep going. (Laughter.)

DR. ARVIZU: One of the other areas that we're tremendously excited by is photovoltaics. You mentioned the photovoltaics.

THE PRESIDENT: Explain what photovoltaics are. I threw it out there as kind of -- tell people what it means.

DR. ARVIZU: Photovoltaics is actually the direct conversion of sunlight to electricity through semiconductor material, and it's essentially what we use in computers for chips that power those things. And to a large degree, it's a technology that's been around a long time, but it has become much closer to commercialization. Now, in high-value markets it is commercial today.

THE PRESIDENT: See, what's changed is the global supply for fossil fuels is outstripping the -- the global demand is outstripping the global supply, and so you're seeing a price of the feedstock of normal energy going up, and technology driving the price of alternatives down. And that's why this is a really interesting moment that we're going to see. It has changed a lot of thinking. The price of natural gas and the price of crude oil has absolutely made these competitive alternative sources of energy real. And the question is, do we have the technological breakthroughs to make it such that it can get to your gas tanks.

THE PRESIDENT: Larry Burns, why don't you explain to folks what you do for a living.

MR. BURNS: I'm responsible for research and development and strategic planning for General Motors. And

I've been doing that, working for General Motors for 37 years, actually.

THE PRESIDENT: Thirty-seven years?

MR. BURNS: Yes. I started out in kindergarten —

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I was going to say. (Laughter.) You're obviously not in politics because your hair is not grey. (Laughter.)

You know, it's interesting, I bet you people don't know this — a lot of people don't know — there are 4.5 million automobiles on the road today that can either burn gasoline or ethanol — called flex-fuel vehicles. Isn't that interesting? And people don't know that. In other words, the technology is available.

Pick it up from there. I'm trying to give you — (laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Tell people what a flex-fuel vehicle is. What is it? Tell them what it is.

MR. BURNS: What it is, it's a vehicle that can burn both gasoline and E-85 ethanol. As you explained, it's 85 percent ethanol and 15 percent gasoline. So any mixture between gasoline and E-85 a vehicle can burn. And in fact, E-85 burns cleaner and yields higher horsepower than gasoline, it's renewable and it can be homegrown. So we think it's an ideal fuel.

THE PRESIDENT: Does it cost much to make the engine —

MR. BURNS: No, no, actually not. It's a pretty straightforward thing for us to do. The fuel injectors in your engine have to be changed, but this is one of the reasons we can do it in high volume and give our customers the choice.

THE PRESIDENT: In other words, this isn't something that's going to be real expensive to the consumer, if somebody wants a flex-fuel vehicle?

MR. BURNS: No, not in terms of the vehicle.

THE PRESIDENT: But people are sitting there saying, well, okay, maybe you've manufactured the fuel from different sources, but do you have the automobiles to use it. And the point is the technology is already advanced. I mean, they're out there, people on the road using it. So the question is now, can we get the fuel manufactured close to where people are driving flex-fuel vehicles, or vice versa, so that we can get this technology expanded throughout the country.

THE PRESIDENT: We're spending \$1.2 billion over a five-year period on — or 10-year period for hydrogen research. I would warn folks that I think the hybrid battery and the ethanol technologies will precede hydrogen. Hydrogen is a longer-term opportunity. It's going to take a while for hydrogen automobiles to develop, plus the infrastructure necessary to make sure people can actually have convenience when it comes to filling up your car with hydrogen. But, nevertheless, I'm pleased to hear that GM is joining the federal government on the leading edge of technological change.

MR. BURNS: The important part about that battery, too, is it's a stepping stone to the fuel-cell vehicle. We imagine our fuel-cell vehicles will have some form of storing energy, because as your car slows down, you want to capture that energy and store it. So it's not like we're making one investment here that doesn't help another one. They all come together — the ethanol, the batteries and the fuel cells are really one and the same road map to get to the future that offers a lot of alternatives for our nation.

THE PRESIDENT: Great. Thanks for joining us.

MR. BURNS: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Patty Stulp.

MS. STULP: Hi. Good morning, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: You've got an interesting business.

MS. STULP: I do, thank you. I blend ethanol for a gasoline refinery.

THE PRESIDENT: You blend ethanol for a gasoline refinery.

MS. STULP: Would you like me to tell about it?

THE PRESIDENT: I wish you would. (Laughter.) Please don't ask me to tell you about it.

MS. STULP: I've been involved in ethanol industry for over 20 years. I grew up on a farm in Yuma County. I need to point out that Yuma County is the number one corn-producing county in the nation most years. I'm a fourth generation —

THE PRESIDENT: Number one corn-producing county in the country.

MS. STULP: It's in Colorado?

THE PRESIDENT: Really?

MS. STULP: We grow a lot of corn, about —

THE PRESIDENT: That's not what they told me in Iowa, but that's all right. (Laughter.) I believe you.

THE PRESIDENT: Well said. Our economy — a strong economy is one that needs a good farm economy. And the more markets there are for our farmers, the stronger the economy is going to be. And ethanol is just another market.

MS. STULP: Mr. President, we really appreciate your support of this program.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, listen it makes sense. Anybody who doesn't support it doesn't quite understand the problems we face. But thanks. Good job. You're a pioneer yourself.

MS. STULP: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Colorado is famous for pioneers. (Laughter.) Bill Frey, straight out of Delaware, is that right?

MR. FREY: Straight out of Delaware, yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome.

MR. FREY: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Tell people what you do.

THE PRESIDENT: Are you dedicating a lot of dollars to research and development? I know you are in general, but how about to alternative sources of energy?

MR. FREY: Absolutely. Absolutely. And we're doing it in two regards — most of the discussion so far has been around the issue of fuels as an output. We do a lot of work in terms of using cellulose-based or using corn-based raw materials to make materials, as well.

THE PRESIDENT: Let's see what I can ask you here. (Laughter.) What is your relationship – what is the nature of the relationship with NREL? When you say you work with NREL, tell people how the private sector and government entities interface.

MR. FREY: People have mentioned bio-refinery – I think probably everyone so far has mentioned bio-refinery

– and we're working very closely with NREL – NREL, of course, has had a number of years of being in the space looking at renewable energy, doing a lot of the foundation work that allows us to now look at how we're going to commercialize cellulose. So we're doing a lot of work in the area of bio-refinery with NREL, looking at how we can take a process which, today, has challenges associated with the economics of doing it, so it's an issue of economics. It's not a technology issue, the technology works. It's the economics of that technology. So we're spending a lot of time on trying to solve those problems.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you have people here from your company coming –

MR. FREY: Actually, there are people meeting today off-site, because of this particular event – (laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: I said I was a pain. Look, I said it up front. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Part of it is the process of converting the switch grass to fuel, and part of it is to make sure the manufacturing process yields a cost-effective product. And that's a lot of what you're discussing, which is important.

MR. FREY: And it's important, I think, also for a lot of the constituents to know that there isn't an either/or situation as it relates to the type of work that we're doing with cellulose. There's some confusion at times as to is cellulosic going to take the place of corn-based ethanol, and, of course, it's not going to at all.

THE PRESIDENT: The answer is, no. We have plenty of demand. I mean, there's going to be a lot of cars. We've only got 4.5 million cars – what are there, 220 million cars in America? And by the way, just to make sure everybody's expectations are set, our fleet is not going to change overnight. It takes a while. When you get new technologies available for people to buy – hybrid vehicles or flex-fuel vehicles – it takes a while to change a 220-million car fleet to a modern fleet.

And so what we're talking about is an evolution, so people don't have the expectations that overnight there's going to be millions of people driving hybrid vehicles or – we want them to be. It's just going to – from a practical perspective, it takes a while.

THE PRESIDENT: I think part of this deal today is to help develop national will. Most Americans understand the problems. And so, thanks for joining. You did a fine job. Tell them back – hello there in Delaware.

MR. FREY: All right. I'm sure they're watching –

THE PRESIDENT: They're watching. Well, give them a wave.

MR. FREY: Okay. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Lori Vaclavik.

MS. VACLAVIK: Vaclavik.

THE PRESIDENT: Vaclavik. It's a very – you're an interesting addition to the panel. Besides being a fine person, tell people what you do. I think people will find this interesting.

THE PRESIDENT: Great, thanks – well-spoken. If anybody in the Denver area wants to contribute to help somebody's life be a better life, join Habitat for Humanity. If you want to – the truth of the matter is, I was

just thinking about – we're talking about power and power sources and everything, the true power of the country is the hearts and souls of citizens who volunteer to help change people's lives. So thanks. Beautiful statement – using some technology to help somebody. But you're right, the great source of inspiration is the fact that we got a new homeowner. Yes, that's neat.

Welcome. Dale, step forth. (Laughter.)

MR. GARDNER: I'm here, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Good. Reporting for duty. Are you gainfully employed?

MR. GARDNER: I am. (Laughter.) As long as you're kind to my boss. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: As long as Congress quits earmarking. Anyway.

MR. GARDNER: Well, we could talk about that, too. (Laughter.) I am here at NREL, but I directly support the hydrogen program back at the Department of Energy.

THE PRESIDENT: Great.

THE PRESIDENT: So like if you got a two-year-old child, when the person gets to be 12, maybe thinking about driving a car, all of a sudden, the technology becomes more real – pretty close. For a guy 59, 10 years is a lot. (Laughter.) If you're two, it's not all that much. (Laughter.) It's conceivable that a two-year-old today could be taking a driver's test in a hydrogen-power automobile.

Keep going.

MR. GARDNER: So here's what we're doing. The major technological challenges – I can boil them up into three areas. There are many, but here is a good way to think about it. The first is production of hydrogen. Hydrogen, even though it's the most common element in the universe, here on Earth it's not found freely. It's bound up into these larger molecules and, therefore, it takes us energy and dollars to break it free. So that's the main thing.

THE PRESIDENT: One reason why we need to expand nuclear power is to be able to help manufacture ample quantities of hydrogen to help change the way we live.

MR. GARDNER: That's exactly right. We can take that electricity from a nuclear power plant, electrolyze water, which just means break the hydrogen free from the oxygen and then have it for a fuel source. So production is one of our big goals. And the goal there, of course, is to make the cost of the hydrogen competitive with gasoline today; otherwise you and I won't want to buy it at the filling station.

THE PRESIDENT: Correct.

MR. GARDNER: The second area is storage. This is really an interesting one. Because hydrogen is the simplest element, it has the complexity that affects us in terms of using hydrogen in vehicles. We have to go put hydrogen in a tank, just as we do gasoline. Well, because it's so light, and its density is so low, it's really hard to pack enough of it into a tank that's not the size of your whole trunk, such that we can get 300 miles down the road. And for Larry to sell a car to one of us, we want to go at least 300 miles more, especially when you're driving in Texas, a long way between filling stations. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. And we want more than one seat in the automobile. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: So you've been looking at this for three years. Is this like science fiction, or are we talking about something that you think will come to fruition?

MR. GARDNER: This is going to happen.

THE PRESIDENT: Pretty exciting, isn't it?

MR. GARDNER: It's going to be out in the middle of the century. It's not going to be something that's going to happen in the next 15 or 20 years, but it's going to be the way our kids and our grandkids view the energy structure of our country. It's very exciting work.

THE PRESIDENT: In 1981, I don't think anybody ever thought there would be such a thing as email. Matter of fact, we were still writing letters longhand, if I recall. Typewriters were kind of the — now it's computer. It's amazing what research and development can do to the way we live. Payphones to cell phones in 20 years. I think what we're hearing is change of lifestyle in incredibly important ways in the research that's taking place.

You can't have — we live in an instant gratification world, so we got to be wise about how we make investments. Part of the strategy is intermediate term, part of the strategy is long-term. Thanks for explaining an important long-term strategy. You did a fine job, boiled it down, simplified it. Point one, two, three. (Laughter.) Thank you for joining us, and thanks for your work on that.

Finally, Pat Vincent, the President and CEO of —

MS. VINCENT: Public Service Company of Colorado.

THE PRESIDENT: Great. Thanks for joining us.

MS. VINCENT: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: You have a vested interest in all this.

MS. VINCENT: I do. I do. And I'd like to thank you for the opportunity to tell you about it.

THE PRESIDENT: What is the main source of your power today?

MS. VINCENT: It's a mix between coal and natural gas.

THE PRESIDENT: Coal — right, right — 50-50?

MS. VINCENT: We have some nuclear in Minnesota. Depends on the state. Here in Colorado, it's predominantly natural gas.

THE PRESIDENT: And what states do you cover?

MS. VINCENT: We cover 10 states. We cover the panhandle of Texas.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you?

MS. VINCENT: We do.

THE PRESIDENT: People paying their bills down there? (Laughter.)

MS. VINCENT: They are — they are.

THE PRESIDENT: That's good. A fine part of the country, I want to you know. Well, you don't need to name them all. A 10-state area.

MS. VINCENT: Yes, 10 states.

THE PRESIDENT: And you're based where?

MS. VINCENT: I'm based here in Denver, and this is our largest utility company here, is in Colorado. And we have a wind source program that has been around since 1998.

THE PRESIDENT: So like when you analyze the wind turbine technology, is it advancing rapidly? Is there

more advances being made – or am I getting you out of your lane here?

MS. VINCENT: No, it's advancing rapidly. And what we're finding is like Dan talked about, the demand for solar, is that the demand for the turbines is starting to outstrip the supply. And a lot of it's going overseas. The production tax credit really helps us here because it kind of goes in boom and bust cycles, so that has really helped us levelize the demand and make them commercially feasible. And people like GE are making big strides in wind technology.

THE PRESIDENT: Good.

MS. VINCENT: I don't know about your experience with wind, but it does blow intermittently here in Colorado and –

THE PRESIDENT: It does in Washington, too. (Laughter.)

MS. VINCENT: I wasn't sure if it was all the time, or just intermittently.

THE PRESIDENT: Lately, all the time. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: By the way, this may interest you if you are – these people manufacturing photovoltaic products can't make enough. I mean, the demand for these things is huge. And there's just not enough capacity. The plant we were at yesterday is going to double in size. They're making neat roofing materials, by the way. I'm not their marketing guy – (laughter) – just happens to be on my mind. What's interesting about the discussion is the utility industry needs alternative sources of energy in order for them to be able to do their job. I think that's what you're saying.

MS. VINCENT: Yes, and it's good our customers, it's good for the communities, and it's good for us –

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely.

MS. VINCENT: – our shareholders.

THE PRESIDENT: It's good for your customers, it's good for you.

MS. VINCENT: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: And I know you feel that way. Managing peak electricity loads with alternative sources of energy makes a lot of sense.

MS. VINCENT: Yes, it does.

THE PRESIDENT: You did a fine job.

MS. VINCENT: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: So that's why we're here, to talk about a variety of options to achieve a great national goal. And there's no doubt in my mind we're going to achieve it. And it's exciting. It's exciting times to be involved with all aspects of this strategy. And you heard some of our fellow citizens describe to you what they're doing to be a part of this giant effort, giant effort to change the way we live, so that future generations of Americans will look back at this period and say, thank goodness there was yet another generation of pioneers and entrepreneurs willing to think differently on behalf of the country.

Thanks for coming. God bless. (Applause.)

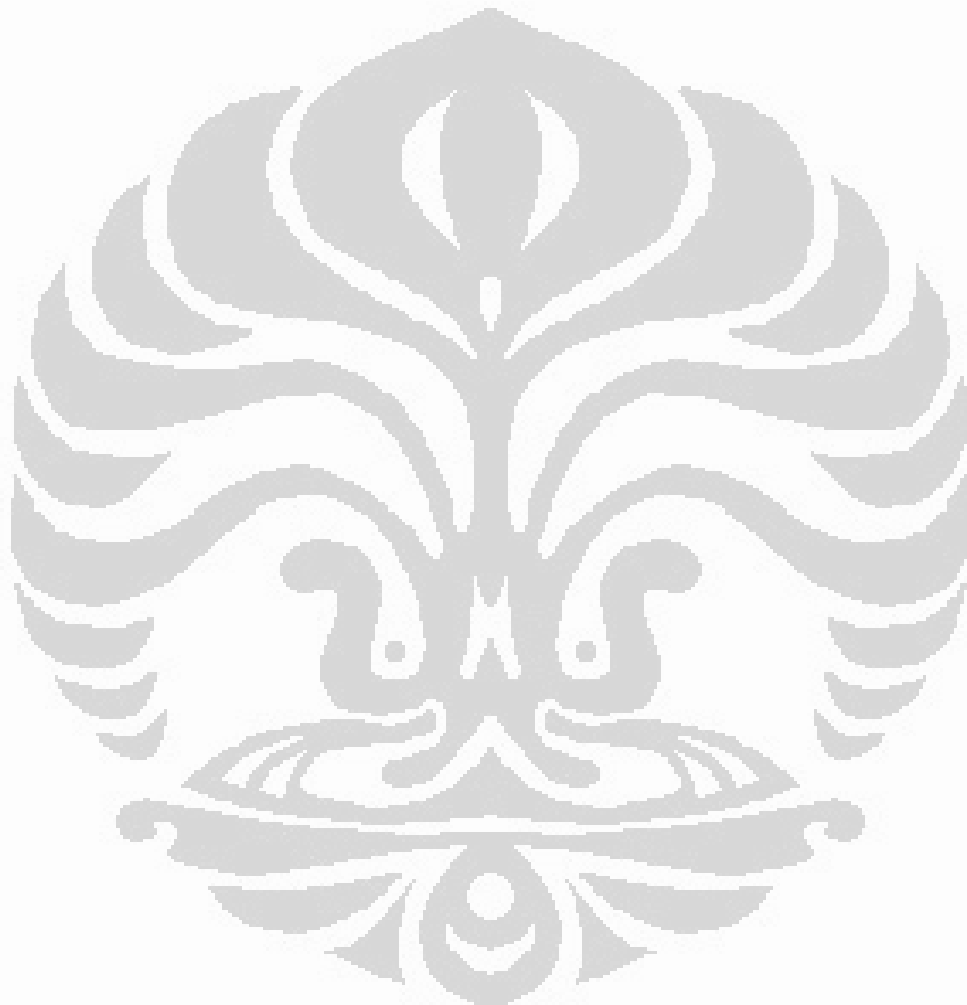
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Penalaran strategi ..., Susi Herti Afriani, FIB UI, 2008

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/print/text/20060221.html>



For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
February 23, 2006

President Discusses Hurricane Katrina Lessons Learned Report with Cabinet
The Cabinet Room

The Federal Response to Hurricane Katrina: Lessons Learned
Fact Sheet: The Federal Response to Hurricane Katrina:
Lessons Learned
President's Cabinet

President's Remarks
WIN

9:16 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all for coming. My Cabinet just met to get a report from Fran Townsend about the lessons learned from Hurricane Katrina. On September the 6th, I asked Fran to conduct a thorough review of the federal response to Katrina and to make recommendations about how we can better respond in the future. I wasn't satisfied with the federal response. Fran and her team produced a lessons learned document, and she just briefed the Cabinet about lessons learned.

I reminded our Cabinet that hurricane season begins in June and that we will be tracking the implementations of the recommendations in this report. I want to thank her for her report. It's a good work. We will learn from the lessons of the past to better protect the American people.

We have made a strong commitment to people in the Gulf Coast and we will honor that commitment, as well. The report helps us anticipate how to better respond to future disasters. In the meantime, our commitment to rebuild and help rebuild Mississippi and Louisiana is ongoing and robust.

I'll be glad to answer some questions. Terry. Two questions. You're the first questioner.

Q Mr. President, dozens of Sunni mosques have been attacked and scores of people have been killed after the bombing of the Golden Mosque. How serious is the danger of a civil war in Iraq?

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, the people of the United States strongly condemn the destruction of the Golden Mosque. We believe in freedom to worship. And I understand the consternation and concern of Iraqi Shias when they see this most holy site wantonly destroyed.

I appreciate very much the leaders from all aspects of Iraqi society that have stood up and urged for there to be calm. They recognize two things -- one, the Iraqi people want to live in a democracy. After all, 11 million people voted in the last election. In other words, given a choice of whether or not they want democracy or a different form of government, millions of people showed up to vote, making a clear statement to the Iraqi authorities, as well as to the people of the world they want democracy.

Secondly, the voices of reason want all aspects of Iraqi life -- understand that this bombing is intended to create civil strife, that the act was a evil act. The destruction of a holy site is a political act intending to create strife. And so I'm pleased with the voices of reason that have spoken out. And we will continue to work with those voices of reason to enable Iraq to continue on the path of a democracy that unites people and doesn't divide them.

Finally, I do want to assure the Iraqi people that the U.S. government is serious in our commitment in helping to rebuild that holy site. We understand its importance to Iraqi society and we want to stand side-by-side with the government in making sure that beautiful dome is restored.

Caren.

Q Sir, do you wish you had known earlier about the Dubai Ports deal and were you surprised by the controversy over it?

THE PRESIDENT: The more people learn about the transaction that has been scrutinized and approved by my government, the more they'll be comforted that our ports will be secure. Port security in the United States will be run by Customs – U.S. Customs – and the United States Coast Guard. The management of some ports, which, heretofore, has been managed by a foreign company will be managed by another company from a foreign land. And so people don't need to worry about security. This deal wouldn't go forward if we were concerned about the security for the United States of America.

What I find interesting is that it's okay for a British company to manage some ports, but not okay for a company from a country that is also a valuable ally in the war on terror. The UAE has been a valuable partner in fighting the war on terror. A lot of goods are shipped from ports to the United States managed by this company.

And again, I repeat to the American people, this wouldn't be going forward if we weren't certain that our ports would be secure. But I also want to remind folks that it's really important we not send mixed messages to friends and allies around the world as we combine – put together a coalition to fight this war on terror.

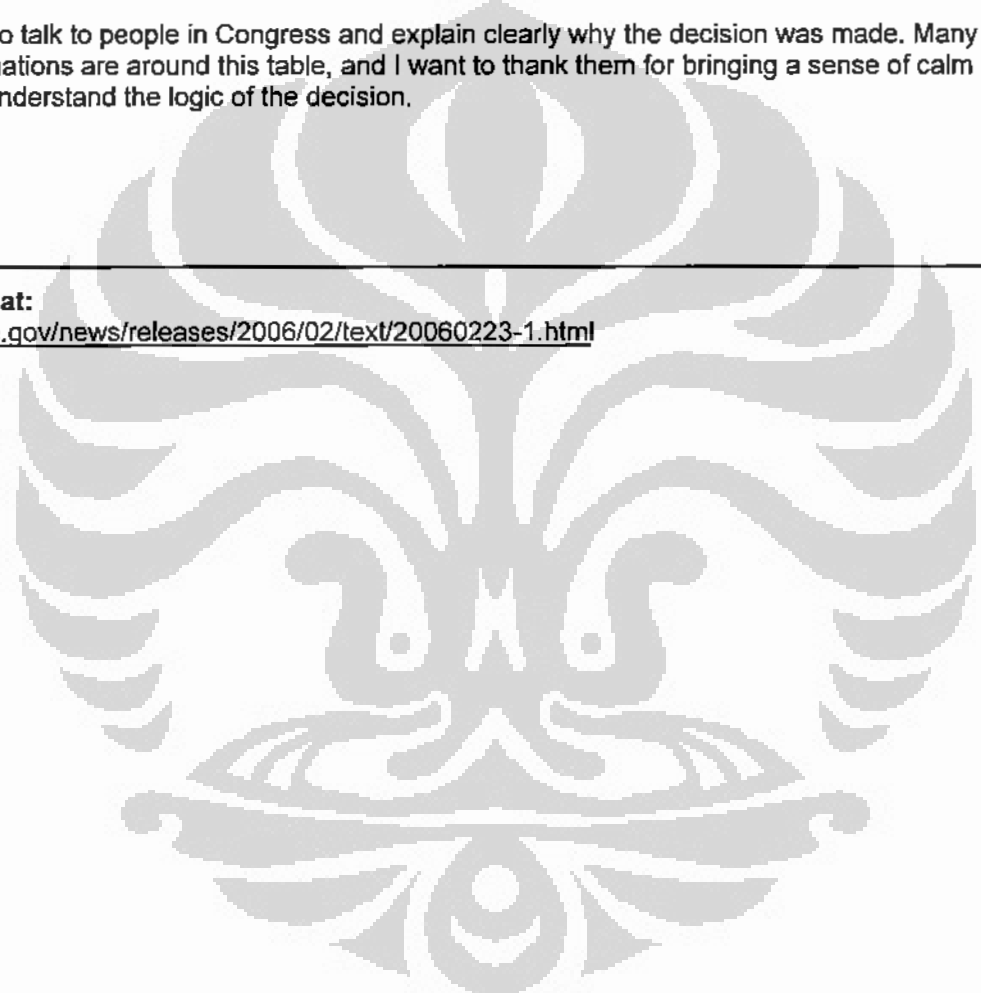
And so we'll continue to talk to people in Congress and explain clearly why the decision was made. Many of those doing the explanations are around this table, and I want to thank them for bringing a sense of calm to this issue, as people understand the logic of the decision.

Thank you all.

END 9:22 A.M. EST

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The White House
President George W. Bush

For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 28, 2006

President Bush Participates in Joint Press Availability with President Ilves of Estonia

National Bank of Estonia
Tallinn, Estonia

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

11:00 A.M. (Local)

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT ILVES: (As translated.) Again, I'm very happy to greet the President of the United States, George W. Bush, in our fall weather here in Tallinn. Unfortunately, the weather isn't better than it is, but that's how it happens. This visit and these very open meetings that we have had, President Bush has had with me, as well as with the Prime Minister, Andrus Ansip, truly prove that Estonia and the United States are close allies.

One of the main messages today was the message of freedom to those states who, like us, have chosen the way to democracy and freedom and will not bow to pressure from any of their neighbors, and by these countries we mean Georgia, Ukraine, the Balkan States. We should not hesitate to support these states. And we should not falter when any of our allies are losing hope or faith, and we will help them in every way we can.

We will also not falter in making Afghanistan more secure, where Estonia soldiers are helping to protect the welfare of Afghan citizens, again, together, hand in hand with the United States. NATO's greatest foreign operation in the post-Cold War period, it is the greatest challenge of the postwar period. It is a challenge not only for the neighbors of these countries, but also for the whole world, as was proved by September the 11th.

We are hoping to strengthen the ties between European countries and the United States. Conflicts between us are minor or nonexistent, and any issues will be easy to resolve. President Bush's visit to Tallinn is taking place at a time immediately before the summit of NATO in Riga. This summit shows how far the Baltic States have developed and how strong the support of our allies is for us. We want to give a strong message at the summit, and that is that the doors to NATO are not closed and this is becoming a very mature, good organization.

And I want to tell Mr. Bush, welcome to Estonia.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'm proud to be the first sitting American President to visit Estonia. I'm really glad I came. Yours is a beautiful country and a strong friend and ally of the United States. I appreciate the warm welcome I've received. My only regret is that Laura is not with me. She's receiving the Christmas tree at the White House. She sends her very best, Mr. President.

We had a lot -- we had a really good discussion. The President and I spent a lot of time talking about the issue of freedom and liberty and peace. I appreciate very much the leadership Estonia is providing inside NATO.

We talked about how our nations can cooperate to achieve common objectives and promote common values, values such as human dignity and human rights and the freedom to speak and worship the way one sees fit.

Estonia is a strong ally in this war on terror. I appreciate so very much the President's understanding of the need to resist tyranny. Of all the people in the world who understand what tyranny can do it's the Estonian people. I appreciate very much the fact that Estonia is helping others resist tyranny and realize their dreams of living in a free society. In Afghanistan, Estonians are serving as a part of NATO's International Security Assistance Force in a dangerous province that the extremists, the Taliban, seeks to control. I appreciate the fact that your forces are serving bravely, Mr. President. The people of Estonia need to be proud of their military. It's a fine military. And the commitment of your people is important to helping secure the peace.

Penalaran strategi ..., Susi Herti Afriani, FIB UI, 2008

I appreciate the troops that you have sent to Iraq. I also understand Estonian soldiers have been wounded and two soldiers have given their lives. We hold their families in our hearts. We lift them up in prayer. And Americans are grateful to be serving alongside such brave allies.

Estonia is sharing its democratic experience with other nations. You have made a very successful transition to democracy, and you're helping other nations do the same, and that is a vital contribution to world peace. I appreciate the fact that you're training leaders from Georgia to Moldova to the Ukraine. I appreciate the assistance programs you're providing to the Afghan people. I also appreciate the fact that you work with your neighbors and through the European Union to promote freedom in this region and around the globe.

This morning the Prime Minister and I had a chance to meet, as well, and he introduced me to some of your citizens who are helping to build democracies, and I thanked them for their work.

We also discussed how Estonia has built a strong economy and raised the standard of living for the people. I appreciate the fact that you got a flat tax, you got a tax system that's transparent and simple. I also am amazed by the e-governance you have here in your country. You really are on the leading edge of change, and you're setting a really strong example.

We talked about the fact that Estonians want to be able to travel to America visa-free. Both the President and the Prime Minister made this an important part of our discussions. They made it clear to me that if we're an ally in NATO, people ought to be able to come to our country in a much easier fashion. It is clear to me that this is an important issue for the Estonian people, as well. I appreciate their leaders being straightforward and very frank. There's no question where they stand.

I am pleased to announce that I'm going to work with our Congress and our international partners to modify our visa waiver program. It's a way to make sure that nations like Estonia qualify more quickly for the program and, at the same time, strengthen the program's security components.

The new security component of the visa waiver program would use modern technology to improve the security regime for international travelers to and from the United States. In other words, we need to know who is coming, and when they're leaving. And the more we share — can share information, the easier it will be for me to get Congress to make it easier for Estonians to travel to the United States.

We want people to come to our country. We understand a lot of Estonians have relatives in America. It's in our nation's interest that people be able to come and visit, and it's important, at the same time, to make sure that those who want to continue to kill Americans aren't able to exploit the system.

I'm going to go to Riga right after our lunch. We have an ambitious agenda there. More than 50,000 NATO soldiers are providing security in six missions on three continents. These deployments have shown that our alliance remains as relevant today as it was during the height of the Cold War. Our alliance defends freedom, and so doing helps make us all more secure. We will discuss NATO's largest deployment, and that is Afghanistan. We're partnering with Afghan security forces to defeat the Taliban and strengthen that young democracy. To succeed in Afghanistan, NATO allies must provide the forces NATO military commanders require. I appreciate Estonia's commitment. Like Estonia, member nations must accept difficult assignments if we expect to be successful.

In Riga, we'll discuss how our alliance must build on what we have learned in Afghanistan. We will continue to transform NATO forces and improve NATO capabilities so that our alliance can complete 21st century missions successfully. The threat has changed. Our capabilities must change with the threats if NATO is to remain relevant. The President understands that, and I appreciate our discussion along those lines today.

We're also going to discuss NATO's further enlargement. By inviting qualifying democracies to join our alliance at the next NATO summit in 2008, we'll continue to build a Europe that is whole, free, and at peace.

I want to thank you for your hospitality again. I know the people of this country are proud of their accomplishments. The American people would be amazed at what your country has done, and I'm proud for you. And I'm proud to call you friend. Thank you, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT ILVES: Thank you, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Any questions?

Q I have a question for both Presidents. Mr. Bush, you said that you really appreciate everything that Estonia has done, and that the U.S. is very interested in seeing Estonians visit your country. But you, as President, when will you be proposing to Congress this change in the visa laws to give us visa-free travel? And the second part of the question is, what should Estonia do in order to help you resolve this issue more quickly?

PRESIDENT BUSH: — to work on our 3 percent requirement, and, at the same time, assure members of Congress that in loosening the visa waiver issue, or changing the visa waiver issue, that we'll still be able to protect our country from people who would exploit the visa waiver program to come to our country to do harm. And that process is beginning shortly.

PRESIDENT ILVES: And I may add that Estonia is constantly — has been raising this question. I had a very long discussion, even back when I was a delegate in the European parliament. I would say that we have come quite a long way from the time we started these discussions two years ago with Nick Burns, and we are prepared when the security requirements have been clarified, have been explained, then we will be able to implement them in our passports. And that is simply a technical problem, but it is resolvable.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Are you going to call on anybody?

Q First, my respect to both of you, Mr. Bush, Mr. Ilves. A question for Mr. Bush. You said that you discussed with Mr. Ilves the situation in Georgia. Estonia and the United States have helped in the development of this country of Georgia, and we are hoping to see some progress in this country. But the conflict between Russia and Georgia is putting a stop to this. What do you think we should do to help resolve this conflict between Russia and Georgia?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Precisely what we ought to do is help resolve the conflict and use our diplomats to convince people there is a better way forward than through violence. We haven't seen violence yet. The idea is to head it off in the first place. I spoke to Vladimir Putin about this very subject when I saw him in the Far East last week. I know that the President has spoken with President Saakashvili, as well. The tenor of the conversation appears to be improving to me, that people understand that the best way to resolve their differences is to sit down at the table and solve them diplomatically. And so we'll continue to work along those lines.

I don't know if you want to add anything to that.

PRESIDENT ILVES: Briefly, just that we sincerely hope that Russia will understand that a democratic state on its borders is not a danger to Russian security. And we hope Russia will understand that authoritarian states at its borders will not guarantee its own stability.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Deb, AP. Yes, Deb.

Q Mr. President, thank you, sir. What is the difference between what we're seeing now in Iraq and civil war? And do you worry that calling it a civil war would make it difficult to argue that we're fighting the central front of the war on terror there?

PRESIDENT BUSH: You know, the plans of Mr. Zarqawi was to foment sectarian violence. That's what he said he wanted to do. The Samarra bombing that took place last winter was intended to create sectarian violence, and it has. The recent bombings were to perpetuate the sectarian violence. In other words, we've been in this phase for a while. And the fundamental objective is to work with the Iraqis to create conditions so that the vast majority of the people will be able to see that there's a peaceful way forward.

The bombings that took place recently was a part of a pattern that has been going on for about nine months. I'm going to bring this subject up, of course, with Prime Minister Maliki when I visit with him in Jordan on Thursday. My questions to him will be: What do we need to do to succeed? What is your strategy in dealing with the sectarian violence? I will assure him that we will continue to pursue al Qaeda to make sure that they do not establish a safe haven in Iraq.

I will ask him: What is required and what is your strategy to be a country which can govern itself and sustain itself? And it's going to be an important meeting, and I'm looking forward to it.

Q — are saying that we're moving forward to full —

PRESIDENT BUSH: Deb, there's all kinds of speculation about what may be or not happening. What you're seeing on TV has started last February. It was an attempt by people to foment sectarian violence, and no — no question it's dangerous there, and violent. And the Maliki government is going to have to deal with that violence, and we want to help them do so. It's in our interest that we succeed. A democracy in the heart of the Middle East is an important part of defeating the radicals and totalitarians that can't stand the emergence of a democracy.

One of the interesting things that's taking place — and people have got to understand what's happening — is when you see a young democracy beginning to emerge in the Middle East, the extremists try to defeat its emergence.

That's why you see violence in Lebanon. There's a young democracy in Lebanon, run by Prime Minister Siniora. And that government is being undermined, in my opinion, by extremist forces encouraged out of Syria and Iran. Why? Because a democracy will be a major defeat for those who articulate extremist points of view.

We're trying to help get a democracy started in the Palestinian Territory. Prime Minister Olmert has reached out at one point to Prime Minister Abbas — President Abbas. And you know what happens as soon as he does that? Extremists attack, because they can't stand the thought of a democracy. And the same thing is happening in Iraq. And it's in our mutual interest that we help this government succeed.

And no question it's tough, Deb. No question about it. There's a lot of sectarian violence taking place, fomented, in my opinion, because of these attacks by al Qaeda, causing people to seek reprisal. And we will work with the Maliki government to defeat these elements.

By far, the vast majority of the people want to live in peace. Twelve million people voted. They said, we want to live under a constitution which we approved. And our objective must be to help them realize their dreams. This is the — this is an important part of an ideological struggle that is taking place here in the beginning of the 21st century. And the interesting contribution that a country like Estonia is making is that, people shouldn't have to live under tyranny. We just did that; we don't like it. They understand that democracies yield peace. This President is a strong advocate for democracies, because he understands. He understands what it means to live under subjugation, and he understands the hope that democracy brings to regions of the world. And I appreciate your steadfast leadership.

Toby. Last question? I'll follow your instructions.

Q Mr. President, would direct talks between the United States and Iran and Syria help stem the violence in Iraq? And would you agree to such a step?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think that, first of all, Iraq is a sovereign nation which is conducting its own foreign policy. They're having talks with their neighbors. And if that's what they think they ought to do, that's fine. I hope their talks yield results. One result that Iraq would like to see is for the Iranians to leave them alone. If Iran is going to be involved in their country, they ought to be involved in a constructive way, encouraging peace. That is the message that the Iranians — that the Iraqis have delivered to the Iranians. That's the message that Prime Minister Maliki has made clear, that he expects the neighbors to encourage peaceful development of the country.

As far as the United States goes, Iran knows how to get to the table with us, and that is to do that which they said they would do, which is verifiably suspend their enrichment programs. One of the concerns that I have about the Iranian regime is their desire to develop a nuclear weapon, and you ought to be concerned about it, too. The idea of this regime having a nuclear weapon by which they could blackmail the world is unacceptable to free nations. And that's why we're working through the United Nations to send a clear message that the EU3 and the United States, Russia and China do not accept their desires to have a nuclear weapon.

There is a better way forward for the Iranian people, and if they would like to be at the table discussing this issue with the United States, I have made it abundantly clear how they can do so, and that is verifiably suspend the enrichment program. And then we'll be happy to have a dialogue with them.

But as far as Iraq goes, the Iraqi government is a sovereign government that is capable of handling its own foreign policies, and is in the process of doing so. And they have made it abundantly clear, and I agree with them, that the Iranians and the Syrians should help, not destabilize this young democracy.

Thank you.

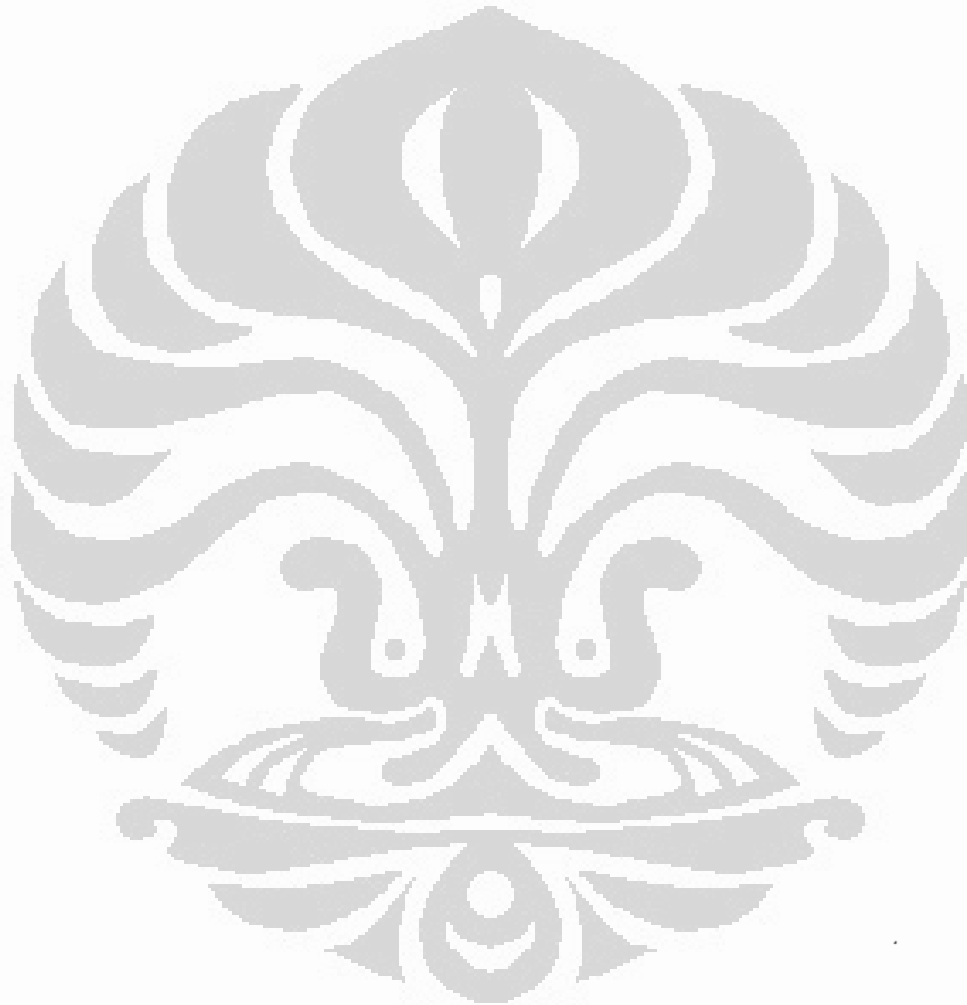
PRESIDENT ILVES: Thank you very much.

END 11:20 A.M. (Local)

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President Bush Welcomes President Fernandez of the Dominican Republic to the White House

The Oval Office

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

2:20 P.M. EDT

President's Remarks
[view](#)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Bienvenidos a mi amigo, the President of the Dominican Republic. I'm proud to be with a strong leader who is focused on reform and rule of law and prosperity.

The President informed me that the economy of the Dominican Republic grew by 9 percent last year. And I want to congratulate you, Mr. President.

We talked about how to continue economic growth and vitality. It's in the interests of the United States that the Dominican Republic have a strong economy. We talked about the need for us to help with the multilateral institutions, to – for them to work with this government to help with cash flows and cash demands so that this economy can continue its growth and strength.

We talked DR-CAFTA, and how important this piece of legislation is to the people of the Dominican Republic and to the people of the United States. And I assured the President that we will implement DR-CAFTA as quickly as possible, as soon as possible. And to that end, I have my trade minister, Ambassador Susan Schwab, here to make sure that we both heard the message of the President, that this was a very important piece of legislation and that we have committed – our government has committed to working with you, Mr. President, to get this done as quickly as possible.

Y por fin, we talked about the need for us to work closely on drug trafficking. The United States of America must continue to work to diminish the demand for drugs, and we are. As well, we want to work with our partners in the hemisphere, particularly the Dominican Republic, to interdict the drugs and to help these countries be able to avoid and fight off the scourge of drugs, because there is a direct correlation between drugs and crime, and the more we can cut down on drug use and drug trafficking and drug supplies, the easier it will be for respective countries to protect their people.

Mr. President, I appreciate very much your presence here. I thank you for your leadership in the hemisphere. I appreciate the advice you have given me on how we can work together to make sure our own neighborhood is secure and peaceful and hopeful. Welcome.

PRESIDENT FERNANDEZ: (As translated.) I thank you very much, Mr. President. It's a pleasure to be here. And I want to thank President Bush for the warm welcome that he has given me, along with my delegation, here to the Oval Office of the White House.

As the President indicated, we have touched on a number of issues of mutual interest to our two countries. First of all, DR-CAFTA; its implementation, hopefully, will take place very soon. We are now in the final phase. This is a bill now before our own congress in the Dominican Republic. We are dealing with some minor legal amendments, and our two teams have been working very hard to obtain a speedy implementation of DR-CAFTA. President Bush and we have agreed to the need to accelerate this process to benefit both our countries.

Second, as President Bush indicated, we have also touched on the issues of disbursements by multilateral institutions. These are extremely important in order to help with the progress of countries like the Dominican Republic to establish confidence, to maintain the confidence in our countries, and also to help us sustain ability of our economies.

The Dominican Republic has agreements with these multilateral institutions, and we hope that they will be

honored soon with regard to these disbursements. The sooner they are complied with the better it will be for us.

And third, of course, we have touched on a number of issues such as the issue of drug trafficking, as President Bush mentioned, the issue of crime, the issue of the good relations that we have had for so many years between the United States and the Dominican Republic, the issue of good governance, the issue of respect for human rights, and a number of other things.

It has been a very good meeting.

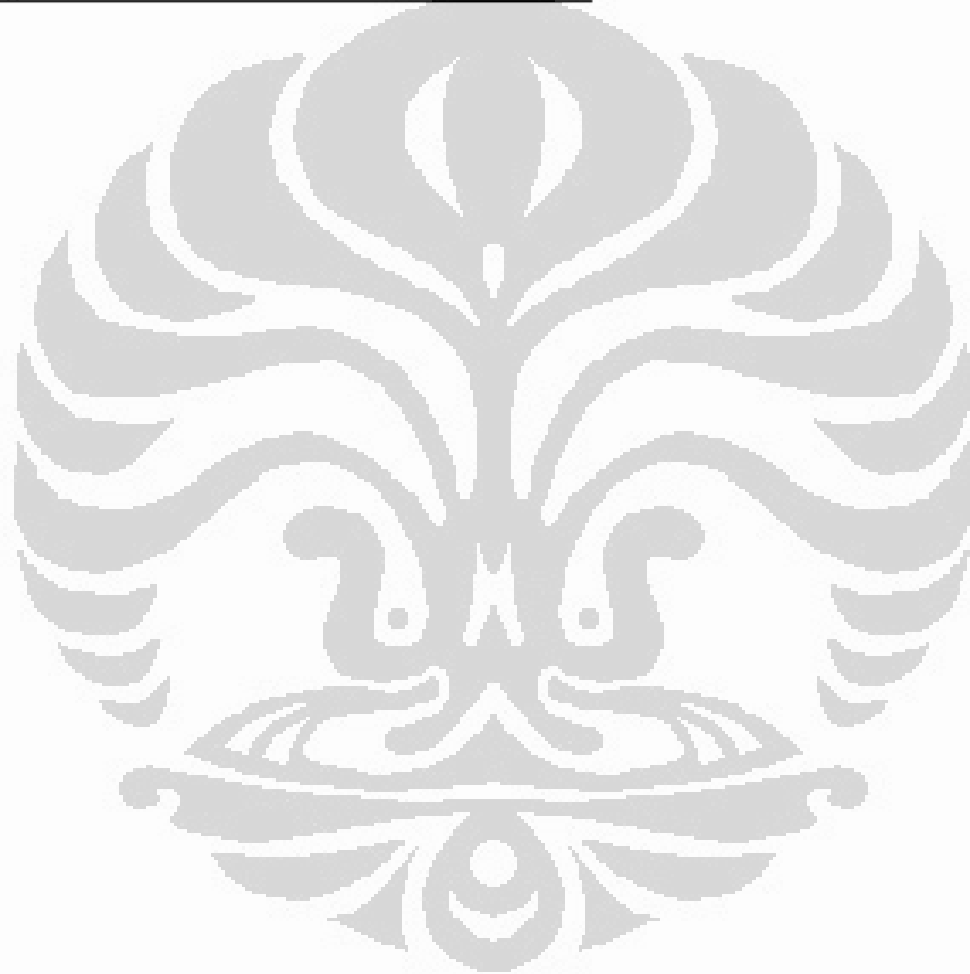
PRESIDENT BUSH: Gracias por su tiempo.

END 2:27 P.M. EDT

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 28, 2006

President Bush Meets with President Vike-Freiberga of Latvia

Riga Castle
Riga, Latvia

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

3:40 P.M. (Local)

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT VIKE-FREIBERGA: Well, ladies and gentlemen, it's been a great pleasure to have the President of the United States here in Riga for the second time in less than two years. And I expressed how delighted we are to be receiving him and his delegation here on the occasion of the Riga 2006 summit.

The United States has been our strong supporter all those years when Latvia was not free, has been our supporter after we regained our independence, and I'm most grateful to the United States for the understanding and support we got in our direction and our movement towards NATO. Now that we are fully members, Latvians certainly sleep better at night knowing that they are protected by an alliance that will spare them the sorts of experiences they had in earlier years.

But of course I'm delighted to be welcoming the President of the United States as the representative of what still remains as a shining example of the free world, of the sort of success one can achieve in a country that has been working at its democracy for a long time, that keeps perfecting it. I would hope that Latvia, as well, has the same opportunities; that we can go ahead, have our own choices, make our own mistakes, and do so with the help and understanding and support of fellow nations who share the same values as us.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Madam President, thanks for inviting me back to Riga. Our experience was so good the first time that we couldn't wait to get back. I want to congratulate you on hosting this very important NATO summit. You and your government have done a spectacular job, and I want to thank the people of Riga for accommodating all the world leaders who have come to this important meeting.

I appreciate very much your strong belief that liberty has got the capacity to transform the world for the good. I thank you and the Latvian people for supporting young democracies in Afghanistan and in Iraq.

We spent time talking about our bilateral relations. Trade is good between the United States and Latvia, and that's very positive. The President brought up the visa waiver program. She is deeply concerned that the people of Latvia aren't able to travel to the United States as freely as she would like. And I fully understand your concerns, Madam President. And to this end, I'll be sending to Congress a new proposal to make it easier for the citizens of Latvia to come to the United States, and at the same time, for us to share information to make sure that we're able to thwart any type of terrorist activities in our country. And I'm confident we can work this through.

And I want to thank you for working hard on this issue. Every time I've met with you, you brought it up, because you deeply care about the people of your country. I want to congratulate you on your strong leadership, and again, thank you for your very warm hospitality.

END 3:42 P.M. (Local)

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
December 8, 2006

President Bush Meets with President Mbeki of South Africa
Oval Office

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

2:12 P.M. EST

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT BUSH: It's been my honor to welcome a man for whom I have a great deal of respect, and that is the President of South Africa, President Mbeki, here back to the Oval Office. I so very much appreciate the time you've given and the great discussion we've just had.

We talked about a wide range of subjects. We talked about Darfur and the need for South Africa and the United States and other nations to work with the Sudanese government to enable a peacekeeping force into that country to facilitate aid and save lives. And I expressed my concerns about the situation with the President. He shares my concerns that the situation is dire. And now is the time for action. And I appreciate your thoughts, Mr. President.

We talked about, interestingly enough, the Darfur [sic] round. The President is concerned about whether or not the World Trade Organization round will go forward. He recognizes, like I recognize, that trade will lift more people out of poverty than any other mechanism. And I told the President I am committed to the Darfur [sic] round. I believe in trade. And I believe in the necessity of trade. And so we'll work to see if we can't get that issue solved.

We talked about a lot of issues. We talked about Iran, we talked about the Middle East, we talked about our bilateral relations and his government's commitment to fighting HIV/AIDS and our willingness to provide over \$600 million to the folks in South Africa to help deal with this terrible pandemic.

I would call our relations strong and good and necessary. And Mr. President, welcome back, and the floor is yours.

PRESIDENT MBEKI: Thank you very much, President. Well, I was very glad, indeed, that we had this opportunity to meet with the President, to discuss precisely these matters that he has indicated. Of course of immediate importance to us is the support we get from the President and the U.S. government with regard to the resolution of these African conflicts.

And, indeed, we are, all of us, keenly interested that we must increase the troops deployed in Darfur, to address these issues that the President mentioned, and hopefully the Security Council will move quickly on that to do that larger deployment of troops. It's very urgent, very necessary, and we will absolutely do everything to make sure that, from the African side, we remove any obstacle there might be to such bigger deployment in Darfur. It's very necessary.

The President also mentioned, I discussed with the President the impact of the situation in Darfur on the neighboring countries, particularly Chad and the Central African Republic. But also the difficult situation in Somalia –

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT MBEKI: – and the President, together, we are very keen that, indeed, something must move there. This was a failed state. It's necessary to support the transitional government, to restoring a government and to reunify the country, and so on. It's an important thing because the problem, one of the big problems is that as it is, it provides a base for terrorists, find safe haven there and then can spread out to the rest of the continent. It's something that is of shared concern.

But again, of course, I was very, very reassured when the President said he is committed to the success of the WTO negotiations. It's a very important part, in terms of addressing the agenda of the poor of the world.

We need these market access issues addressed, and so on. I was very, very pleased, indeed, that President said indeed we must work to make sure that WTO negotiating process succeeds.

We – finally, President, I'd like to say I was very pleased that, indeed, you said we shall need to work even – together even more intensely than we have in the past, because with effect from the 1st of January, South Africa of course joins the Security Council as a non-permanent member. I was very glad that the President said that's going to mean we'll need better interaction so that we could work together, indeed, to help to find solutions to all these wide range of issues that are on the agenda of the Security Council.

But thank you very much, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Proud you're back. Thank you, sir.

END 2:16 P.M. EST

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President Bush Meets with British Prime Minister Tony Blair

Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

11:05 A.M. EST

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you all. Please be seated. I just had a good visit with Prime Minister Tony Blair. I appreciate you coming back, Mr. Prime Minister. I always enjoy our discussions, and I appreciate your clear view that we are confronted with a struggle between moderation and extremism. And this is particularly evident in the broader Middle East.

I talked about my recent trip to Jordan, where I talked to Prime Minister Maliki. I briefed the Prime Minister on my visit with His Eminence, Mr. Hakim, one of the major political players in Iraq. We discussed the report I received yesterday from the Iraq Study Group, a report chaired by Secretary of State – former Secretary of State James Baker and former Congressman Lee Hamilton. I told the Prime Minister I thought this was a very constructive report. I appreciated the fact that they laid out a series of recommendations, and they're worthy of serious study. I also updated the Prime Minister on the reviews that are being conducted by the Pentagon and the State Department and our National Security Council. I talked to him about the consultations I'm having with the United States Congress.

We agree that victory in Iraq is important; it's important for the Iraqi people, it's important for the security of the United States and Great Britain, and it's important for the civilized world. We agree that an Iraq that can govern itself, defend itself and sustain itself as an ally on the war on terror is a noble goal. The Prime Minister and I seek a wide range of opinions about how to go forward in Iraq, and I appreciate your opinions and your advice.

The increase in sectarian attacks we're seeing in and around Baghdad are unsettling. It has led to much debate in both our countries about the nature of the war that is taking place in Iraq. And it is true that Sunni and Shia extremists are targeting each other's innocent civilians and engaging in brutal reprisals. It's also true that forces beyond Iraq's borders contribute to this violence. And the Prime Minister put it this way, he said, "The violence is not an accident or a result of faulty planning. It is a deliberate strategy. It is the direct result of outside extremists teaming up with internal extremists – al Qaeda with the Sunni insurgents, and Iran with the Shia militia – to foment hatred and to throttle, at birth, the possibility of a non-sectarian democracy." You were right, and I appreciate your comments.

The primary victims of the sectarian violence are the moderate majority of Iraqis – Sunni and Shia alike – who want a future of peace. The primary beneficiaries are Sunni and Shia extremists, inside and outside of Iraq, who want chaos in that country so they can take control and further their ambitions to dominate the region.

These Sunni and Shia extremists have important differences, yet they agree on one thing: the rise of free and democratic societies in the Middle East where people can practice their faith, choose their leaders, and live together in peace would be a decisive blow to their cause.

And so they're supporting extremists across the region who are working to undermine young democracies. Just think about the Middle East. In Iraq, they support terrorists and death squads who are fomenting sectarian violence in an effort to bring down the elected government of Prime Minister Maliki. In Lebanon, they're supporting Hezbollah, which recently declared its intention to force the collapse of Prime Minister Siniora's democratically-elected parliament and government. In Afghanistan, they're supporting remnants of the Taliban that are seeking to destabilize President Karzai's government and regain power. In the Palestinian Territories, they are working to stop moderate leaders like President Abbas from making progress toward the vision of two democratic states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security.

In each of these places, radicals and extremists are using terror to stop the spread of freedom. And they do so because they want to spread their ideologies – their ideologies of hate – and impose their rule on this vital part of the world. And should they succeed, history will look back on our time with unforgiving clarity and demand to know, what happened? How come free nations did not act to preserve the peace?

Prime Minister Blair and I understand that we have a responsibility to lead and to support moderates and reformers who work for change across the broader Middle East. We also recognize that meeting this responsibility requires action. We will take concerted efforts to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East. Prime Minister Blair informed me that he will be heading to the Middle East soon to talk to both the Israelis and the Palestinians. And I support that mission. I support the mission because it's important for us to advance the cause of two states living side by side in peace, and helping both parties eliminate the obstacles that prevent an agreement from being reached. And your strong leadership on this issue matters a lot.

We'll support the democratic government of Prime Minister Maliki as he makes difficult decisions and confronts the forces of terror and extremism that are working hard to tear his country apart.

Britain and America are old allies, and the Prime Minister and I are strong friends. But Britain and America aren't standing together in this war because of friendship. We're standing together because our two nations face an unprecedented threat to civilization. We're standing together to prevent terrorists and extremists from dominating the Middle East. We stand together to prevent extremists from regaining the safe haven they lost in Afghanistan, a safe haven from which they launched attacks that killed thousands of our citizens.

We stand together because we understand the only way to secure a lasting peace for our children and grandchildren is to defeat the extremist ideologies and help the ideology of hope, democracy, prevail. We know the only way to secure peace for ourselves is to help millions of moms and dads across the Middle East build what our citizens already have: societies based on liberty that will allow their children to grow up in peace and opportunity.

It's a tough time. And it's a difficult moment for America and Great Britain. And the task before us is daunting. Yet our nations have stood before in difficult moments. Sixty-five years ago this day, America was jolted out of our isolationism and plunged into a global war that Britain had been fighting for two years. In that war, our nation stood firm. And there were difficult moments during that war, yet the leaders of our two nations never lost faith in the capacity to prevail.

We will stand firm again in this first war of the 21st century. We will defeat the extremists and the radicals. We will help a young democracy prevail in Iraq. And in so doing, we will secure freedom and peace for millions, including our own citizens.

Mr. Prime Minister, welcome.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: Thank you very much, Mr. President, and thank you, firstly, for stressing again the strength of the relationship between our two countries, which is important for us, but I think it's important for the wider global community, as well. Thank you also for the clarity of your vision about the mission that we're engaged in at the moment, which is a struggle between freedom and democracy on the one hand, and terrorism and sectarianism on the other. And it's a noble mission, and it's the right mission, and it's important for our world that it succeeds.

And so the question is, how do we make sure that it does, indeed, succeed? And in respect of Iraq, I, like you, welcome the Baker-Hamilton study group. It offers a strong way forward. I think it is important now we concentrate on the elements that are necessary to make sure that we succeed, because the consequences of failure are severe. And I believe this is a mission we have to succeed in and we can succeed in.

And I think there are three elements that we can take forward. The first is to make sure that we are supporting the Maliki government in making sure that that government's non-sectarian nature is reflected in the policies of that government and the way that it conducts itself. I think in respect of governance and security and capability – particularly economic capability – there is much that we are doing, but can do even more in order to make sure that they are supported in the vital work that they do, and in the work of reconciliation, in bringing the different parts of Iraq together in order to give effect to the will of the Iraqi people, expressed in their democratic election.

I think, secondly, it's important that all of us who are engaged in this, but particularly those in the region, live

up to their responsibilities in supporting the Maliki government, in ensuring that Iraq is able to proceed in a democratic and non-sectarian way.

And I think that, finally, as you rightly emphasize, it is important that we do everything we can in the wider Middle East to bring about peace between Israel and the Palestinians. This is something that I know you feel deeply and passionately about; you are the first President who committed yourself to the two state solution. And I believe that by moving this forward we send a very strong signal not just to the region, but to the whole of the world that we are evenhanded and just in the application of our values, that we want to see an Israel confident of its security and a Palestinian people able to live in peace and justice and democracy.

And that brings me back, finally, to the point that I began with, because I think it is the central point – yes, it is immensely tough at the moment and very challenging, and everybody knows that. But there are only two ways that the Middle East can go. Its people can either be presented with a choice between a secular or a religious dictatorship, which is not a choice that any free people would ever choose, or alternatively, they can enjoy the same possibilities of democracy that we hold dear in our countries. And this is not a view that we hold – I hold because of idealism alone. It is because I also believe that the only realistic path to security is by ensuring the spread of liberty.

So, Mr. President, thank you again for welcoming me here, and we will work closely with you in the time to come in order to achieve the mission we have set ourselves.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you, sir. Thank you. We'll answer a couple of questions.

Q Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, neither of you has shown much doubt about your Iraq policies. Do you acknowledge that your approach has failed, as Baker-Hamilton suggests? And are you willing to engage directly with Syria and Iran and pull out most combat forces by early 2008, unless there's unexpected circumstances?

PRESIDENT BUSH: The thing I liked about the Baker-Hamilton report is it discussed the way forward in Iraq. And I believe we need a new approach. And that's why I've tasked the Pentagon to analyze the way forward. That's why Prime Minister Blair is here to talk about the way forward, so we can achieve the objective, which is an Iraq which can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself, and be an ally in the war on terror.

And the Baker-Hamilton report did some very interesting things. First, it shows that Republicans and Democrats can work together to achieve – to come up with a strategy to achieve an objective, something the American people don't think is possible to happen. In other words, they've seen elections, and they saw all the bitterness and finger-pointing and name-calling and wonder whether or not we can work together on this important cause. And I believe we can. And the Baker-Hamilton commission showed it's possible for people of goodwill to sit down at the table and design a way forward.

And so that's why I'm sitting down with the members of Congress to say to both Republicans and Democrats, this is an important cause. It's important for our security; it's important to help lay the foundations for peace, and I want to hear your ideas. And I thought the report did a good job of showing what is possible. Congress isn't going to accept every recommendation in the report, and neither will the administration. But there's a lot of very important things in the report that we ought to seriously consider.

And as the Prime Minister talked about, there's three aspects to the report. One is, how do we empower the Maliki government so that the Maliki government – the elected government of the Iraqis – can help with the economy, can help secure peace, can do hard work necessary to achieve stability and to achieve the objective?

It talked about the regional – the countries in the region, and the responsibilities of the region to help this Iraqi government. And the idea of having an international group is an interesting idea. We've already got the compact, and I think the Baker-Hamilton report suggests that we broaden the compact beyond just economic measures.

But one thing is for certain, when people – if people come to the table to discuss Iraq, they need to come understanding their responsibilities to not fund terrorists, to help this young democracy survive, to help with the economics of the country. And if people are not committed, if Syria and Iran is not committed to that concept, then they shouldn't bother to show up.

Thirdly, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is important to have – is important to be solved. I'm committed to a two state solution. I believe it is in Israel's interest and the Palestinian people's interest to have two states living side by side for peace. And the Prime Minister shares that goal. And he is willing to take time to go over and help remove obstacles toward achieving that goal.

And there are two notable obstacles. One, one is the prisoner; and secondly, is for there to be a unity government that recognizes the principles of the Quartet, with which Israel can negotiate. And we want to help.

And so I view this as a very important way forward, important concepts. And the American people expect us to come up with a new strategy to achieve the objective which I've been talking about and which is laid out in the Baker-Hamilton report.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: I think the analysis of the situation is not really in dispute. The question is, how do we find the right way forward? And what we've got at the moment is something that is at one level very simple to describe, but at another level very profound and difficult to deal with – and that is that the outside extremists are linking up with internal extremists, basically to create the circumstances of sectarianism, where it's very, very difficult then for democracy and ordinary institutions to function.

And I think the Baker-Hamilton report allows us to, as the situation has evolved in Iraq, to evolve our strategy in order to meet it in the ways that I've just described. But I think we've got to be very, very clear about this: It will require everybody to face up to their responsibilities. Us, of course, because we are principal actors in this; but also the Iraqi government, they've got to be prepared to make the moves necessary – full governance, full capability, reconciliation and full help and security – and we will be there to support them.

But then there are responsibilities, as the President was saying a moment or two ago, on the region and the neighbors. And let me come directly to the Iran and Syria point. The issue for me is not a question of being unwilling to sit down with people or not, but the basis upon which we discuss Iraq has got to be clear and it's got to be a basis where we are all standing up for the right principles, which are now endorsed in the United Nations resolutions, in respect of Iraq. In other words, you support the democratic elected government; you do not support sectarians and you do not support, arm or finance terrorists.

Now, the very reason we have problems in parts of Iraq – and we know this very well down in the south of Iraq – is that Iran, for example, has been doing that, has been basically arming, financing, supporting terrorism. So we've got to be clear the basis upon which we take this forward. And as I say, it's got to be clear the basis upon which we take this forward. And as I say, it's got to be on the basis of people accepting their responsibilities.

And finally, in relation to what the President was just saying a moment or two ago on Israel and Palestine, I think that one thing that is very clear is that the old Middle East had within it the origins of all the problems we see. I mean, this terrorist problem that we faced in the last few years, it didn't originate, I'm afraid, a few years ago. It's been building up over decades. It's come out of a series of states of oppression, of warped ideology, based on a perverted view of the faith of Islam. This has been building up for a long period of time. And it has basically come out of the Middle East.

Now, my view in the end is that you go back to the origins of this and say, well, how do we resolve it? And the only way we resolve it is by having the right vision and then the practical measures to achieve it.

Now, I think the vision is absolutely correct. What we've got to do now – and this is exactly why the President was talking about the way forward – is that we've got to get the right way forward – this is where Baker-Hamilton helped – in order that we have the practical policy that bolsters and gives effect to the vision, because the vision is the right vision. You leave a Middle East in which the Israel-Palestine issue is not solved, in which there's no moves towards democracy, in which Iraq goes back in its old state, in which the Iranian people have no chance to express themselves, maybe not in the months or one year, two years, but you'll have the same problem. You know, the reason we are faced with this issue is because in the end, everything that happened in that region erupted, in fact, on the streets of New York. But it – the origins of this went way, way back before that.

And so it is – there's a tendency I think sometimes to see this as a battle between the idealists on the one hand and the realists on the other. In my view, the only modern form of realism is one that has ideals at the center of it.

Q Mr. President, the Iraq Study Group described the situation in Iraq as grave and deteriorating. You said that the increase in attacks is unsettling. That won't convince many people that you're still in denial about how bad things are in Iraq, and question your sincerity about changing course.

PRESIDENT BUSH: It's bad in Iraq. Does that help? (Laughter.)

Q Why did it take others to say it before you've been willing to acknowledge for the world –

PRESIDENT BUSH: In all due respect, I've been saying it a lot. I understand how tough it is. And I've been telling the American people how tough it is. And they know how tough it is. And the fundamental question is, do we have a plan to achieve our objective. Are we willing to change as the enemy has changed? And what the Baker-Hamilton study has done is it shows good ideas as to how to go forward. What our Pentagon is doing is figuring out ways to go forward, all aiming to achieve our objective.

Make no mistake about it, I understand how tough it is, sir. I talk to families who die. I understand there's sectarian violence. I also understand that we're hunting down al Qaeda on a regular basis and we're bringing them to justice. I understand how hard our troops are working. I know how brave the men and women who wear the uniform are, and therefore, they'll have the full support of this government. I understand what long deployments mean to wives and husbands, and mothers and fathers, particularly as we come into a holiday season. I understand. And I have made it abundantly clear how tough it is.

I also believe we're going to succeed. I believe we'll prevail. Not only do I know how important it is to prevail, I believe we will prevail. I understand how hard it is to prevail. But I also want the American people to understand that if we were to fail – and one way to assure failure is just to quit, is not to adjust, and say it's just not worth it – if we were to fail, that failed policy will come to hurt generations of Americans in the future.

And as I said in my opening statement, I believe we're in an ideological struggle between forces that are reasonable and want to live in peace, and radicals and extremists. And when you throw into the mix radical Shia and radical Sunni trying to gain power and topple moderate governments, with energy which they could use to blackmail Great Britain or America, or anybody else who doesn't kowtow to them, and a nuclear weapon in the hands of a government that is – would be using that nuclear weapon to blackmail to achieve political objectives – historians will look back and say, how come Bush and Blair couldn't see the threat? That's what they'll be asking. And I want to tell you, I see the threat and I believe it is up to our governments to help lead the forces of moderation to prevail. It's in our interests.

And one of the things that has changed for American foreign policy is a threat overseas can now come home to hurt us, and September the 11th should be a wake-up call for the American people to understand what happens if there is violence and safe havens in a part of the world. And what happens is people can die here at home.

So, no, I appreciate your question. As you can tell, I feel strongly about making sure you understand that I understand it's tough. But I want you to know, sir, that I believe we'll prevail. I know we have to adjust to prevail, but I wouldn't have our troops in harm's way if I didn't believe that, one, it was important, and, two, we'll succeed. Thank you.

Q Prime Minister, if I may, briefly –

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: You're not going to do a follow up, are you? (Laughter.)

Q No, no, forgive me. I just wanted to ask you about your Middle East mission, if I may. Given your trip to the Middle East, isn't the truth of what the Arab-Israeli solution – sorry, isn't the truth of what the Arab-Israeli problem requires is not, however hard you try, another visit by a British Prime Minister, but the genuine commitment – and not merely in words – of an American administration that's serious about doing something about it?

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: Well, I believe that we have that commitment. I mean, you're right in this sense, there would be no point in me going unless it was part of a mission that was supported fully by our American allies. But it is – we agree – the vision – I mean, the one thing that I find very frustrating about the situation, Israel-Palestine, is that there is actually an agreement as to the solution we want to see, which is a two-state solution. And, really, everybody is agreed to that. So the question is how do you get there?

And there are critical obstacles that stand in the way of that that require detailed attention and management,

and it's not merely myself who's going to be engaged in this, of course, but as you know, the Secretary of State has been very closely involved in this. She's been visiting the region recently, and I know is, again, fully committed to it.

I think what is interesting from what you have from this today is an acceptance and, indeed, a clear belief that you look at these issues together. And there is a – there is a kind of whole vision about how we need to proceed that links what happens inside Iraq with what happens outside Iraq. And again, I think that the Baker-Hamilton report put this very simply and very clearly.

You know, there is – there is no way that you ever succeed in these things unless you just carry on trying, and that's what we will do. And one of the things I learned in all the long years that you followed me in relation to Northern Ireland is that you just – you don't accept that you ever give up. You just carry on doing it. And I am sure that it is possible to resolve this, and I also do believe that if we do, then it would – it would send a signal of massive symbolic power across the world.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Steve.

Q Thank you, sir. You mentioned Iran and Syria as part of this regional effort. Are you willing to engage with them directly as the report – as the report recommends? And back to the issue of the troops, is it possible to get them out of Iraq by early 2008, as the report talks about? And when do you hope to have this report? Sorry to –

PRESIDENT BUSH: How many questions do you got, Steve?

Q Sorry about that. (Laughter.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: You mean, when – when do I hope to announce the strategy, is that what you're talking about? After I get the reports. And Baker-Hamilton is a really important part of our considerations. But we want to make sure the military gets their point of view in. After all, a lot of what we're doing is a military operation. I want to make sure the State Department is able to help us analyze the strategy to make sure that we've got the right political emphasis, not only inside Iraq but outside Iraq.

I appreciate the Prime Minister's answer to this lad – we call them lads, in Great Britain – lad's question, is that –(laughter.)

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: You've made a friend, I think, there. (Laughter.) It's a long time since anyone's called him that. (Laughter.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: You got to understand – well –

Q He calls me a number of other things.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Our Secretary of State is very much engaged in this issue. She works hard on the issue. And as much as we'd like to impose the settlement, it's important for you to understand, sir, that the Israelis and the Palestinians must accept responsibility and must sign off on an agreement. It's kind of easy to sit back and say, okay, we're going to impose this on them. We can help, and we will help.

So Steve, that's – we're spending a lot – I know, I'm heading back. We're spending a lot of time considering the new course, because the decisions that we make affect lives. They affect the lives of our soldiers, they affect the lives of the Iraqi people. But one thing is central to this new course, and that is the Iraqi government must be given more responsibility so they can prove to their people and to their allies that they're capable of making hard decisions necessary for their young democracy to move forward.

Second part of your long question?

Q Well, are you willing to engage direct talks with –

PRESIDENT BUSH: Oh, Iran and Syria.

Q – just a regional effort –

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, no, I understand. Steve, let me talk about engaging Iran. We have made it clear to

the Iranians that there is a possible change in U.S. policy, a policy that's been in place for 27 years, and that is that if they would like to engage the United States, that they've got to verifiably suspend their enrichment program. We've made our choice. Iran now has an opportunity to make its choice. I would hope they would make the choice that most of the free world wants them to make, which is there is no need to have a weapons program; there is no need to isolate your people; there's no need to continue this obstinance when it comes to your stated desires to have a nuclear weapon. It's not in your interest to do so.

And should they agree to verifiably suspend their enrichment, the United States will be at the table with our partners.

It's really interesting to talk about conversations with countries – which is fine; I can understand why people speculate about it – but there should be no mistake in anybody's mind, these countries understand our position. They know what's expected of them.

There is – if we were to have a conversation, it would be this one, to Syria: Stop destabilizing the Siniora government. We believe that the Siniora government should be supported, not weakened. Stop allowing money and arms to cross your border into Iraq. Don't provide safe haven for terrorist groups. We've made that position very clear.

And the truth of the matter is, is that these countries have now got the choice to make. If they want to sit down at the table with the United States, it's easy – just make some decisions that will lead to peace, not to conflict.

Is that the third part of your question? You've got to stop these long questions, Steven. Steven.

Q Combat troops out by early 2008, is that –

PRESIDENT BUSH: One of the things the report did mention, and I think you've said it in your comment, if conditions so allow. And we want our combat troops out as quick as possible. We want the Iraqis taking the fight. But it's very important to be – as we design programs, to be flexible and realistic. And as the report said – I don't – got the exact words, but it was along the lines of depending upon conditions, I believe is what the qualifier was. And I thought that made a lot of sense. I've always said we'd like our troops out as fast as possible. I think that's an important goal.

On the other hand, our commanders will be making recommendations based upon whether or not we're achieving our stated objective. And the objective, I repeat, is a government which can sustain, govern, and defend itself – free government of Iraq that can do that – and will be an ally in this movement – against this movement that is threatening peace and stability. And it's real.

I like to remind people it's akin to the Cold War in many ways. There's an ideological clash going on. And the question is, will we have the resolve and the confidence in liberty to prevail? That's really the fundamental question facing – it's not going to face this government or this government, because we made up our mind. We've made that part clear. But it will face future governments. There will be future opportunities for people to say, well, it's not worth it, let's just retreat. I would strongly advise a government not to accept that position because of the dangers inherent with isolationism and retreat.

Q I'll try to be succinct. Mr. President, two years ago you said that you were ready to expend political capital on the Israel-Palestinian situation. With hindsight, do you think you've fulfilled that intention? How closely do you see a linkage between what happens in Israel-Palestine and a settlement in Iraq, achieving your goals?

Prime Minister, given that you were so recently in the Middle East and the situation hasn't exactly improved since then, is there anything specific you're hoping to achieve next week when you go back?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Want me to start? I'm getting older, so you're going to have to repeat the second part of your question. (Laughter.) Let me answer the first part. What's important is for people to accept the goal of two states living side-by-side for peace. And what has changed in the Middle East is that Israel and Palestine – at least the current leadership of both countries, or both – one entity and one country – accept that goal. That's important.

To that end, the previous Prime Minister made a decision to unilaterally withdraw from Gaza, which I felt was a good decision, which would expedite the potential arrival of a state. And so to answer your question, yes, we're spending a lot of capital getting people headed in the same direction, which if you look at the history of

the Middle East, is a change.

Secondly, one of the reasons why there hasn't been instant success is because radicals and extremists are trying to stop the advance of a Palestinian state. Why? Because democracy is a defeat for them. That's what I strongly believe. I find it interesting that when Prime Minister Olmert reaches out to Palestinians to discuss a way forward on the two state solution, Hezbollah attacks Israel. Why? Because radicals and extremists can't stand the thought of a democracy. And one of the great ironies is that people in the Middle East are working hard to prevent people in the Middle East from realizing the blessings of a free society in their democracy.

And so, no question progress has been spotty. But it's important for people to understand one of the reasons why is, is because radicals are trying to prevent it, and they're willing to kill innocent people to prevent progress. Now, our goal is to help the Abbas government strengthen its security forces, and we're doing that. Our goal is to help the Abbas government form a government that adheres to the principles of the Quartet. We can't abandon the principles of the Quartet just because it may sound easy. You can't do that. When nations lay out principles, you've got to adhere to those principles – just like when we laid out a vision, you adhere to that vision.

And so the Prime Minister's visit, like Condi's visit recently to the Middle East, are all aiming to help countries remove obstacles necessary to achieve the vision. And it's hard work, but it's necessary work. And so I do believe there is a – I know there's a change of attitude. And now the fundamental question is, can we help the moderates prevail? And make no mistake about it, radicals and extremists will kill in order to stop the progress. And that's what's difficult. But it should be a signal to those of us who have got the comfort of liberty to understand the consequences of this ideological struggle we're fighting. One of the consequences is denial of a Palestinian state.

This is ironic, isn't it – I think it is, and it's sad.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: I think, first of all, it's important to understand how much has begun, how much work there's been. I mean, I know I've had many, many meetings on this issue over the past few months. I know Secretary Rice has been immensely active on it over these past months, as well. Now, some of that is visible and out there at press conferences and meetings, and a lot of it is behind the scenes.

But in essence, what we've got to do is to try to resolve two issues. First of all, we need to get the release of Corporal Shalit, which, as Prime Minister Olmert made clear the other day, would then allow the release of many Palestinian prisoners, as well. And this is obviously a very important issue.

But then, secondly, and this is, I think, really – one of the core questions is, we are prepared to release the money to the Palestinian Authority. We are prepared to take the peace process forward and get into a process of negotiation. But we need a government on both sides that is committed to the basic principles of that negotiation. And at the present time, we are not able to achieve a national unity government on the Palestinian side. And the reason for that is that we are saying, not as a matter of dogma at all, but you can't have a government that everyone can deal with, and you can then negotiate a peace between Israel and Palestine, unless it's on the basis that everyone accepts the other's right to exist. So that's the difficulty. It's not a kind of technical point, it's absolutely at the heart of it.

Now, what we have got to do is to find either a way of unlocking the problem of forming that national unity government on the principles laid down by the United Nations, as well as the rest of the Quartet, or alternatively, a different way forward, but whatever way forward will have to be on the basis you get an empowered Palestinian government with whom everyone can negotiate and deal with.

Now, you know, again, it's a very, very obvious thing. It's not just for the Israelis and the Palestinians, but also for the whole of the region. You know, you can't negotiate this unless everyone accepts the basic principles of the negotiation. But if people were to do that, and after all, we're only asking people to accept the position that the United Nations, and really, the whole of the international community, you could move this forward quickly. I mean, I don't think there's any doubt at all that if you could get an empowered Palestinian government able to negotiate – Israel has made it clear it is prepared to negotiate.

I'm not saying there aren't very tricky issues. There are things like Jerusalem, the right of return, which are very, very difficult. But actually, it's not beyond our wit to put it together. We could put it together. But you need to get these initial steps taken.

Now what I'm wont to do when I go out there is just explore what is the way that we get that ability to get the negotiation underway, trying to work round these obstacles. And it's something – we were talking about Iran and Syria moments ago, it's something all of those countries could help with if they wanted to help with it. So I kind of feel one thing that is important is that everyone understands that there's no shortage of willingness, energy, commitment on our side.

And believe me, I've thought about this with the President many, many times, and I don't believe there's any shortage of those qualities on his part at all. But we need to get this – we need to get the door unlocked because it's kind of barred at the moment. It needs to be opened. And that's the task, I think, for the next period.

PRESIDENT BUSH: L.A. Times Man.

Q Mr. President, you have said that you have the Baker-Hamilton report, you also have the – you're waiting to hear from the Pentagon, you're waiting to hear from the State Department. This report was prepared by a bipartisan group, the only one you'll get. Secretary Baker has a special relationship with the family. Should this report not get extra consideration? Does it not carry more weight than any of the others?

PRESIDENT BUSH: That's an interesting question. It's certainly an important part of our deliberations, and it was certainly an important part of our discussions this morning. Some reports are issued and just gather dust. And truth of the matter is, a lot of reports in Washington are never read by anybody.

To show you how important this one is, I read it, and our guest read it. The Prime Minister read – read a report prepared by a commission. And this is important. And there are some – I don't think Jim Baker and Lee Hamilton expect us to accept every recommendation. I expect them – I think – I know they expect us to consider every recommendation, Jim. We ought to pay close attention to what they advise. And I told them yesterday at our meeting that we would pay close attention, and would seriously consider every recommendation. We've discussed some of their recommendations here at this press conference. And we are – we will spend a lot of time on it.

And I – and so you ask its relative importance. I'd call it a very important report, and a very important part of our working to a new approach, a new way forward in Iraq.

And I can't – I really do thank those citizens for taking time out of busy lives to spend time helping us look at different options. These are distinguished souls; they got plenty to do. They're busy people, and yet they took nine months out and they talked to a lot of people. They went to Iraq, they thought about it a lot, and it was a very considerate, important report. And I will take the recommendations very seriously.

Q Mr. President, the Iraq Study Group said that leaders must be candid and forthright with people. So let me test that. Are you capable of admitting your failures in the past, and perhaps much more importantly, are you capable of changing course, perhaps in the next few weeks?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think you're probably going to have to pay attention to my speech coming up here when I get all the recommendations in, and you can answer that question, yourself. I do know that we have not succeeded as fast as we wanted to succeed. I do understand that progress is not as rapid as I had hoped. And therefore, it makes sense to analyze the situation and to devise a set of tactics and strategies to achieve the objective that I have stated.

And so if the present situation needs to be changed, it follows that we'll change it if we want to succeed. What's really interesting is the battle has changed in Iraq from the rejectionists and former Baathists and definitely foreign fighters who have entered the country that were trying to destabilize the new government to one that Mr. Zarqawi stated clearly – he said, look, let's kill Shia in order to create enough chaos and confusion and doubt of the government, and set off a sectarian battle. And he succeeded in that extent. He didn't succeed at avoiding us, but he did succeed at starting off sectarian strife. And now the fundamental question is, what strategy is necessary to deal with this type of violence?

We'll continue after al Qaeda. Al Qaeda will not have safe haven in Iraq. And that's important for the American people to know. We've got special operators, we've got better intelligence. And al Qaeda is effective at these spectacular bombings, and we'll chase them down, and we are, along with the Iraqis. The strategy now is how to make sure that we've got the security situation in place such that the Iraqi government is capable of dealing with the sectarian violence, as well as the political and economic strategies, as well.

So, yes, I think you'll see something differently, because it's a practical answer to a situation on the ground that's not the way we like it. You wanted frankness – I thought we would succeed quicker than we did, and I am disappointed by the pace of success.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: Look, there isn't any – as I said a moment or two ago, there isn't any doubt about how tough this is. It's hugely challenging. But what the report did not say is that we should just get out and leave it. What it did say is that it's immensely important that we succeed.

Now, the question is, therefore, how do we do it? And in that regard, I think the report is practical, it's clear, and it offers also the way of bringing people together.

The other thing that we want to do, because this is part of succeeding in this mission, is actually to make people understand that this is something where you've got to try and bring people together around a set of common objectives and a practical set of methods to achieve those objectives.

The issues that the report raises – I mean, these aren't issues that, obviously, no one has ever thought of; these aren't issues that haven't been part of the continual discussion and debate and iteration within the coalition and, indeed, between us and the Iraqi government. But those essential elements we want to make sure, in the light of the changing situation that there is there, that, one, we have the Iraqi government able to operate effectively, but in a non-sectarian way, because that's what we began with. Secondly, that we make sure that everyone in the region is supporting that. And, thirdly, that we set this within the context of a broader vision for the Middle East, not least in respect of Israel and Palestine.

Now, in respect of the elements of that strategy, this report gives us a basis on which we can move forward – but we've obviously then got to look at the practical measures that are necessary in order to give effect to those elements. And that's what we'll do. And I think that, you know, the one thing that no one who is dealing with this on a day to day basis has any doubt about is how tough it is. But the question is how we make sure that we overcome those tough conditions and succeed, because the need to succeed is so huge.

Q Prime Minister, just a brief supplementary – sorry, I didn't get to ask you the question. You promised some time – I'm sorry.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Look, I agree, this is a total violation of – (laughter.) Our press corps is calling you down, man. I mean, there you are – no, go ahead. (Laughter.)

Q You're encouraging it.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'm not encouraging it. You're not a member of the American press, it's the Prime Minister. (Laughter.)

Q He's my guy. (Laughter.)

Q Only because you cut me off, Mr. President –

PRESS: Ohhhhh! (Laughter.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Okay. (Laughter.)

Q Prime Minister, you promised the British military whatever it takes to fight in Iraq and Afghanistan, but the former head of the British Army says the British military is not being funded properly for the job it's being asked to do. Do you accept that?

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: We get from our military advice as to what they need and we do our level best to meet it. I mean, we'll – I haven't actually read Mike Jackson's comments. I think it's Mike's speech you're talking about. And let me tell you he's someone I have enormous amount of respect for, and did a fantastic job when he was chief of our staff.

But in relation to this, we've worked closely with the military the whole time. It's important we carry on doing it. And I've simply made the point that in the last few years, and not least yesterday in the pre-budget report of the chancellor, we gave another significant increase in funding. But it's important we do this. This is a mission which it is – because it's important that we succeed, it's important that we equip our armed forces properly. But I've got nothing – if you'll forgive me, I've not got anything to comment on in detail until I've

actually read the speech that he made. Not that – I'm not saying you wouldn't give me a fair resume of it. (Laughter.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: Okay.

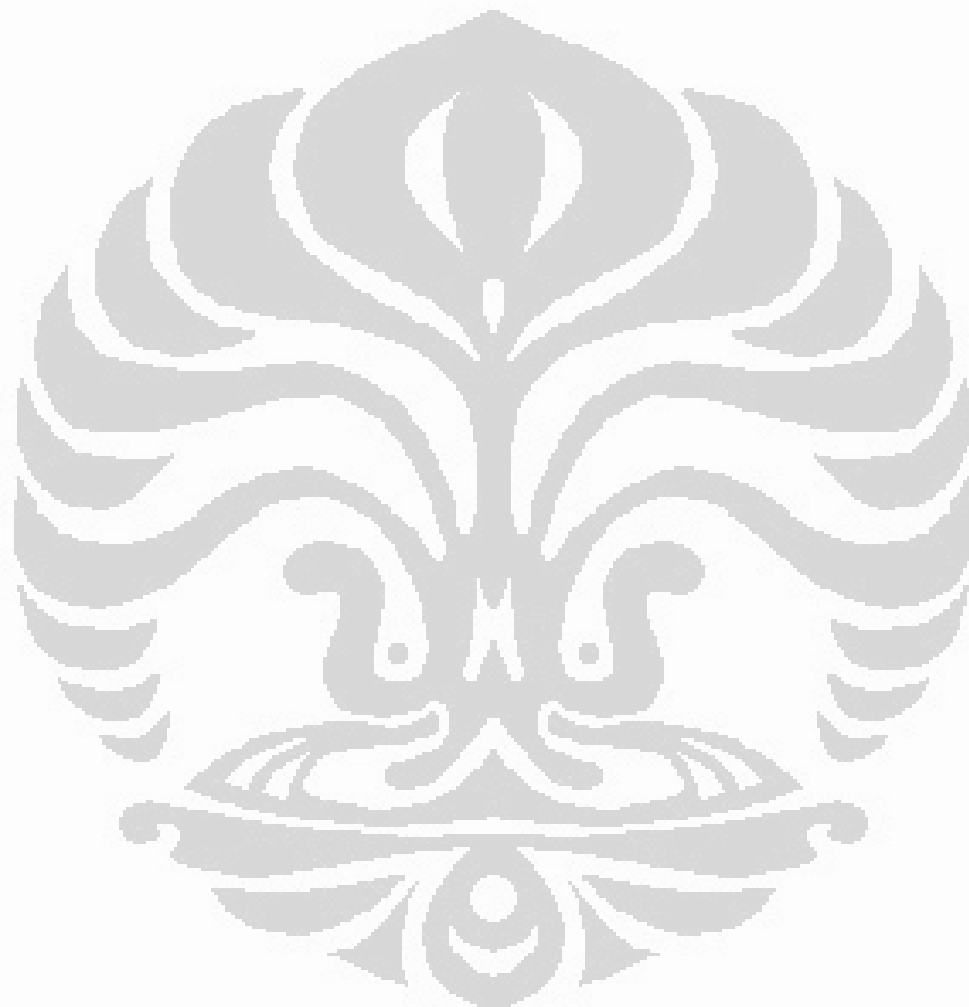
PRESIDENT BUSH: Good job.

END 11:58 A.M. EST

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
December 14, 2006

President Bush Meets with President Yayi of Benin
The Oval Office

In Focus: Africa
In Focus: Global Diplomacy

President's Remarks
view

11:02 A.M. EST

PRESIDENT BUSH: It's been my honor to have a visit with the President of Benin. We had a very long discussion about a variety of subjects. My administration is committed to helping the democracies on the continent of Africa deal with very significant problems. The President and I are about to go to a summit where the United States of America will commit resources, time, and talent to help rid much of Africa of malaria.

And, Mr. President, I'm proud to announce today that you're one of the countries that we'll be concentrating our help upon. We cannot succeed, however, unless there's an administration that is willing and capable to do the hard work necessary to educate people, spread nets, insecticides necessary to deal with a disease that can be defeated.

We talked about the Millennium Challenge Account. It's one of the most innovative foreign policy initiatives ever proposed by an administration. It's having a positive effect around the world. And I want to thank you for working toward that end.

We talked about the need for us to work together to deal with problems such as Darfur. The President recognized the genocide taking place in Darfur, as does the administration. We want to work through the United Nations to have a very strong and capable AU force, augmented by United Nations help, to save lives.

One thing I'm impressed with is the President's commitment to democracy, rule of law, decency and education. And to the extent that we can help – continue to help your country, Mr. President, we will do so.

Welcome, I'm glad you're here.

PRESIDENT YAYI: (As translated.) I have come here to, first and foremost, thank Mr. President Bush for all the initiatives that have been taken so far to eradicate poverty on the continent. As you may know, among these initiatives, we have the aqua initiative, empowerment of women, the fight against HIV/AIDS, and the initiative of MCA – that is Millennium Challenge Account. It is very important for us in Africa because the MCA will help us eradicate poverty. And I would like to thank President Bush for that last initiative he took.

Africa is aware of her responsibility in the roles she has to play, globally speaking, because we have to reach prosperity, and that prosperity has some conditions. We need peace. We need stability. We need security. And America has a leading role to play in our combat to restore a peaceful continent.

Of course, we have to be together with America to build – succeed in all these challenges, to take up all these challenges. And multilaterally, it should be also a part of concern of the American people. We are aware of the fact that America can really play a very important role to continue building capacity among the institutions like IMF and the World Bank, and the institution of – (inaudible) – which is very important for us, also.

And the efforts should continue being made by the American government within the G8 group, because Africa needs a lot from this G8, and international exchanges also have to be reinforced. The Doha negotiations need to find a solution now, try to make it easier because cotton is but one of our important products in Africa. And in my country, two people out of three live out of cotton. It's the same reality in countries like Burkina-Faso, Mali, Senegal, where cotton is a very important product.

So some subsidies that go yet to some countries like America here cause a kind of disfunctioning in our country and on the continent also. So America should help us smooth this mechanism. I'm very happy to hear that America is trying to set up a parallel mechanism that would really help promote the production of cotton. So by the time the WTO will also reach an agreement, I think that this problem of Doha will be definitely solved.

Let me end my speech by saying that I want to thank the American government, thank President Bush, and the American people for all they are doing to really help us eradicate poverty on African continent.

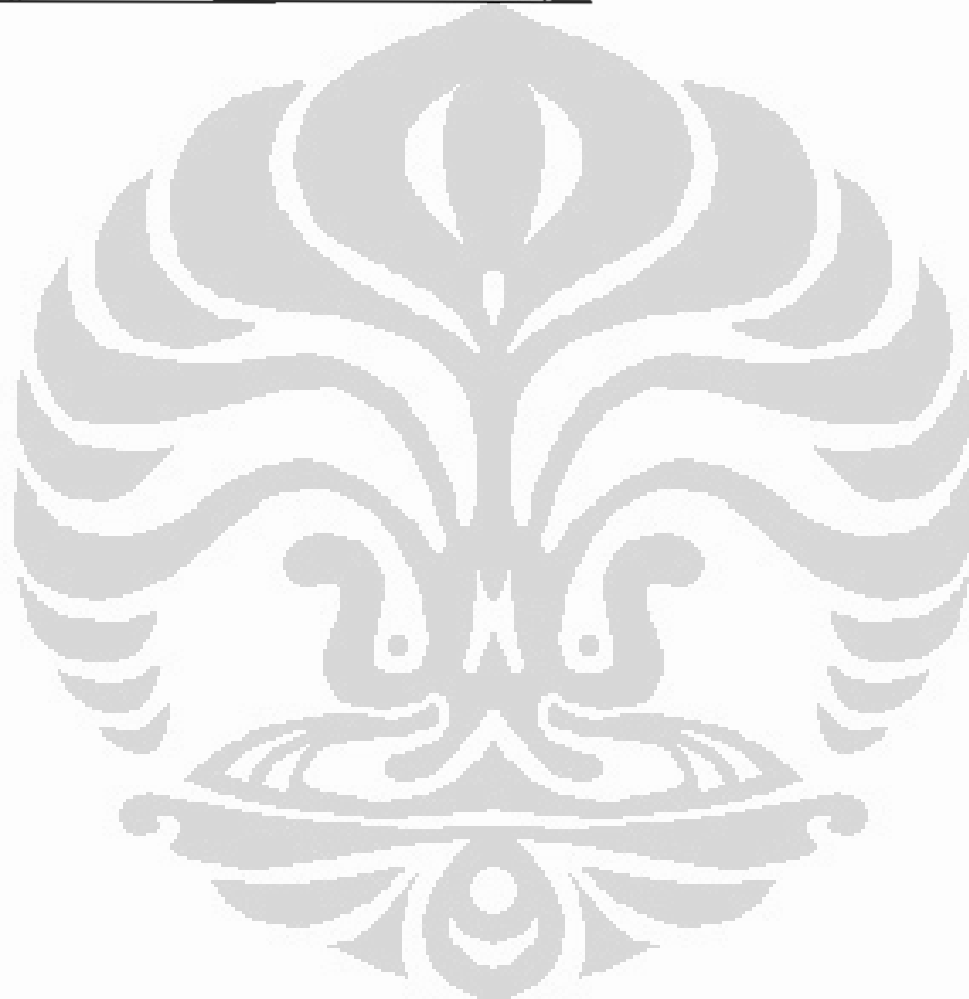
PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you, sir.

END 11:12 A.M. EST

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
December 6, 2006

President Bush Welcomes President Arias of Costa Rica to the White House

Oval Office

[In Focus: Global Diplomacy](#)

President's Remarks
[view](#)

12:41 P.M. EST

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. President, welcome. I'm glad to welcome you back to the White House. I appreciate the very important discussions we had. Our discussions started with the bilateral relationship between the United States and Costa Rica. It is an important relationship. It's an important relationship when it comes to trade, it's an important relationship when it comes to interchanges between our governments and our peoples.

Mr. President, you spent a lot of time talking about the importance of education, and I respect you for that, and I appreciate your emphasis on education. And we will investigate ways to determine whether or not the United States can help, if you so desire, on matters of education. And I congratulate you on being very successful in educating the younger children of your country. And I, again, admire your focus on extending the education through all grades in Costa Rica.

Secondly, we spent time on CAFTA. It's an important initiative for this administration. I appreciate your dedication to the issue of trade. The President understands full well that trade is the best way to help reduce poverty around the world, and so he made it clear to me his deep desire for the United States to take the lead on the Doha round of the trade discussions, which I assured him we would.

I appreciated very much your advice, Mr. President, on the neighborhood in which you live. I thank you for your clear vision when it comes to forms of government. And I appreciate you sharing with me your insights as to the different countries and different leaders and how best that we can work together to achieve peace and stability.

It's an honor to have you here, Sir. You represent a fine country that a lot of Americans have had first-hand knowledge with. And I'm proud to welcome you.

PRESIDENT ARIAS: Well, thank you, Mr. President, for your time. This room is familiar to me. I visited the Oval Office in the past, during the Reagan years and when President Bush was President. I was telling President Bush that in the past, every time I came to the White House it was not to talk about Costa Rica, but about Nicaragua, and I'm very happy that we had a chance to talk about Costa Rica this time.

As he just mentioned, my country is a small country – we produce what we do not consume, and we consume what we do not produce. This is why trade is so important to us. Costa Rica is a very open economy, is the second-largest open economy in this hemisphere, after Chile. And this is why CAFTA is important to us and this is why we're so determined to approve CAFTA, ratify CAFTA in our congress as soon as possible. And we are in the process of initiating negotiations with the European Union about free trade agreement with the whole of Europe, the European Union.

Concerning education, this is my priority. Peace was my priority 20 years ago, now it's education. I was asking President Bush that his program, No Child Left Behind, could be applied in many Latin American countries. You are all aware that what explains our failures among other things is the fact that average schooling in Latin American countries is only six-and-a-half years and that explains the social inequality and the poverty of our people.

So at the beginning of the 21st century, we're going to spend more on education, which is my dream and my determination to spend as much as 8 percent of GDP on education. We are simply condemning our children to remain poor as their grandfathers – and this is something that certainly the people of Latin America don't deserve.

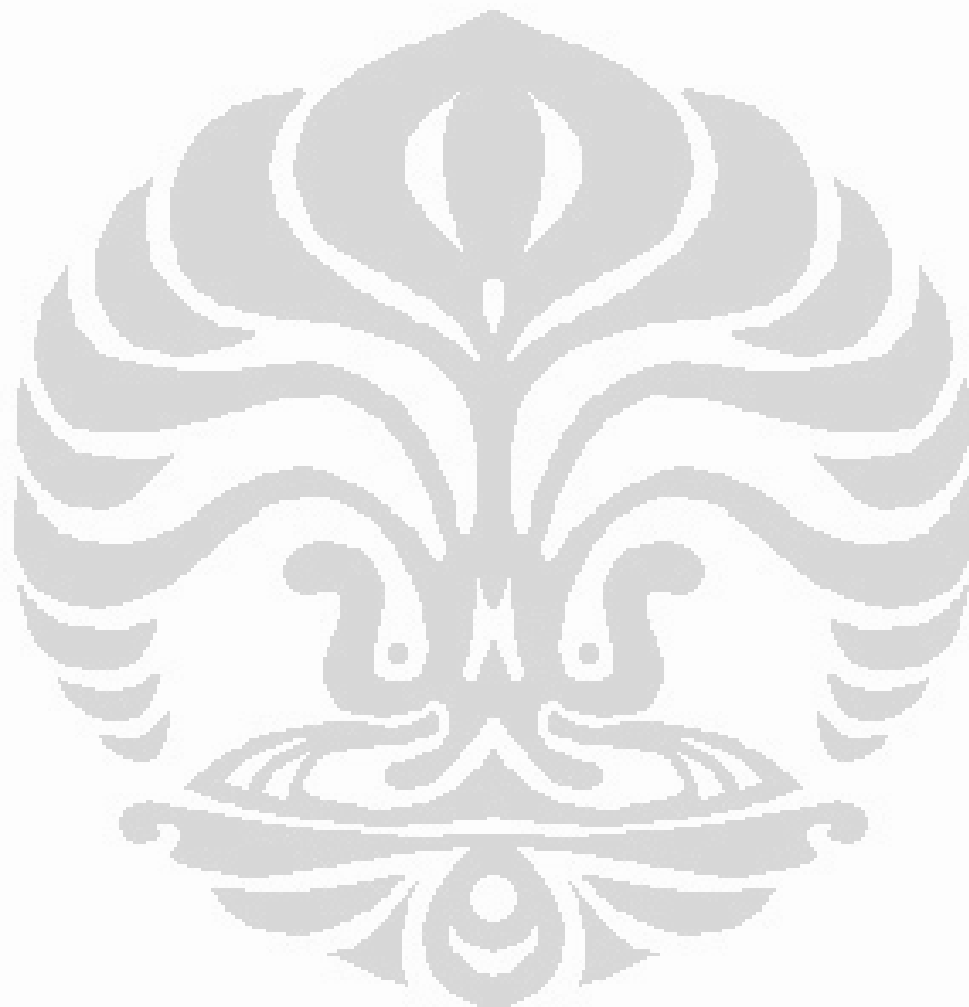
PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you, sir.

END 12:45 P.M. EST

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
March 30, 2006

President Bush and Prime Minister Harper of Canada Deliver Remarks in Mexico

Fiesta Americana Condesa Cancún Hotel
Cancún, Mexico

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

5:40 P.M. (Local)

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. Prime Minister, thank you. This is a – we've had a day full of talks. I had a really good meeting with the Prime Minister on the choppers flying to the Mayan ruins. We've also had a very good meeting here. We talked about a lot of subjects.

I view the relationship with Canada as a vital relationship for the United States. The relationship, of course, is defined government-to-government. It's also defined people-to-people, and there's a lot of people in my country who respect Canada and have great relations with Canadians, and we intend to keep it that way.

The Prime Minister, of course, was – made an emphatic case for softwood lumber. And I appreciate his steely resolve to get something done. And I assured him that our intention is to negotiate in good faith, in a timely fashion to resolve this issue. And I appreciate your – appreciate you pushing.

We also talked about the mutual values we share: respect for human life and human dignity. And along those lines, I want to thank you very much for two things, one, the quick response that your government and your country gave to those who suffered by Katrina. It indicates the Canadian peoples desire to help humans when they suffer. I appreciate very much your trip to Afghanistan and you and your government's support of their fledgling democracy, support of people that have been under the brutal thumb of tyrants – so brutal they wouldn't let young girls go to school – and it's representing the great Canadian tradition of really helping restore human dignity to people's lives.

The Prime Minister and I talked about a variety of subjects. We've got a lot of common interests. We've got a lot of trade between our countries – nearly half a billion dollars in – \$500 billion in the year 2005. And that trade means jobs on both sides of the border. And it's our intention to make sure that we continue to trade as freely as possible so that our people can benefit. All in all, Mr. Prime Minister, I found today to be a valuable day and I want to thank you very much for your candor.

PRIME MINISTER HARPER: Thank you very much, Mr. President. (Speaking French.)

I'll try to repeat all of that. (Laughter.) First of all, just to begin by saying that we had a long meeting both this morning and this afternoon, the President and I, discussing particularly global security issues of national and shared security interests.

And as you know, we're cooperating on these things in places like Afghanistan, Sudan, Haiti. Canada and the United States from time to time will disagree on particular courses of action that should be taken, and we may have different perspectives and even different interests, but there should be no doubt that Canada and the United States share very important common values – values like freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. We believe that these values are important not only for Canada and the United States, but they are the right of every people on the face of the Earth. We may disagree on how we get there, but that's the objective that we share.

We're going to meet later on in the spring to further discuss cooperation on some of these matters. We're also going to be discussing some initiatives we've taken to task some of our officials to discuss some energy and environmental concerns. We're anxious – we're in a continental security market and we're anxious to see our officials discuss not just energy security, but how we can harness energy, new energy technology to make real progress on greenhouse gas emissions and also on pollution. So we'll have some discussions in the next few weeks along those lines.

We're going to move quickly to renew – to sign an agreement to renew NORAD, to take that to parliament in the not-too-distant future.

Of course, we discussed softwood lumber. The President has expressed his desire to see a resolution. I certainly accept at face value the President's commitment to that. I just reminded the President that Canada's position on this is very clear, and if we don't see a resolution, Canada is certainly going to continue to pursue all its legal options, as well as enhanced support for our industry through this battle.

We talked about issues like passports, Devil's Lake, BSE, all areas where there remain some difficulties and some (inaudible), but I think we agreed to work together to seek some collaboration on all these fronts. In particular – and I didn't mention this in French – we've asked – we're going to be asking Secretary Chertoff and Minister Day to meet as soon as possible, at the highest levels, to do what we can to see how we can accommodate congressional legislation on passport travel issues. These present for us some pretty significant challenges and we are concerned about the disruptions to trade and other travel that this may bring about.

And let me just end by saying as I think you heard me say a few days ago, I expressed through Ambassador Wilkins and I've had a chance to do it (inaudible) how much the government of Canada appreciates the actions taken by our allies and our friends both in the United Kingdom and in the United States in the liberation of the hostages that were held in Iraq. You know, Iraq, in particular, has been a source of some disagreement – dare I say some tension – between our two peoples, but I think this incident reminds us that when the chips are down we all pull together and support each other. I hope that's a lesson we keep in mind for the future.

END 5:51 P.M. (Local)

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The White House
President George W. Bush

For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
February 9, 2006

President Bush Welcomes President of Poland to the White House

The Oval Office

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

11:57 A.M. EST

President's Remarks

REAL

WIN

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. President, welcome to the Oval Office. It's really good to have you here. We have just had a extensive discussion about important issues. After this press statement we'll go have lunch and continue our discussions. And we've got a lot to discuss, because we're strong allies and friends. We're friends in liberty. We believe in peace.

I told the President, it's amazing to be sitting with somebody who knows the difference between living in a society that is not independent, and not free, and one that — and now he's the President of a free country. I thanked the President and the Polish people for their support of democracy movement in Iraq.

We had a very interesting discussion about NATO and the European Union. You can be an active member of the EU, a loyal member of the EU and a friend of the United States at the same time. I asked the President his advice on Ukraine. That's what friends do — they share information and share strategic thoughts.

We talked about the importance for commercial ties. We'll continue those discussions over lunch. The President of Poland comes to a country that respects Poland. There's a lot of Polish-Americans that have still got great pride for the homeland. We congratulate you on your victory and welcome you.

Thanks for coming.

PRESIDENT KACZYNSKI: President Bush has spoken of the subject of our talks. The first part has been extended, to a certain extent, and we will continue our discussions during lunch. We have discussed issues relating to NATO, the European Union, Belarus, Ukraine and Russia and Iraq and Afghanistan. In other words, to say very briefly, we've discussed all issues that both countries are interested in.

Mr. President and myself have discussed issues relating to freedom in the Ukraine and Belarus. And the support of the United States for all actions that are leading to freedom in Ukraine and Belarus are very important for Poland, at the same time. There have been certain signals that might lead to an improvement of relations between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation. We have no certainty yet, but these signals we have received, and we're hoping for an improvement in relations between Poland and Russia.

We shall continue our talks in a few minutes.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you, sir. Thank you.

END 12:02 P.M. EST

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President Bush Welcomes Colombian President Uribe to the White House
The Oval Office

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

4:16 P.M. EST

President's Remarks
WIN

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you all for coming. The President and I will make a statement. We'll be glad to take two questions per side.

Mr. President, bienvenidos. I'm glad you're here.

First of all, the President and I are friends, and we are personal friends and we're friends of freedom, as well. Every time I visit with President Uribe I am impressed by his strength of character and his belief in the future of his country. Mr. President, I'm proud that you're here. I want to thank you for the wide-ranging discussions we have had.

The President, of course, has got trade on his mind. I've explained to him very carefully that we are interested in a trade agreement that we will negotiate in good faith -- the agreement must be good for the people of Colombia, as well as the people of the United States. And I assured him that our trade negotiators will be fair in our approach.

So Mr. President, thank you for your strength of character and thank you for your friendship and welcome here to the Oval Office.

PRESIDENT URIBE: (As translated.) President Bush, this meeting has been very constructive, as it always is whenever we meet. I want to thank you, I want to thank the government and I want to thank the Congress and the people of the United States for their permanent interest in Colombia.

Our peoples have a relationship that is historic, and it's also a relationship that is close. We also have a convergence, a convergence that is based on democratic values and the belief that democracy needs security in order to build those values.

We have been negotiating an FTA for the last 23 months. All of us have come to this negotiation in good faith and I'm sure that we will see a conclusion. This meeting has been good for democracy and it has been good for the interests of our people, as well as for our shared war on terror and our war against the drugs that finance that terror.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I understood you. (Laughter.)

PRESIDENT URIBE: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Nedra.

Q Yes, Mr. President, do you feel it was appropriate that the Vice President didn't reveal his shooting accident until the next day, and through a private citizen? And do you think it was okay that he didn't talk to you about it, personally, until Monday?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I thought the Vice President handled the issue just fine. He went through -- and I thought his explanation yesterday was a powerful explanation. This is a man who likes the outdoors and he likes to hunt. And he heard a bird flush and he turned and pulled the trigger and saw his friend get wounded. And it was a deeply traumatic moment for him, and obviously for the -- it was a tragic moment for Harry Whittington.

And so I thought his explanation yesterday was a very strong and powerful explanation, and I'm satisfied with the explanation he gave.

Q But are you satisfied about the timing?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'm satisfied with the explanation he gave.

Mr. President is about to ask somebody to ask a question.

Q Mr. President, is there going to be a free trade agreement with Colombia, or not?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Espero que si.

Q Pronto? Soon?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Vamos a ver. I spent time visiting with the President about the progress on negotiations. Free trade agreements are never easy to negotiate – es muy dif cile – and because there's interests. He represents the people of your country very well. He's a good negotiator, as is his trade minister. They're strong in representing in representing the interests of the people, whether they be farmers or manufacturers. And our people are good, strong negotiators, too.

I'm very hopeful. I'm very hopeful we reach a conclusion. Trade agreements are never easy, and that's what's very important to understand. But in my judgment – and by the way, I, too, have to convince the American people of the importance of trade agreements – in my judgment and agreement with this important country, Colombia, will be a very important agreement. And so we're working hard.

Steve.

Q Some Democrats say that this shooting episode has contributed to a perception of White House secrecy. What do you say to that, sir?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think people are making the wrong conclusion about a tragic accident. The Vice President was involved in a terrible accident and it profoundly affected him. Yesterday when he was here in the Oval Office I saw the deep concern he had about a person who he wounded. And he – again, I thought yesterday's explanation was a very strong and important explanation to make to the American people.

And now our concerns are directed toward the recovery of our friend. I knew Harry Whittington when I was the governor of Texas, down there in Austin. He's a fine man. He's been involved in our state's politics for a long period of time. And, you know, my concern is for Harry, and I know the Vice President feels the same way.

Q President Bush, do you think the negotiators are making the link between the fact that it's important to prove legal economy as a way to fight against terror and illegal drugs?

PRESIDENT BUSH: That's a great question. I believe that when we work together in a free trade, it strengthens markets and the appreciation for open markets, whether it be in Colombia or here at home. I believe free commerce between nations will enable countries – people in countries to realize their full potential. I think one of the things that's very important, I know the President is dedicated on, is a strategy on the one hand that says he will deal harshly with those who deal in drugs; but he also recognizes there needs to be economic activity to compete.

We've had a lot of discussions about crop substitution and micro loans for people to be able to develop ways to make a living that is distinct from and different from being involved in the drug trade.

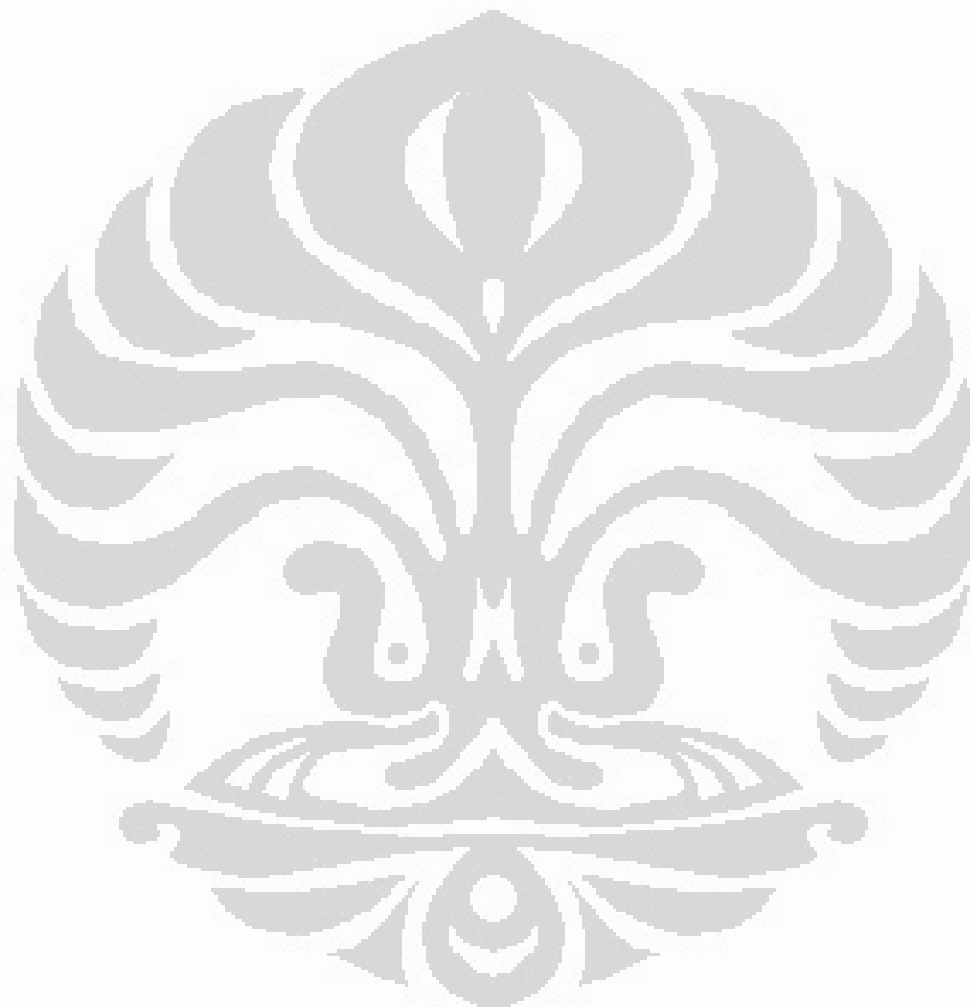
And so absolutely we understand the connection between trade of legal products in a free way between nations as a way to compete against illegal activities. I appreciate the President's leadership on working hard to make sure that Colombia is rid of narco trafficking. It's a great country, with a wonderful history. And the determination to rid the country of narco trafficking will go down as a very important part of your nation's history and we'll continue to say that Colombia is a great country with great enterprise and great hope and great opportunity.

So thank you for coming. Adios.

Return to this article at:

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/text/20060216-4.html>

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President Welcomes Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi to the White House
The Oval Office

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

10:43 A.M. EST

President's Remarks
[view](#)

PRESIDENT BUSH: We'll have some opening statements. I will answer two questions from the U.S. side, the Prime Minister will answer two questions from the Italian side.

I welcome my friend to the Oval Office. Every time I meet with the Prime Minister my spirits are raised because he is such a positive, optimistic person. The Prime Minister is a strong leader. He's a man of his word. He has brought stability to the Italian government. Obviously, it's important for an American President to be able to work with somebody in a consistent manner, and I appreciate the stability that the Prime Minister has brought to our close ally and friend.

We had a lot of discussion on important issues. We discussed the war on terror and I thanked the Prime Minister for his strong leadership. We discussed the NATO role in Afghanistan. We discussed Iraq and the need for strong allies to continue to support the democracy movement there. I sought the Prime Minister's opinions on Iran. It was a very constructive dialogue.

And, finally, I want to thank the people of Italy for hosting the Winter Olympics. You did a wonderful job. I know firsthand how good a job you did because my wife reported back. She loved her experience. And so congratulations to the government and the people of Italy for hosting these magnificent Games. And welcome.

PRIME MINISTER BERLUSCONI: (As translated.) Thank you very much, Mr. President, for your words of appreciation which gave me a lot of satisfaction. On my behalf I have to say that coming here and meeting the leader of a friendly country is the reason for me to go along the path that we decided to follow. It makes me firm in that.

The consensus and agreements which we always have stems from the fact that we share the same values. We both believe the problem affecting the world is to spread democracy. Because only through democracy there can be freedom, and only through freedom can human beings give the best of themselves.

Therefore, I think we can say that we're lucky because the biggest democracy of the world has such a leader who sees problems affecting the world so clearly and proceeds and follows so firmly in this direction. President Bush and the American people have found a firm and sound ally in my government.

After 9/11 we both decided to carry out military operations in Afghanistan. And I think we both gave strong support in the reconstruction of Iraq and in the construction of democracy in that country. And we express our appreciation and we're very close to the American people because of the many --

I want to reassure President Bush and his people that when an American soldier dies for the cause of democracy and freedom in that country we feel that and consider that as a loss for ourselves. But we will continue along this path because we are convinced, as President Bush has said, that only if all democratic states join together we can bring democracy and peace all over the world.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Welcome. Tom.

Q Mr. President, there was some more sectarian violence today in Iraq. There have been hundreds, maybe thousands, killed since the bombing of the mosque. Do you fear an all-out civil war? And will the events of Iraq of the last few days affect prospects for a U.S. draw-down?

And to the Prime Minister, do you still want to withdraw Italian troops by the end of the year?

PRESIDENT BUSH: The United States strongly condemns the bombing of holy sites. We believe people should be allowed to worship freely. Obviously, there are some who are trying to sow the seeds of sectarian violence. They destroy in order to create chaos. And now the people of Iraq and their leaders must make a choice. The choice is chaos or unity. The choice is a free society, or a society dictated by the – by evil people who will kill innocents.

This weekend I spoke to seven of the Iraqi leaders. They understood the seriousness of the moment. They have made their choice, which is to work toward a unity government. The Iraqi people made their choice. Since last December, 11 million people, in defiance of the terrorists and the killers, went to the polls and said, we want to be free.

PRIME MINISTER BERLUSCONI: (As translated.) We have announced a plan to progressively withdraw our troops, which should be completed – we have to be completed by the end of this year. And this plan has been agreed upon also together with our allies, and with the Iraqi government. Because this what is going to be possible – (in English) – why this will be possible.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.

PRIME MINISTER BERLUSCONI: (As translated.) Why is this going to be possible? Because we have all together with our allies trained Iraqi troops and Iraqi soldiers and the law enforcement so that the Iraqi government itself will be able to guarantee the security of its people through their own forces.

So as far as the province which is under our control is concerned, we have 3,000 soldiers there, troops which will be withdrawn by the end of this year, but we have trained 10,000 law enforcement people who can guarantee the respect of peace.

(In English.) Questions, Italian.

Q (As translated.) The first question is to President Bush, should the center left win in Italy, since they have different views from Prime Minister Berlusconi, will the relations between the United States and Italy continue to be as they are? Will they be proved worse? And then with a question to Prime Minister Berlusconi: Prodi has just declared that President Bush has just organized for Prime Minister Berlusconi's a farewell party?

PRIME MINISTER BERLUSCONI: (In English.) You have a possibility to answer no comment.

PRESIDENT BUSH: That's right, yes. (Laughter.) No, look, it's – obviously, there's an election. There must be an election, so the question is about pure politics. I have – my relationship is not a political relationship with this man. It's a strategic relationship. And this strategic relationship is important for both our peoples, and it's important to help lay the foundations for peace. Okay? (Laughter.)

Caren.

Q Mr. President, since you're the final arbiter of the Dubai Ports deal, are you still inclined to approve it? And do you stand by your veto threat?

PRESIDENT BUSH: My position hasn't changed to my message to the Congress. And I appreciate the fact that the companies concerned have asked the Congress for a review of all the security implications.

Let me just make something clear to the American people. If there was any doubt in my mind, or people in my administration's mind that our ports would be less secure and the American people endangered, this deal wouldn't go forward. And I can understand people's consternation because the first thing they heard was that a foreign company would be in charge of our port security, when, in fact, the Coast Guard and Customs are in charge of our port security. Our duty is to protect America, and we will protect America.

On the other hand, this company is buying a British company that manages the ports. And by the way, there are a lot of foreign companies managing U.S. ports. And so my question to the members of Congress as they review this matter is, one, please look at the facts. And two, what kind of signal does it send throughout the world if it's okay for a British company to manage the ports, but not a company that has been secure – been cleared for security purposes from the Arab world? So I look forward to a good, consistent review. You don't need to interpret. That's a U.S. question.

One at a time.

Q (As translated.) Just a few minutes ago, President Bush praised stability. I would like to know from both of you what role did stability play in your personal relationship and in the relationship between the two countries?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, first of all, a personal relationship is based upon mutual trust. And I have found Silvio to be a person of his word. Look, sometimes we don't agree, but at least you know where he stands. He is – and that matters, by the way, for a person to keep his word. In politics, people always try to look the easy – find the easy path. I like somebody who makes up his mind based upon the principle.

And obviously there's a practical reason why it's important to have stability. Because if a government is changing every year, it requires a person in my position to constantly have to reacquaint yourself. And that's what I meant by stability. It's much easier to make common policy when you're dealing with a person from one year to the next.

PRIME MINISTER BERLUSCONI: (As translated.) As far as I'm concerned, I can only ask that we brought into politics the values which pertain to the world of work and business, and the world of sport. Because in politics, people changing frequently, their minds and positions are considered to be professional. (Laughter.) While on the contrary in the world of business or the world of sports, a person who changes constantly his position and never keeps his promises is cornered, or even set outside.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you. Thank you.

END 10:01 A.M. EST

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Tindakan dalam kredibilitas

meminta order, command
memohon - ask, request
menghimbau - appeal?
menasihati - advice
menyarankan - suggest

Lampiran 12

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 13, 2006

**The White House
President George W. Bush**

**President Bush Welcomes Prime Minister Olmert of Israel to the White House
Oval Office**

In Focus: Global Diplomacy

11:45 A.M. EDT

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. Prime Minister, welcome back to Washington. The Prime Minister and I had a fascinating discussion the last time he was here. We were sitting on the Truman Balcony. We spent probably an hour-and-a-half strategizing about how we can work together to achieve peace. Our conversation today continued this – that important dialogue.

I appreciate the Prime Minister's strategic thoughts. He cares deeply about his country, and he cares deeply about securing the peace. We talked about our commitment to a two-state solution. We talked about the need for a Palestinian government to embrace the principles of the Quartet and the road map, which both our governments strongly support.

We spent a great deal of time on Iran, and about how we can work together with other nations of the world to convince the Iranians to abandon their nuclear weapons ambitions. I recognize the threat to world peace that the Iranians propose – that the Iranians pose, as does the Prime Minister. We talked about Iraq. We talked about a variety of issues.

But the whole central thrust of our discussions was based upon our understanding that we're involved in an ideological struggle between extremists and radicals versus people who just simply want to live in peace, and that as democracies we have an obligation, obviously, to listen to the will of our people, but at the same time, work together to help those who want to live in a peaceful society achieve their ambitions.

Mr. Prime Minister, it has been a delight to be with you again. Welcome back.

PRIME MINISTER OLMERT: Thank you very much. President – this is nothing to take an edge to the very accurate analysis that you made with regard to these big issues. We in the Middle East have followed the American policy in Iraq for a long time, and we are very much impressed and encouraged by the stability which the great operation of America in Iraq brought to the Middle East. We pray and hope that this policy will be fully successful so that this stability which was created for all the moderate countries in the Middle East will continue.

We shared thoughts about the Iranian threat. There is no question that the Iranian threat is not just a threat for Israel, but for the whole world. The fanaticism and the extremism of the Iranian government, and the fact that the leader of a nation such as Iran can threaten the very existence of another nation, as he does towards the state of Israel, is not something that we can tolerate or would ever tolerate, and certainly not when we know that he is trying to possess nuclear weapons. And I'm very encouraged by our discussion and thoughts that we have exchanged about what needs to be done in the Middle East.

Finally, I say time and again, on different occasions, that we want to open a serious dialogue with the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority. And I will make every possible effort to help Abu Mazen to get into such a dialogue with us. Indeed, we hope that the new government will be established soon on the basis of the Quartet and the road map, and that will allow an immediate contact between him and me that I'm sure will lead to extend this negotiation process.

Again, Mr. President, it's always a great joy to be with Your Excellency. And I always thank you for your friendship – your personal friendship, and even more important, your friendship for the state of Israel.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you, sir. We'll answer two questions a side. Tom.

Q Mr. President, the Senate – the incoming Senate Democratic leaders have called for a phased withdrawal
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of troops from Iraq. You met this morning with the Baker commission. Would you accept any solution that included a timetable, and what options did you discuss this morning with the Baker commission?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Tom, I'm not going to prejudge the Baker commission's report. I was pleased to meet with them. I was impressed by the quality of the — of their membership. I was impressed by the questions they asked. They are — they want us to succeed in Iraq, just like I want to succeed.

And so we had a really good discussion. I'm not sure what the report is going to say. I'm looking forward to seeing it. I believe this. I believe that it's important for us to succeed in Iraq, not only for our security, but for the security of the Middle East, and that I'm looking forward to interesting ideas. In the meantime, General Pete Pace is leading investigations within the Pentagon as to how to reach our goal, which is success, a government which can sustain, govern, and defend itself, and will serve as an ally in this war on terror.

I believe it is very important, though, for people making suggestions to recognize that the best military options depend upon the conditions on the ground.

And so it's an interesting period here in Washington, Mr. Prime Minister. You might realize the opposition party won, won the Senate and the House. And what's interesting is, is that they're beginning to understand that with victory comes responsibilities. And I'm looking forward to working with the Democrats to achieve common objectives.

Q Mr. President, do you see any change in the administration's position regarding Syria? Do you support the resumption of Israeli-Syrian negotiations? And the same question to the Prime Minister, if I may. In the past, you rejected the resumption of the Syrian and Israeli negotiations under — one of the reasons was the rejection of the American administration regarding the policies of Syria. Do you see now, after you discuss this matter with the President, any change in your position regarding Syria?

PRESIDENT BUSH: My answer to your question is, Prime Minister Olmert knows how to run his own foreign policy. And he can figure out his — he can figure out his policy towards them. My policy towards Syria is this: that we expect the Syrians to be, one, out of Lebanon so that the Lebanese democracy can exist; two, not harboring extremists that create — that empower these radicals to stop the advance of democracies; three, to help this young democracy in Iraq succeed. And the Syrian President knows my position. We have told that to him through my administration. We do have an embassy there in Syria. But our position is very clear, and we would like to see some progress toward peace from the Syrians.

PRIME MINISTER OLMERT: I share the same opinion with President Bush. We are not against negotiations with Syria. We would love to be able to have negotiations with Syria, but that must be based on a certain reasonable, responsible policy, which is not preformed by Syria for the time being. Everything that they are doing is to the other direction — in Lebanon, in Iraq, and the sponsorship of Hamas and Khalid Mashal as the main perpetrators of terror against the state of Israel. With some changes in the Russian — I'm sorry, in the Syrian attitude on these major issues, I hope that one day the conditions for contacts between them and us will be created. But to be honest, I don't think at the present time they manifest any such attitude. And that makes it impossible.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Matt.

Q Yes, Mr. President, Tony Blair today is going to be calling for a reaching out to both Syria and Iran to help calm the situation in Iraq. What is your response to that?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I haven't seen his comments, but you just heard my response on Syria. And my comments on Iran is this: if the Iranians want to have a dialogue with us, we have shown them a way forward, and that is for them to verify — verifiably suspend their enrichment activities. We put that proposal on the table awhile back. We said that if you want to have a dialogue with us, we're willing to come to the table with the EU, as well as Russia and China, to discuss a way forward. But first, you must verifiably suspend your enrichment activities.

Our focus of this administration is to convince the Iranians to give up its nuclear weapons ambitions. And that focus is based upon our strong desire for there to be peace in the Middle East. And an Iran with a nuclear weapon would be a destabilizing influence. And so we have made it very clear, our position regards Iran, and it hasn't changed.

Q Mr. President, do you think that it's better to impose sanctions on Iran or to handle dialogue with them?

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(Speaking Hebrew.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think it's very important for the world to unite with one common voice to say to the Iranians that, if you choose to continue forward, you'll be isolated. And one source of isolation would be economic isolation. In other words, there has to be a consequence for their intransigence. They have – we went to the United Nations, we made it very clear – we, being a lot of the world – have made it clear that the Iranian nuclear weapons ambitions are not in the world's interest. And therefore, if they continue to move forward with a program, there has to be a consequence. And a good place to start is working together to isolate the country.

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And my hope is, is that there are rational people inside the government that recognize isolation is not in their country's interest. And I also, when I speak about Iran, speak about a government, not about the Iranian people. I believe the Iranian people want a better way forward. I don't think they want to confront the world. I believe they need – I believe they could benefit by more trade and more openness with the world. But their leaders have to make the decision, and the decision is abundantly clear to them. And I say this in the interest of world peace, that if Iran has a nuclear weapon, it will be incredibly destabilizing and obviously threatening to our strong ally.

And so my attitude is let's work in concert to convince the government that it's not just the Israeli voices speaking, or the United States' voices speaking, but there's a lot of other voices saying the exact same thing, and present them with a choice.

MR. DECKARD: Thank you all.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Wait a minute. That seems a little unfair. He's got a strong answer coming, I can feel it. (Laughter.)

PRIME MINISTER OLMERT: She said it in Hebrew, and you can blame him, he didn't understand the Hebrew part of the question. I'll answer in Hebrew for the Israeli voters.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Sure.

PRIME MINISTER OLMERT: (Speaking Hebrew.)

And again, I want to thank you, President Bush, for being so gracious to me and to the state of Israel.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Proud to have you here.

Thank you all.

END 11:58 A.M. EST

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President Bush Discusses NATO Alliance During Visit to Latvia

Grand Hall
Latvia University
Riga, Latvia

Fact Sheet: NATO Summit 2006
In Focus: Global Diplomacy

President's Remarks
view

4:30 P.M. (Local)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you all. Labdien! (Applause.) Madam President, thank you for your kind words. Thank you for your leadership, and thank you for your friendship. Mr. Speaker; Mr. Prime Minister; Senator Sessions from the great state of Alabama, who is with us; Mark Leland, my friend from a long period of time. I want to thank the Rector of this important university. Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your warm welcome. I'm delighted to be back in Riga.

I appreciate the Latvian Transatlantic Organization, the Commission of Strategic Analysis, and the German Marshall Fund of the United States for organizing this important conference. This is my third visit to the Baltics as the President of the United States, and it's my second visit to this beautiful city. I just can't stay away. I'm thrilled and honored to be back here, and I bring the greetings and good wishes of the American people.

Not far from where we meet today stands Riga's Freedom Monument. It was erected in 1935, during this country's brief period of independence between the two world wars. During the dark years of Soviet occupation, the simple act of laying flowers at the foot of this monument was considered a crime by Communist authorities. In 1989, the monument was the scene of one of the most remarkable protests in the history of freedom. Hundreds of thousands of people stood together and formed a human chain that stretched nearly 400 miles across the Baltics -- from Tallinn in the north, through downtown Riga, and into the heart of Vilnius. By joining hands, the people of this region showed their unity and their determination to live in freedom -- and it made clear to the Soviet authorities that the Baltic peoples would accept nothing less than complete independence.

It took more years of struggle, but today the Baltic nations have taken their rightful place in the community of free nations, and Latvia is a host for an important NATO Summit -- the first time our Alliance has met in one of the "captive nations" annexed by the Soviet Union. This is a proud day for the people of Latvia, and all the Baltic states -- and on behalf of the American people, I thank you for your hospitality, your friendship, and the courage you are showing in the NATO Alliance.

As members of NATO, you are a vital part of the most effective multilateral organization in the world, and the most important military alliance in history. As NATO allies, you will never again stand alone in defense of your freedom and you'll never be occupied by a foreign power.

Each of the Baltic countries is meeting its obligations to strengthen NATO by bringing new energy and vitality and clarity of purpose to the Alliance. Your love of liberty has made NATO stronger -- and with your help, our Alliance is rising to meet the great challenges and responsibilities of this young century, by making NATO the world's most effective united force for freedom.

One of the great responsibilities of this Alliance is to strengthen and expand the circle of freedom here in Europe. In the nearly six decades since NATO's founding, Europe has experienced an unprecedented expansion of liberty. A continent that was once divided by an ugly wall is now united in freedom. Yet the work of uniting Europe is not fully complete. Many nations that threw off the shackles of tyranny are still working to build the free institutions that are the foundation of successful democracies. NATO is encouraging these nations on the path to reform -- and as governments make hard decisions for their people, they will be welcomed into the institutions of the Euro-Atlantic community.

After I took office in 2001, I declared that the United States believes in NATO membership for all of Europe's democracies that seek it – and are ready to share the responsibilities that NATO brings. The following year in Prague, we invited seven nations to join our Alliance – Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Here in Riga, allies will make clear that the door to NATO membership remains open, and at our next summit in 2008, we hope to issue additional invitations to nations that are ready for membership.

Today, Croatia, Macedonia, and Albania are all participating in NATO's Membership Action Plan, and the United States supports their aspirations to join the Atlantic Alliance. Georgia is seeking NATO membership, as well, and as it continues on the path of reform, we will continue to support Georgia's desire to become a NATO ally. We are also supporting the leaders of Ukraine, as they work to curb corruption, promote the rule of law, and serve the cause of peace. Our position is clear: As democracy takes hold in Ukraine and its leaders pursue vital reforms, NATO membership will be open to the Ukrainian people if they choose it.

We're also working with Russia through the NATO-Russia Council. We recognize that Russia is a vital and important country, and that it's in our interests to increase our cooperation with Russia in areas such as countering terrorism, and preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction. By building ties between Russia and this Alliance, we will strengthen our common security and we will advance the cause of peace.

As we help the new democracies of Europe join the institutions of Europe, we must not forget those who still languish in tyranny. Just across the border from here lies the nation of Belarus – a place where peaceful protesters are beaten and opposition leaders are "disappeared" by the agents of a cruel regime. The existence of such oppression in our midst offends the conscience of Europe, and it offends the conscience of America. We have a message for the people of Belarus: The vision of a Europe whole, free, and at peace includes you – and we stand with you in your struggle for freedom.

Another great responsibility of this Alliance is to transform for new challenges. When NATO was formed in 1949, its principal mission was to protect Europe from a Soviet tank invasion. Today, the Soviet threat is gone. And under the able leadership of the Secretary General, NATO is transforming from a static alliance focused on the defense of Europe, into an expeditionary* [sic] alliance ready to deploy outside of Europe in the defense of freedom. This is a vital mission.

Over the past six years, we've taken decisive action to transform our capabilities in the Alliance. We created a new NATO transformation command, to ensure that our Alliance is always preparing for the threats of the future. We created a new NATO battalion to counter the threats of enemies armed with weapons of mass destruction. We created a new NATO Response Force, to ensure that our Alliance can deploy rapidly and effectively.

Here in Riga, we're taking new steps to build on this progress. At this summit, we will launch a NATO Special Operations Forces Initiative that will strengthen the ability of special operations personnel from NATO nations to work together on the battlefield. We will announce a new Strategic Airlift Initiative that will ensure that participating NATO members have a dedicated fleet of C-17 aircraft at their disposal. We will launch the Riga Global Partnership Initiative that will allow NATO to conduct joint training and joint exercises and common defense planning with nations like Japan and Australia – countries that share NATO's values and want to work with our Alliance in the cause of peace. We will launch a new NATO Training Cooperation Initiative that will allow military forces in the Middle East to receive NATO training in counter-terrorism and counter-proliferation and peace support operations. And as we take these steps, every NATO nation must take the defensive – must make the defensive investments necessary to give NATO the capabilities it needs, so that our Alliance is ready for any challenge that may emerge in the decades to come.

The most basic responsibility of this Alliance is to defend our people against the threats of a new century. We're in a long struggle against terrorists and extremists who follow a hateful ideology and seek to establish a totalitarian empire from Spain to Indonesia. We fight against the extremists who desire safe havens and are willing to kill innocents anywhere to achieve their objectives.

NATO has recognized this threat. And three years ago, NATO took an unprecedented step when it sent allied forces to defend a young democracy more than 3,000 miles from Europe. Since taking command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan, NATO has expanded it from a small force that was operating only in Kabul into a robust force that conducts security operations in all of Afghanistan. NATO is helping to train the Afghan National Army. The Alliance is operating 25 Provincial Reconstruction Teams that are helping the central government extend its reach into distant regions of that country. At this moment, all 26 NATO allies, and 11 partner nations are contributing forces to NATO's mission in Afghanistan. They're

...serving with courage and they are doing the vital work necessary to help this young democracy secure the peace.

We saw the effectiveness of NATO forces this summer, when NATO took charge of security operations in Southern Afghanistan from the United States. The Taliban radicals who are trying to pull down Afghanistan's democracy and regain power saw the transfer from American to NATO control as a window of opportunity to test the will of the Alliance. So the Taliban massed a large fighting force near Kandahar to face the NATO troops head on. It was a mistake. Together with the Afghan National Army, NATO forces from Canada and Denmark and the Netherlands and Britain and Australia and the United States engaged the enemy – with operational support from Romanian, Portuguese, and Estonian forces. According to NATO commanders, allied forces fought bravely and inflicted great damage on the Taliban.

General David Richards, the British commander of NATO troops in Afghanistan, puts it this way: "There were doubts about NATO and our ability to conduct demanding security operations. There are no questions about our ability now. We've killed many hundreds of Taliban, and it has removed any doubt in anybody's mind that NATO can do what we were sent here to do."

Taliban and al Qaeda fighters, and drug traffickers and criminal elements and local warlords remain active and committed to destroying democracy in Afghanistan. Defeating them will require the full commitment of our Alliance. For NATO to succeed, its commanders on the ground must have the resources and flexibility they need to do their jobs. The Alliance was founded on a clear principle: an attack on one is an attack on all. That principle holds true whether the attack is on our home soil, or on our forces deployed on a NATO mission abroad. Today Afghanistan is NATO's most important military operation, and by standing together in Afghanistan, we'll protect our people, defend our freedom, and send a clear message to the extremists the forces of freedom and decency will prevail.

Every ally can take pride in the transformation that NATO is making possible for the people of Afghanistan. Because of our efforts, Afghanistan has gone from a totalitarian nightmare to a free nation, with an elected president, a democratic constitution, and brave soldiers and police fighting for their country.

Over 4.6 million Afghan refugees have come home. It's one of the largest return movements in history. The Afghan economy has tripled in size over the past five years. About two million girls are now in school, compared to zero under the Taliban – and 85 women were elected or appointed to the Afghan National Assembly. A nation that was once a terrorist sanctuary has been transformed into an ally in the war on terror, led by a brave President, Hamid Karzai. Our work in Afghanistan is bringing freedom to the Afghan people, it is bringing security to the Euro-Atlantic community, and it's bringing pride to the NATO Alliance.

NATO allies are also making vital contributions to the struggle for freedom in Iraq. At this moment, a dozen NATO allies, including every one of the Baltic nations, are contributing forces to the coalition in Iraq. And 18 NATO countries plus Ukraine are contributing forces to the NATO Training Mission that is helping develop the next generation of leaders for the Iraqi Security Forces. To date, NATO has trained nearly 3,000 Iraqi personnel, including nearly 2,000 officers and civilian defense officials trained inside Iraq, plus an additional 800 Iraqis trained outside the country. NATO has also helped Iraqis stand up a new military academy near Baghdad, so Iraqis can develop their own military leaders in the years to come. And NATO has contributed \$128 million in military equipment to the Iraqi military, including 77 Hungarian T-72 battle tanks. By helping to equip the Iraqi Security Forces and train the next group of Iraqi military leaders, NATO is helping the Iraqi people in the difficult work of securing their country and their freedom.

Tomorrow, I'm going to travel to Jordan where I will meet with the Prime Minister of Iraq. We will discuss the situation on the ground in his country, our ongoing efforts to transfer more responsibility to the Iraqi Security Forces, and the responsibility of other nations in the region to support the security and stability of Iraq. We'll continue to be flexible, and we'll make the changes necessary to succeed. But there's one thing I'm not going to do: I'm not going to pull our troops off the battlefield before the mission is complete.

The battles in Iraq and Afghanistan are part of a struggle between moderation and extremism that is unfolding across the broader Middle East. Our enemy follows a hateful ideology that rejects fundamental freedoms like the freedom to speak, to assemble, or to worship God in the way you see fit. It opposes the rights for women. Their goal is to overthrow governments and to impose their totalitarian rule on millions. They have a strategy to achieve these aims. They seek to convince America and our allies that we cannot defeat them, and that our only hope is to withdraw and abandon an entire region to their domination. The war on terror we fight today is more than a military conflict; it is the decisive ideological struggle of the 21st century. And in this struggle, we can accept nothing less than victory for our children and our grandchildren.

We see this struggle in Lebanon, where last week gunmen assassinated that country's Industry Minister, Pierre Gemayel, a prominent leader of the movement that secured Lebanon's independence last year. His murder showed once again the viciousness of those who are trying to destabilize Lebanon's young democracy. We see this struggle in Syria, where the regime allows Iranian weapons to pass through its territory into Lebanon, and provides weapons and political support to Hezbollah. We see this struggle in Iran, where a reactionary regime subjugates its proud people, arrests free trade union leaders, and uses Iran's resources to fund the spread of terror and pursue nuclear weapons. We see this struggle in the Palestinian Territories, where extremists are working to stop moderate leaders from making progress toward the vision of two democratic states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security.

In each of these places, extremists are using terror to stop the spread of freedom. Some are Shia extremists, others are Sunni extremists – but they represent different faces of the same threat. And if they succeed in undermining fragile democracies, and drive the forces of freedom out of the region, they will have an open field to pursue their goals. Each strain of violent Islamic radicalism would be emboldened in its efforts to gain control of states and establish new safe havens. The extremists would use oil resources to fuel their radical agenda, and to punish industrialized nations, and pursue weapons of mass destruction. Armed with nuclear weapons, they could blackmail the free world, spread their ideologies of hate, and raise a mortal threat to Europe, America, and the entire civilized world.

If we allow the extremists to do this, then 50 years from now history will look back on our time with unforgiving clarity, and demand to know why we did not act. Our Alliance has a responsibility to act. We must lift up and support the moderates and reformers who are working for change across the broader Middle East. We must bring hope to millions by strengthening young democracies from Kabul to Baghdad, to Beirut. And we must advance freedom as the great alternative to tyranny and terror.

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I know some in my country, and some here in Europe, are pessimistic about the prospects of democracy and peace in the Middle East. Some doubt whether the people of that region are ready for freedom, or want it badly enough, or have the courage to overcome the forces of totalitarian extremism. I understand these doubts, but I do not share them. I believe in the universality of freedom. I believe that the people of the Middle East want their liberty. I'm impressed by the courage I see in the people across the region who are fighting for their liberty.

We see this courage in the eight million Afghans who defied terrorist threats and went to the polls to choose their leaders. We see this courage in the nearly 12 million Iraqis who refused to let the car bombers and assassins stop them from voting for the free future of their country. We see this courage in the more than one million Lebanese who voted for a free and sovereign government to rule their land. And we see this courage in citizens from Damascus to Tehran, who, like the citizens of Riga before them, keep the flame of liberty burning deep within their hearts, knowing that one day its light will shine throughout their nations.

There was a time, not so long ago, when many doubted that liberty could succeed in Europe. Here in the Baltics, many can still recall the early years of the Cold War, when freedom's victory was not so obvious or assured. In 1944, the Soviet Red Army reoccupied Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, plunging this region into nearly five decades of communist rule. In 1947, communist forces were threatening Greece and Turkey, the reconstruction of Germany was faltering, and mass starvation was setting in across Europe. In 1948, Czechoslovakia fell to communism, France and Italy were threatened by the same fate, and Berlin was blockaded on the orders of Josef Stalin. In 1949, the Soviet Union exploded a nuclear weapon – and weeks later, communist forces took control in China. And in the summer of 1950, seven North Korean divisions poured across the border into South Korea, marking the start of the first direct military clash of the Cold War. All of this took place in the six years following World War II.

Yet today, six decades later, the Cold War is over, the Soviet Union is no more, and the NATO Alliance is meeting in the capital of a free Latvia. Europe no longer produces armed ideologies that threaten other nations with aggression and conquest and occupation. And a continent that was for generations a source of instability and global war has become a source of stability and peace. Freedom in Europe has brought peace to Europe, and freedom has brought the power to bring peace to the broader Middle East.

Soon after I took office, I spoke to students at Warsaw University. I told them America had learned the lessons of history. I said, "No more Munichs, and no more Yaltas." I was speaking at the time about Europe, but the lessons of Yalta apply equally across the world. The question facing our nations today is this: Will we turn the fate of millions over to totalitarian extremists, and allow the enemy to impose their hateful ideology across the Middle East? Or will we stand with the forces of freedom in that part of the world, and defend the moderate majority who want a future of peace?

My country has made its choice, and so has the NATO Alliance. We refuse to give in to a pessimism that consigns millions across the Middle East to endless oppression. We understand that, ultimately, the only path to lasting peace is through the rise of lasting free societies.

Here in the Baltic region, many understand that freedom is universal and worth the struggle. During the second world war, a young girl here in Riga escaped with her family from the advancing Red Army. She fled westward, moving first to a refugee camp in Germany, and then later to Morocco, where she and her family settled for five-and-a-half years. Spending her teenage years in a Muslim nation, this Latvian girl came to understand a fundamental truth about humanity: Moms and dads in the Muslim world want the same things for their children as moms and dads here in Riga – a future of peace, a chance to live in freedom, and the opportunity to build a better life.

Today, that Latvian girl is the leader of a free country – the Iron Lady of the Baltics, the President of Latvia. (Applause.) And the lessons she learned growing up in Casablanca guide her as she leads her nation in this world. Here is how she put it earlier this year, in an address to a joint meeting of the United States Congress: "We know the value of freedom and feel compassion for those who are still deprived of it. Every nation on Earth is entitled to freedom," your President said. She said, "We must share the dream that some day there won't be a tyranny left anywhere in the world. We must work for this future, all of us, large and small, together."

Like your President, I believe this dream is within reach, and through the NATO Alliance, nations large and small are working together to achieve it.

We thank the people of Latvia for your contributions to NATO, and for the powerful example you set for liberty. I appreciate your hospitality at this summit. America is proud to call you friends and allies in the cause of peace and freedom. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 4:57 P.M. (Local)

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 30, 2006

President Bush Participates in Joint Press Availability with Prime Minister Maliki of Iraq
Four Seasons Hotel Amman
Amman, Jordan

Joint Statement by the President of the United States and the
Prime Minister of Iraq
In Focus: Renewal in Iraq

President's Remarks
view

9:43 A.M. (Local)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Good morning. It's good to be in Amman. I first want to thank His Majesty King Abdullah for his gracious hospitality.

Prime Minister Maliki and I just had a very productive meeting. This is the third time we've met since he took office six months ago, and with each meeting I'm coming to know him better. He's a strong leader who wants a free and democratic Iraq to succeed. The United States is determined to help him achieve that goal.

I told the Prime Minister we're ready to make changes to better support the unity government of Iraq, and that certain key principles behind our strategy remain firm and they're fixed. First, we believe the success of Prime Minister Maliki's government is critical to the success in Iraq. His government was chosen by the Iraqi people through free elections in which nearly 12 million people defied terrorists to cast their ballots. I've told the Prime Minister that our goal in Iraq is to strengthen his government and to support his efforts to build a free Iraq that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself, and is an ally in the war against the terrorists.

Secondly, the success of the Iraqi government depends on the success of the Iraqi security forces. During our meetings, the Prime Minister and I heard an update from an important group that our government established last month: the Joint Committee on Accelerating the Transferring of Security Responsibility. We agreed on the importance of speeding up the training of Iraqi security forces. Our goal is to ensure that the Prime Minister has more capable forces under his control so his government can fight the terrorists and the death squads, and provide security and stability in his country.

Third, success in Iraq requires a united Iraq where democracy is preserved, the rule of law prevails, and minority rights are respected. The Prime Minister made clear that splitting his country into parts, as some have suggested, is not what the Iraqi people want, and that any partition of Iraq would only lead to an increase in sectarian violence. I agree. In the long-term, security in Iraq requires reconciliation among Iraq's different ethnic and religious communities, something the overwhelming majority of Iraqis want.

The Prime Minister and I also discussed the review of our strategy in Iraq that is now nearing completion. I assured the Prime Minister that our review is aimed at strengthening the capacity of the sovereign government of Iraq to meet their objectives, which we share. As part of the review, I've asked our military leaders in the Pentagon and those on the ground in Iraq to provide their recommendations on the best way forward.

Others outside the government are conducting their own review, and I look forward to hearing their recommendations. I want to hear all advice before I make my decisions about adjustments to our strategy and tactics in Iraq to help this government succeed.

My consultations with the Prime Minister and the unity government are a key part of the assessment process. And that's why I appreciate him coming over from Iraq so that we could have a face-to-face visit. The Prime Minister and I agree that the outcome in Iraq will affect the entire region. To stop the extremists from dominating the Middle East, we must stop the extremists from achieving their goal of dominating Iraq. If the extremists succeed in Iraq, they will be emboldened in their efforts to undermine other young democracies in the region, or to overthrow moderate governments, establish new safe havens, and impose their hateful ideology on millions. If the Iraqis succeed in establishing a free nation in the heart of the Middle East, the forces of freedom and moderation across the region will be emboldened, and the cause of peace

will have new energy and new allies.

Mr. Prime Minister, I want to thank you again for your time. I appreciate your friendship, and I appreciate the courage you show during these difficult times as you lead your country.

PRIME MINISTER MALIKI: (As translated.) Thank you. In the name of God. In the beginning, I would like to thank King Abdullah for hosting this meeting. And I would also like to thank the President of the United States for his response and for the role that he has shown in dealing most positively with all the files that we've discussed.

And I would like, during this occasion as we leave this transitional stage, we have won initially when we have accomplished democracy in Iraq and when we give Iraq the permanent constitution and the parliament and the unity government. And all these are victories that are victories with the principles that we believe in. And therefore, these victories were our decision not to let those who would like to tamper with the fates of the region, or those who oppose democracy to win, so that the despotic regime comes back. And Iraq will never be a safe haven for terrorists who are trying to spread darkness instead of light, the light that started in Mesopotamia.

We have many visions and many ideas about the transformation process and we are determined to succeed in the face of all the challenges that we believe are probably – should exist in a situation such as the situation that Iraq is going through. These are not outrageous challenges. There are criminals, there are people who are breaking the law. But the steel strength of the national unity government would help us face all those who are breaking the law, or those who are trying to take down democracy in Iraq, or those who are conspiring and trying to have coups or basically bring down the national unity government.

We are active with anybody who are working within the framework of the constitution. Because we established the constitution, we'll abide by it, we'll protect it, and we'll be protected by it. We assure everybody that we are in alliance with the international community in facing all the challenges that the world is facing. And foremost of those challenges is terrorism. Terrorism is not a danger only to Iraq, it's a culture, it's an ideology. The whole civilized world must face it as one line, one unit. Some people might not understand the successes that we have as we daily face terrorism in Iraq and as the security forces in Iraq chase them down, arrest them. This is solid strength based on our vision, and our vision is that terrorism, terroristic ideology, extremism, sectarianism are all issues that will rob humans from happiness.

We are ready to cooperate with everybody who believe that they need to communicate with the national unity government, especially our neighbors. Our doors are open, and our desire is strong that between us and our neighbors, we will have strong relationships based on mutual respect and staying away from everybody's internal business. Iraq is for Iraqis, and its borders will be sound and will not allow anybody to violate these borders or interfere in our internal affairs.

So everybody who is trying to make Iraq their own influences appear on the account of the Iraqi people needs to recalculate for it will not happen. And all the political forces in Iraq have agreed on that. They want to form a very strong political base to support the national unity government. We have visions in Iraq, and we are at the steps of transformation into a new stage where we'll have security plans that we believe will be effective and will deliver what is required.

In Iraq, we don't only deal with terrorism. We're dealing with building a whole state in all its aspects – political, economic, security, militarily – and all these are signs of maturity that are now very obvious in Iraq. And we hope that they will be complemented and supported by the international community and by our neighbors, who I hope that will be supportive not only for the benefit of Iraq, for the benefit of those countries, as well.

PRESIDENT BUSH: We will take a couple of questions. Abramowitz.

Q Mr. President, the memo from your National Security Advisor has raised the possibility the United States should press Prime Minister Maliki to break with Moqtada al-Sadr. Is this, in fact, your strategy? And did you raise this issue with the Prime Minister this morning?

A And to the Prime Minister, I'd like to ask, the President's Advisor has said that a central problem in Iraq is your close alliance with Mr. al-Sadr, and did you make any representations to the President that you would break with al-Sadr, and could your government survive such a break?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I will let the Prime Minister talk about his relations with al-Sadr. I will tell you that he and I spent a lot of time talking about the security situation inside of Iraq. I expressed my concern about the security situation; he expressed his concern about the security situation. After all, one of his most important jobs is to provide security for the Iraqi people. Part of the Prime Minister's frustration is, is that he doesn't have the tools necessary to take care of those who break the law.

I was reassured by his commitment to a pluralistic society that is politically united, and a society in which people are held to account if they break the law – whether those people be criminals, al Qaeda, militia, whoever.

He discussed with me his political situation, and I think it is best that he talk to you about the Sadr group or any other group he wants to talk about inside of Iraq.

PRIME MINISTER MALIKI: Matter of fact, my coalition is not with only one entity. The national unity government is a government formed of all the entities that participated in it. Therefore, that coalition basically represents a national responsibility.

And Mr. Sadr and the Sadrists are just one component that participate in the parliament or in the government. And I think participating in the government is a responsibility and it's a mutual commitment, and those who participate in this government need to bear responsibilities. And foremost upon those responsibilities is the protection of this government, the protection of the constitution, the protection of the law, not breaking the law.

Therefore, I do not talk about one side at the expense of the other. I'm talking about a state; I'm talking about law; I'm talking about commitments. And this should apply to all the partners in the government who have chosen to participate in the political process.

As to the issues that would pertain to violating the law or breaking the law, we would deal with them the same way, because the most important principle is the sovereignty and the power and the establishment of the state that must be borne by the state, but only our partners should participate in that.

Q Hezbollah has denied that his forces trained Moqtada al-Sadr forces, but do you have any information if Hezbollah has actually trained the forces of Moqtada al-Sadr?

PRIME MINISTER MALIKI: I think they expressed itself and expressed its responsibilities. And one – another time I would like to say that Iraq and all the Iraqis in the political process; nobody has the right, outside of Iraq, to interfere in the political or the security situation inside of Iraq. We invite everybody to cooperate with us, but as far as this issue related to training, Hezbollah denied and they're responsible for their denial.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Our objective is to help the Maliki government succeed. And today we discussed how to further the success of this government. This is a government that is dedicated to pluralism and rule of law. It's a government elected by the Iraqi people under a constitution approved by the Iraqi people, which, in itself, is an unusual event in the Middle East, by the way.

We talked today about accelerating authority to the Prime Minister so he can do what the Iraqi people expect him to do, and that is bring security to parts of his country that require firm action. It's going to – the presence of the United States will be in Iraq so long as the government asks us to be in Iraq. This is a sovereign government. I believe that there is more training to be done. I think the Prime Minister agrees with me. I know that we're providing a useful addition to Iraq by chasing down al Qaeda and by securing – helping this country protect itself from al Qaeda.

Al Qaeda wants a safe haven in Iraq. Al Qaeda made it clear earlier that suicide bombers would increase sectarian violence. That was part of their strategy. One of our goals is to deny safe haven for al Qaeda in Iraq, and the Maliki government expects us and wants us to provide that vital part of security.

So we'll be in Iraq until the job is complete, at the request of a sovereign government elected by the people. I know there's a lot of speculation that these reports in Washington mean there's going to be some kind of graceful exit out of Iraq. We're going to stay in Iraq to get the job done, so long as the government wants us there.

We want the people of Iraq to live in a free society. It's in our interests. In my judgment, if we were to leave

before the job is done, it would only embolden terrorists, it would only embolden the extremists. It would dash the hopes of millions of people who want to live in a free society, just like the 12 million people who voted in the Iraqi election. They want to live in a free society. And we support this government, because the government understands it was elected by the people. And Prime Minister Maliki is working hard to overcome the many obstacles in the way to a peaceful Iraq, and we want to help him.

Let's see – Martha.

Q Mr. President, is there a time limit on meeting any of these goals for Prime Minister Maliki? And you keep mentioning that the U.S. goal is to fight al Qaeda. Does that mean you believe it's up to the Iraqis to stop the sectarian violence and quell the sectarian violence, and this is something you don't want U.S. troops involved in?

And Prime Minister Maliki, can you tell us why you canceled the meeting last night?

PRESIDENT BUSH: What was the first part of your three-part question? (Laughter.)

Q Time limit on meeting goals. Is there a time limit on meeting goals?

PRESIDENT BUSH: A time limit. As soon as possible. But I'm realistic, because I understand how tough it is inside of Iraq. The Prime Minister is dealing with sectarian violence. The Prime Minister is having to deal with al Qaeda. The Prime Minister is having to deal with criminal elements. And we want to help him.

And, yes, I talked about making sure that al Qaeda doesn't take – doesn't provide – gets safe haven in Iraq. Sure, that's an important part of our strategy. But I also have said that the goal is a country that can defend, sustain, and govern itself. And therefore, to the extent that our troops are needed to help do that, we're willing to do that. That's part of the operation in Baghdad. Part of the plan in Baghdad was to prevent – prevent killers from taking innocent life.

Q Including sectarian violence?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well that's – killers taking innocent life is, in some cases, sectarian. I happen to view it as criminal, as well as sectarian. I think any time you murder somebody, you're a criminal. And I believe a just society and a society of – that holds people to account and believes in rule of law protects innocent people from murderers, no matter what their political party is.

And I discussed this with the Prime Minister, and I don't want to put words in his mouth, but I received a satisfactory answer about the need to protect innocent life. And that's exactly what our troops have been doing, along with the Iraqis. My plan, and his plan, is to accelerate the Iraqis' responsibility. See, here's a man who has been elected by the people; the people expect him to respond, and he doesn't have the capacity to respond. And so we want to accelerate that capacity. We want him to be in the lead in taking the fight against the enemies of his own country.

And that's exactly what we discussed today. We had a Joint Committee on Accelerating the Transfer of Security Responsibility Report. And it was a report that General Casey, who is with us today, and our Ambassador Zal Khalilzad, who is with us today, as well as the Prime Minister's team, delivered to both of us about how to accelerate responsibility to the Iraqi government so this person elected by the people can take the fight to those who want to destroy a young democracy.

You had a question –

Q Sir, there are no time limits here?

PRESIDENT BUSH: As quick as possible, Martha. As quick – I've been asked about timetables ever since we got into this. All timetables mean is that it – it is a timetable for withdrawal. You keep asking me those questions. All that does is –

Q Mr. President –

PRESIDENT BUSH: Hold on a second. All that does is set people up for unrealistic expectations. As soon as possible. And today, we made a step toward as soon as possible by transferring a – accelerating the transfer of authorities, military authorities to the Prime Minister.

Q Did you put any pressure –

PRESIDENT BUSH: Hold on a second. Hold on, please, sir. Please. Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER MALIKI: I emphasize what the President has just said, that we have agreed together, and we are very clear together, about the importance of accelerating the transfer of the security responsibility. And be assured that the Iraqi forces and the security forces have reached a good level of competency and efficiency to protect Iraq as a country and to protect its people.

As far as the other issue related to the meeting, I have met with King Abdullah, then have met again with his Prime Minister, and a group of his ministers, and we've discussed bilateral relations that are of concern to both nations – Iraq and Jordan – and that relationship is based on mutual friendship and being a good host and a good neighbor. And there was not part of our agenda a trilateral meeting, so there is no problem.

Please.

Q (As translated.) Did you discuss with the President the Iranian influence that is expanding in Iraq, and the almost complete Iranian control over Baghdad, as the press sources seems to indicate? – did you build this big wall between Iraq and Iranian? So and are you going to deal with –

PRESIDENT BUSH: Did I – I didn't understand your first question.

Q To deal with Iranian directly?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Am I going to meet with the Iranians directly, is that the question?

Q The question of Iraq, yes.

PRIME MINISTER MALIKI: As far as the first question that was mentioned by the reporter, I think these are wrong and exaggerated information, and they are being used as one of the propaganda mechanisms to give the impression of sectarian strife so that will reach a point of no return. Because we want to emphasize that we will not allow anybody to exert their control over any part of Iraq. If there is any talk about intervention in Iraq and all the discussion, all the talks about people or other nations exerting control over Iraq, this is not true. This is a political process in Iraq. We want good relationships with our neighbors, we want complementary relationships with our neighbors to protect the region from tensions. But the main principle underlying all this is the respect of the Iraqi borders and the internal affairs of Iraq.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I believe the Iranians fear democracy, and that's why they destabilize Lebanon; that's why they are worried about the establishment of a Palestinian state.

I appreciate the Prime Minister's views that the Iraqis are plenty capable of running their own business and they don't need foreign interference from neighbors that will be destabilizing the country. I am very worried, as should the world, about Iran's desires to have a nuclear weapon and, therefore, will continue to work with the world to send a clear message to the Iranians, the Iranian government, that we will – they will become more isolated. And my message to the Iranian people is we have no beef with the Iranian people. We respect their heritage, we respect their history, we respect their traditions. I just have a problem with a government that is isolating its people, denying its people benefits that could be had from engagement with the world.

I told the Prime Minister, we'll continue to work with the world community to insist that Iran abandon its nuclear weapons programs. And I have said that if they were to verifiably suspend their enrichment program, we would part of the EU3 plus Russia plus China discussions. They know how to get us to the table. The choice is theirs to make. It's the choice of the Iranian government as to whether or not they make the right decisions, for not only the sake of the diplomacy, but for the sake – more importantly, for the sake of their people.

We might as well keep going, Prime Minister.

Richard. Please, sir. Please. Thank you.

Q When you were in Baghdad six months ago, you expressed the same kind of confidence in the Prime Minister and his government that you've expressed today. Yet there have been repeated rounds of

disappointments when it comes to the Prime Minister's Baghdad Security Plan, with his plans for reconciliation. I'm wondering, if anything, if you've had any doubts over the last six months about the strength of his government, about the Prime Minister's own abilities. And what gives you such confidence today to think that he can achieve what he hasn't done over the last six months?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, as you mentioned, he's been in power for six months, and I've been able to watch a leader emerge. The first thing that gives me confidence is that he wants responsibility. A sign of leadership is for somebody to say, I want to be able to have the tools necessary to protect my people. One of his frustrations with me is that he believes we've been slow about giving him the tools necessary to protect the Iraqi people. And today we had a meeting that will accelerate the capacity for the Prime Minister to do the hard work necessary to help stop this violence. No question it's a violent society right now. He knows that better than anybody. He was explaining to me that occasionally the house in which he lives gets shelled by terrorists who are trying to frighten him.

And so the second point I make to you is that I appreciate his courage. You can't lead unless you have courage. And he's got courage, and he's shown courage over the last six months. Thirdly, he has expressed a deep desire to unify his country. You hear all kinds of rumors about the politics inside of Iraq. I'm talking to the man face-to-face, and he says that he understands that a unified government, a pluralistic society, is important for success. And he's making hard decisions to achieve that.

No question it's been tough. It would have been a lot easier had people not tried to destabilize the young democracy. His job would have been more simple had there not been terrorists trying to create sectarian violence.

Now, I want everybody to remember that it was Mr. Zarqawi of al Qaeda who said, let us bomb Shia in order to create the

conditions necessary for sectarian violence. The Samara bombing started off this new phase of violence. The Prime Minister comes in about halfway through that phase in order to — he'd been selected and now he's dealing with a serious situation on the ground. And what I appreciate is his attitude. As opposed to saying, America, you go solve the problem, we have a Prime Minister who's saying, stop holding me back, I want to solve the problem.

And the meeting today was to accelerate his capacity to do so. It's not easy for a military to evolve from ground zero, and I appreciate our forces, and I appreciate General Casey, who have worked very hard to train the Iraqis so they become a capable fighting force, as well as a unifying element for Iraq. But it's one thing to put people in uniform, and another thing to have clear command structure, or the capacity to move troops from point A to point B, or the capacity to make sure that the troop carrier from point A to point B has got the necessary air in its tires or oil in its engine. In other words, this is a sophisticated operation to get a unifying army stood up.

And one of the reasons I appreciate the Prime Minister is that he, on the one hand, sees that it's a sophisticated operation to get a military up from zero, but on the other hand, is frustrated by the pace. And the reason why he's frustrated is because he wants to show the people who elected him that he is willing to take the hard tasks on necessary to provide security for the Iraqi people, such as hunting down those who are killing the innocent. And the reason I came today to be able to sit down with him is to hear the joint plans developed between the Iraqi government, the sovereign government of Iraq, and our government, to make sure that we accelerate the transfer of capacity to the Prime Minister. And I know he's looking forward to more capacity being transferred so he can do his job.

Anyway, he's the right guy for Iraq, and we're going to help him, and it's in our interest to help him, for the sake of peace.

Q Mr. President — what is your — Prime Minister Olmert and President Abu Mazen to keep this cease-fire agreement? And what should be done —

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, first of all, there's no question that if we were able to settle the Palestinian-Israeli issue, it would help bring more peace to the Middle East. And therefore, our government is focused on helping develop the two-state solution. As a matter of fact, I was the — our government strongly believes in the two-state solution, and I believe it's in the Palestinian people's interest that they have their own state. And I believe it's in Israel's interest that there be a democracy on her border. And therefore, we're working to that end.

Look, there are extremists who want to stop the development of a Palestinian state, just like there are extremists who want to destabilize Lebanon — and we're strongly in support of the Siniora government — just like there are extremists who want to destabilize this young democracy. Isn't it interesting that the radicals and extremists fear democracy so much that they're willing to kill innocent people? And the task at hand is to support moderate, reasonable people in their quest for free societies. And that means that Abu Mazen, who I believe wants there to be a Palestinian state living side-by-side with peace in Israel, deserves the support of the world. And he deserves support in peeling his government away from those who do not recognize Israel's right to exist.

And therefore, Condoleezza Rice will be going to talk to Abu Mazen tomorrow, as well as Prime Minister Olmert, working with both parties together to see how we can advance the vision that the Prime Minister himself talked about earlier this week.

Q And your advice to both of them?

PRESIDENT BUSH: ^{Mr. Siniora} My advice is, support reasonable people and reject extremists. Understand that most people want to live in peace and harmony and security. It's very important for the American people to understand that most Muslim mothers want their children to grow up in peace, and they're interested in peace. And it's in our interest to help liberty prevail in the Middle East, starting with Iraq.

And that's why this business about graceful exit just simply has no realism to it at all. We're going to help this government. And I'm able to say that it is — that we have a government that wants our help and is becoming more capable about taking the lead in the fight to protect their own country. The only way that Iraq is going to be able to succeed is when the Iraqis, led by a capable person, says, we're tired of it, we don't want violence, we want the peace that our 12 million people voted for. And it's in the world's interest that Iraq succeed.

Mr. Prime Minister, you want to answer some more questions? (Laughter.) Go ahead. Hold on for a minute. Wait, wait, wait.

PRIME MINISTER MALIKI: We said six question, now this is the seventh — this is the eighth — eight questions.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, this guy?

Q (As translated.) Mr. President, in light of the war that the United States is fighting against terror in Iraq, what has been accomplished? What do you expect to be accomplished after a three-year confrontation?

Another question — other people are accusing the United States of bringing terrorism to Iraq, and the proof is that what's going on in Iraq and what's going on in Afghanistan. And the biggest loser is the Iraqi citizen.

PRESIDENT BUSH: It's an interesting analysis: the biggest loser for a free society is the Iraqi citizen when this society was just liberated from the grips of a brutal tyrant that killed thousands and thousands of the Iraqi citizens.

What has been accomplished is the liberation of a country from a tyrant who is now sitting in jail getting a trial that he was unwilling to give thousands of people he murdered himself, or had murdered.

Secondly, this country has a constitution, which is one of the most modern constitutions ever written in the Middle East. This is a government that had been elected by the people. No question it's tough. But the reason why terrorists are trying to stop the advance of freedom in Iraq is the very reason why we need to help them, because they can't stand democracies and they want to impose a hateful vision on as much of the world as possible. They want safe haven from which to launch attacks again. A safe haven in Iraq, a country that has got a lot of resources, would be very dangerous for America.

It didn't take but 19 people who were trained in Afghanistan to get on airplanes and come and kill over 3,000 citizens in my country. Threats that gather overseas must be taken seriously if we want to protect ourselves. And the best way to protect ourselves is to hunt down the terrorists and to help young democracies survive. Freedom and liberty is the great alternative to the hateful vision of those who are willing to murder innocent lives to achieve their objective.

And so, you bet it's worth it in Iraq, and necessary. And I was very proud and pleased to see 12 million Iraqis

go to the polls, to be able to express their desires, their wishes, as they helped put a government in place that this man now leads.

PRIME MINISTER MALIKI: Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Good to see you, thank you.

PRIME MINISTER MALIKI: Thank you.

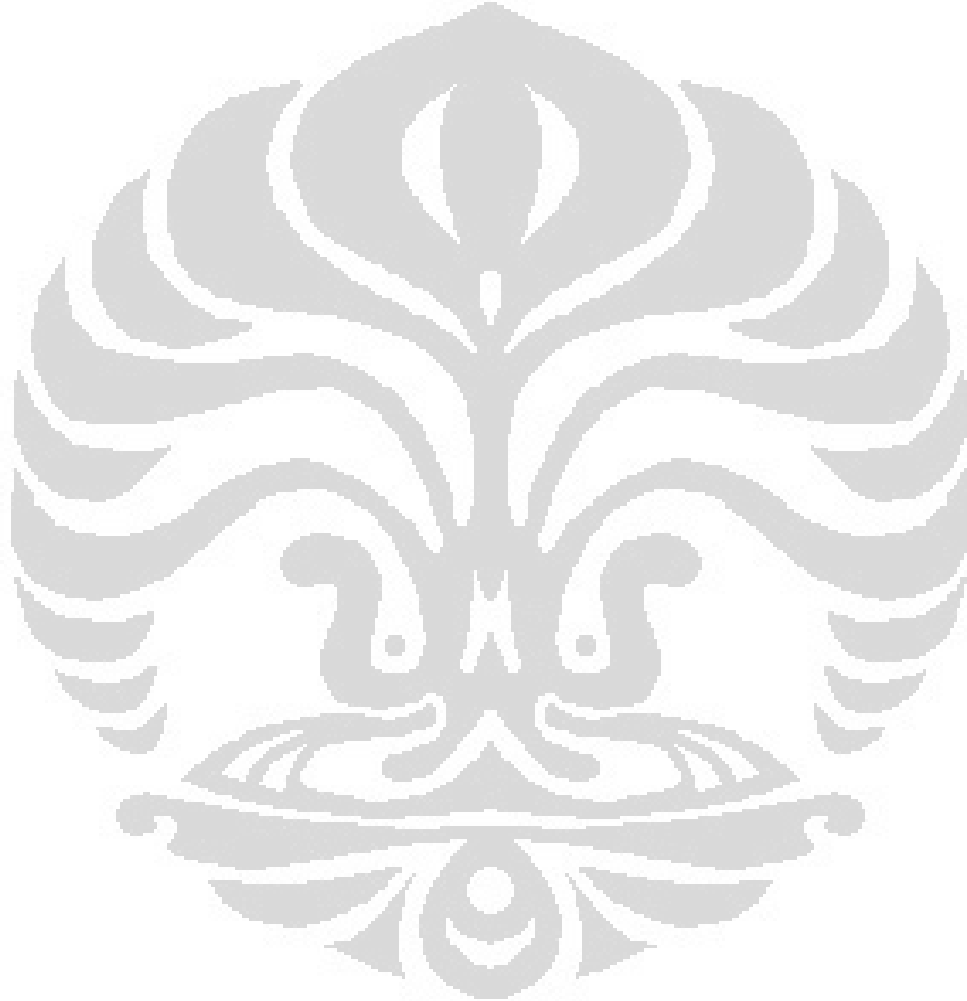
PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you all.

END 10:20 A.M. (Local)

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President Bush Meets with Vice President Hashemi of Iraq
Oval Office

In Focus: Renewal in Iraq

1:51 P.M. EST

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT BUSH: It's been my honor to meet with the Vice President of Iraq again. I had the pleasure of meeting the Vice President in Baghdad. It was there that I invited him to come to Washington, D.C., and I did so because I understand his importance to the future of Iraq.

The Vice President suffered unspeakable violence in his family. He's lost loved ones to violent action. And, yet, in spite of his grief and in spite of pain in his heart, he was willing to work for a united Iraq and a peaceful Iraq; an Iraq that can govern itself and sustain itself and defend itself, a free Iraq that will be an ally in the war against extremists and radicals.

And Mr. Vice President, I respect your courage and I respect your advice.

I spent time with the Vice President today talking about the conditions in Iraq and what the United States can do to help this Iraqi government succeed. He brought me up to date on the terrible violence that is taking place in some of the neighborhoods in Baghdad. He spoke eloquently about the suffering that innocent families have gone through. And my heart goes out to those, Mr. Vice President, who have suffered at the hands of extremists and killers.

Our objective is to help the Iraqi government deal with the extremists and killers, and support the vast majority of Iraqis who are reasonable people who want peace.

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And so Mr. Vice President, my message to you today, and to the Iraqi people is, we want to help you. We want to help your government be effective. We want your government to live up to its words and ideals. And I thank you for being a leader of one aspect of Iraqi society -- you're the leader of many Sunnis and you're committed to a government that is Shia, Sunni, Kurdish and everybody else in your country, every other group in your country that will help us yield peace.

And I welcome you, I thank you, and I praise your courage.

VICE PRESIDENT HASHEMI: Thank you, sir. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Mr. President for the invitation, first of all, and when he expedited my visit to the states, which left a really positive message to the Iraqi people that the American administration, while they are revising their strategy, they are looking for a balance and fair analysis from (inaudible) leaders in Iraq.

So this visit coming upon the heels of Mr. Hakim, I would like also to express my appreciation to the unique and unforgettable commitment of the President when he said, and continued saying that we are committed to the success in Iraq. And I share his views and aspirations that there is no way but success in Iraq.

We have no other option in Iraq but to achieve that success. And in cooperation with our friends, and Mr. President, and the American administration, we will join forces to achieve that success in the foreseeable future.

There is a chance, and I can assure you there is a great and real chance to get out of this present dilemma. It is a hard time that the Iraqis face in time being, but there is a light in the corridor. There is a chance, but we need a good will and a strong determination, the same strong determination that the Mr. President has. There will be a chance for the country and for Iraq to succeed.

During my discussion and dialogue with Mr. President, I had really a frank and positive dialogue and

conversation. We talked about key issues. And hopefully at the end of the day, I would like to see my comments and observations welcomed, because at the end of the day, what I say to Mr. President is achieving, or could be seen as a genuine and (inaudible) part in the way of achieving the success.

I thank Mr. President again for the time given to myself and to my colleagues. And I leave United States with a great hope that with our friends in Washington, that they are very much interested, in fact, to help us in these very difficult times, and to achieve the unforgettable, the long-awaited success. Whatever the sacrifices, my family and the country, at the end of the day, we have no other option but to maintain this momentum and to struggle until we meet that success, inshallah.

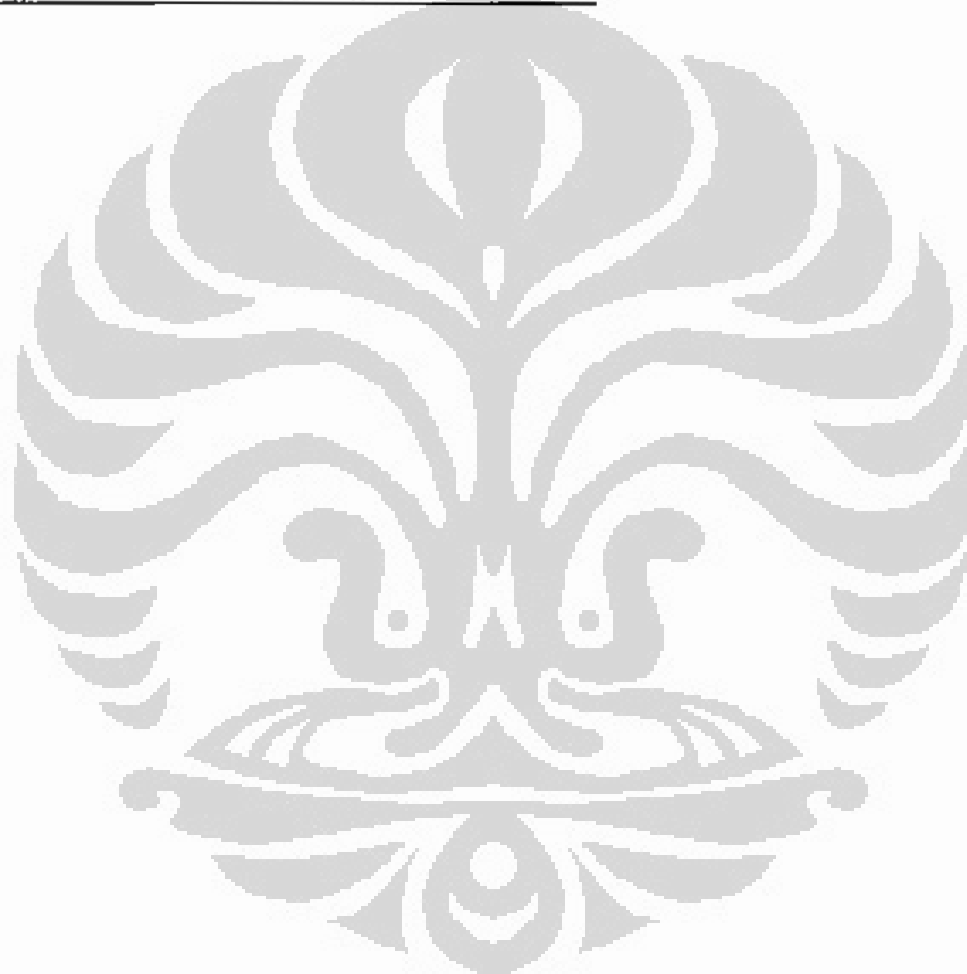
PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you very much. Thank you.

END 1:58 P.M. EST

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The White House
President George W. Bush

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 16, 2006

President Bush and Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of Singapore Exchange Toasts

The Istana
Singapore

8:26 P.M. (Local)

Video (Real)
Presidential Speeches
Audio

PRIME MINISTER LEE: Your Excellency President George Bush and Mrs. Laura Bush, excellencies and distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the Singapore government, my wife and I warmly welcome President and Laura Bush to Singapore. We remember your last visit in 2003, and are very, very happy to have you here again.

Singapore and the U.S. are close friends and strategic partners. Our relationship is excellent and covers many areas, from trade to defense and counterterrorism. The friendship has endured because it is rooted in shared interests and compatible international perspectives.

Mr. President, we are glad that you have found the time to visit Southeast Asia, and have chosen Singapore to deliver your speech on America's priorities in the region. America continues to play a vital role in Asia's stability and prosperity. You have important interests here that need to be nurtured, amidst your many other commitments worldwide. Singapore looks forward to greater U.S. engagement in this part of the world, and I believe so do many other Southeast Asian countries.

On the security front, Singapore has made common cause with the U.S. in combating the terrorist threat. The fight against terrorism is a long-term ideological struggle. The strength and resolve of the United States, and especially of its Commander-in-Chief, is critical to sustaining this struggle, and prevailing in it. And in you, President Bush, America is fortunate to have a leader with the courage of conviction and the tenacity to press ahead towards your objectives despite all difficulties. Your steadfast leadership has helped anchor this effort to make the world a better and safer place for us all.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I now invite you to join me in a toast to the good health of President and Mrs. Bush and to the enduring friendship between the United States and Singapore.

(A toast is offered.)

PRIME MINISTER LEE: Thank you. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you all. Mr. Prime Minister and Ms. Lee, thank you very much for your gracious hospitality. Laura and I are thrilled to be back here. I'm always amazed when I think about Singapore, a country that wasn't supposed to be; a part of the world where people basically said there's no chance for the good folks to survive and thrive. I'm amazed at your successes, and I appreciate the values on which your successes rest.

I congratulate the people of Singapore for being such a vivid example of enterprise and markets and hard work. I congratulate the government for being visionary in its leadership. And I am thrilled that you allowed me to give a speech at one of your fine universities, talking about the importance of the Far East to the future of the United States.

I thank you very much for serving that meat. (Laughter and applause.) It was so good, it had to be from Texas. (Laughter.)

The Prime Minister and I have had a lot of discussions about a variety of issues, and I shared with them one of my chief concerns, that our country would become — could possibly become isolationist and protectionist. In my speech today to the university, Mr. Prime Minister, I assured the listeners that it is in our interest to remain engaged in the world. It's in our economic interests and it's in our national interests that the United States work with strong friends and allies such as Singapore to spread prosperity and hope, and to work to lay the foundations for peace.

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menyampaikan

Mr. Prime Minister, I appreciate your clear vision of the threats that we face. I appreciate the fact that you see the ideological struggle before us. I cannot think of a more steadfast leader in you, and your willingness to make the hard steps necessary to deal with this challenge today so that our children won't have to deal with it in more severe terms tomorrow.

I'm proud to call you friend. Laura and I are proud to be in your presence. May God bless you and your important country. (Applause.)

PRIME MINISTER LEE: Thank you very much.

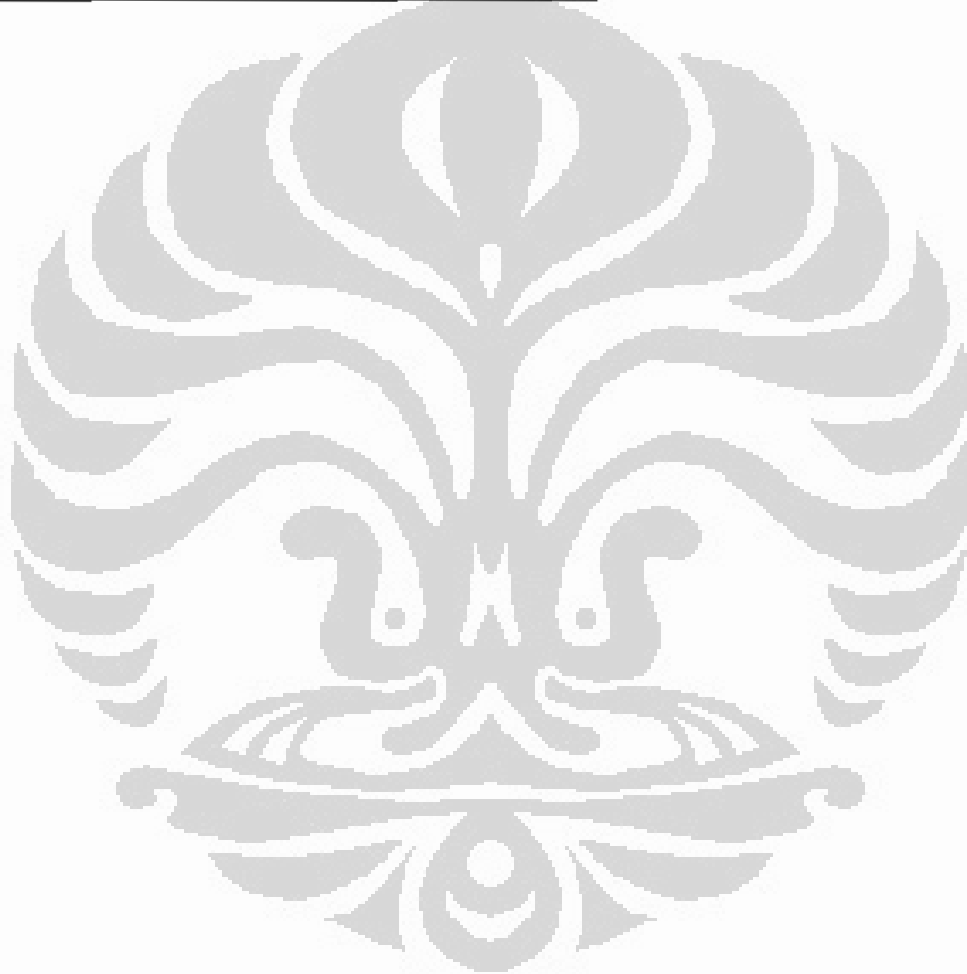
(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

END 8:32 P.M. (Local)

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Print this document



For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 18, 2006

President Bush Meets with President Roh of the Republic of Korea

The Sheraton Hanoi
Hanoi, Vietnam

APEC 2006

8:38 A.M. (Local)

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT ROH: (As translated.) Today, President Bush and I had a very good discussion on the North Korean nuclear issue. We agreed on the principle that North Korea should dismantle its nuclear weapons and its nuclear program. We also agreed that our two countries fully support the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1718, and our two countries will implement this resolution in a faithful manner.

Although the Republic of Korea is not taking part in the full scope of the PSI, we support the principles and goals of the PSI and will fully cooperate in preventing WMD materiel transfer the northeast Asia region. And we also agreed that we will actively seek to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue within the six-party talks framework, and also by actively engaging in bilateral talks within this framework.

In conclusion, the President and I had very satisfactory discussions on this issue and we had very useful and in-depth discussions on resolving the North Korean nuclear issue.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. President, I agree. We had a discussion like you would expect allies to have a discussion. We are allies in peace. We are allies in working to improve the lives of our fellow citizens.

We did discuss 1718, Resolution 1718, our mutual desire to effectively enforce the will of the world. I appreciate the cooperation we're receiving from South Korea on the Proliferation Security Initiative. Our desire is to solve the North Korean issue peacefully. And as I've made clear in a speech as recently as two days ago in Singapore, that we want the North Korean leaders to hear that if it gives up its weapons — nuclear weapons ambitions, that we would be willing to enter into security arrangements with the North Koreans, as well as move forward new economic incentives for the North Korean people.

I appreciate your commitment to peace and I appreciate our mutual friendship, Mr. President. And I've enjoyed yet another meeting in our quest to achieve our common objectives.

Thank you very much.

END 8:43 A.M. (Local)

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The White House
President George W. Bush

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 16, 2006

President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Lee of Singapore

The Istana
Singapore

2:29 P.M. (Local)

Video (Real)
Presidential Speeches
Audio

PRIME MINISTER LEE: Well, I have just a few words to say. I'm very happy to have President Bush here, and visiting Singapore for the second time in three years. We've had a very good conversation on many issues. Our bilateral relationship is excellent. We've had a very good time talking about it. We discussed what was happening in the region, what's happening in the Middle East, what's happening all over Asia, our economic matters, as well as security issues, as well as terrorism.

And on many of these areas, we not only exchanged notes, but found a significant degree of matching in our views. Maybe it's because we've exchanged views so many times, and we know how each other think. But I think it's also because our interests are aligned, and Singapore is very happy that America has a stake in the region, and is growing the stake in the region. And we would like to help this to happen and to ensure that this continues for a long time to come.

So welcome, Sir.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. Prime Minister, thanks. Thank you for your hospitality, again. Laura and I feel very comfortable in your country and we feel comfortable in your presence. You're right, we had a wide-ranging discussion. I always benefit when I get your advice and your counsel on the neighborhood. And I think America's presence in the Far East is very important for our own country. And, therefore, when you share your thoughts with me it makes it much easier for us to conduct wise foreign policy.

We've got a lot in common, particularly our desire to continue to promote free and fair trade, because your country has shown that open markets are capable of lifting up an entire people. And I congratulate you on your leadership; congratulate the people of Singapore for really being a model for the neighborhood.

And I'm looking forward to the dinner tonight that you're giving.

PRIME MINISTER LEE: Thank you very much.

END 2:31 P.M. (Local)

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 18, 2006

President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Abe of Japan

The Sheraton Hanoi
Hanoi, Vietnam

APEC 2006

12:47 P.M. (Local)

President's Remarks
view

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. Prime Minister, thank you very much for your time. We just had a very frank and full discussion. I admire the Prime Minister's intellect, I'm very comfortable with his style, and I'm very confident we'll be able to work together for the common good.

The relationship between Japan and the United States is strong and we will keep it that way. And a strong relationship between our two countries is good for the security of the East. We talked a lot of issues. And we spent time talking about North Korea and our common commitment to see that the six-party talks succeed. We spent a lot of time talking about bilateral issues. And one of the most interesting issues we discussed was our common desire to continue to cooperate on ballistic missile defense.

I told the Prime Minister he needs to get over to the United States quickly. I'm looking forward to hosting him. And thank you for your time.

PRIME MINISTER ABE: (As translated.) I was able to spend a very meaningful and wonderful time with the President today. So thank you very much, Mr. President.

Japan and U.S. share an alliance which is based on fundamental values, such as freedom, democracy, basic human rights and the rule of law. And we agreed with each other that strengthening our alliance would be a good in maintaining peace and security of not just Japan and the region surrounding Japan, but the entire world.

Also concerning North Korea, as the President mentioned, we agreed that we would take a coordinated approach to reach a final resolution of the issue, and also to achieve some concrete results at an early stage. We also agreed to strengthen and accelerate our cooperation concerning ballistic missile defense, and we will instruct our foreign ministers and defense ministers to conduct consideration concerning this matter.

We are faced with many difficult issues, like North Korea, the fight against terror, and also Iraq. But we agreed that we will be utilizing the alliance we have between Japan and the United States for the good of the world and the region (inaudible).

I'm looking forward to visiting the United States sometime next year and seeing the President. Thank you.

END 12:52 P.M. (Local)

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The White House
President George W. Bush

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 16, 2006

President Bush Visits National University of Singapore

University Cultural Centre Theatre
National University of Singapore
Singapore

6:04 P.M. (Local)

Video (Real)
Presidential Speeches
Audio

1 THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Good evening. Laura and I are really pleased to be back in Singapore. And I appreciate the chance to come and speak to you at this fine university. I thank the government and the people of Singapore for such gracious hospitality. I'm particularly pleased that my friend, the Senior Minister Goh, and his wife are with us today. Mr. Minister, thank you for joining us. (Applause.)

2 I also had a very fine meeting with Prime Minister Lee earlier. I've come to know him as a wise man. I appreciate his good counsel. He's a friend and a partner, and he's a strong voice for peace and prosperity in Asia.

3 Our roots, America's roots in Singapore are deep and enduring. I don't know if you know this or not, but our first counsel to Singapore arrived in the 1830s to promote American trade in this region. His wife was the daughter of one of America's most famous patriots, Paul Revere. She came to love the city and she came to love its people. And to show that love, she donated a bell that was cast by the Revere Foundry to the old St. Andrew's Church. The Revere bell is now in the National Museum of Singapore, and it is a symbol of the long affection between the people of our two nations.

f The story of Singapore is a story of people who overcame challenges and transformed a small port city into one of the most prosperous nations on Earth. Many of you have parents or grandparents who remember riding ox carts, and now fly across the oceans from one the world's most modern airports. Some learned four national anthems over their lifetime – Britain's, Japan's, Malaysia's, and finally, Singapore's. Others recall Singapore's early days and the pessimists who predicted that a small country with no natural resources was doomed to fail.

5 By your effort and enterprise, you have proven the pessimists wrong. And today, Singapore has one of the most vibrant economies in the entire world. In many ways, Singapore's transformation from a small trading outpost to a confident and prosperous leader is the story of Asia. Like Singapore, this region was mired in poverty after the second world war. Like Singapore, the region had to overcome challenges that included war and occupation and colonialism. Like Singapore, the region faced threats from movements that sought to destabilize governments and impose their ideology on others. And like Singapore, the region has overcome these challenges, and the Asia we see today is the fastest growing and most dynamic region in the world.

6 The United States has long recognized that it is in our interests to help expand hope and opportunity throughout Asia. And our policies have reflected this commitment for more than six decades. By opening our doors to Asian goods, America has ensured that Asian workers and businesses and entrepreneurs would have access to the world's largest economy. By maintaining a strong military presence in the region, America has helped provide stability. And with these actions, America has helped contribute to the modern and confident Asia we see today – a region where people's incomes and opportunities are rising, where businesses compete in the global economy, and where citizens know that a world growing in trade is a world expanding in opportunity.

7 In this new century, America will remain engaged in Asia, because our interests depend on the expansion of freedom and opportunity in this region. In this new century, our trade across the Pacific is greater than our trade across the Atlantic, and American businesses see a bright future in your thriving economies and rising middle class.

8 In this new century, we see threats like terrorism and proliferation and disease that have the potential to

undermine our prosperity and put our futures in doubt. Amid these challenges, we hear voices calling for us to retreat from the world and close our doors to its opportunities. These are the old temptations of isolationism and protectionism, and America must reject them. We must maintain our presence in the Pacific. We must seize on our common opportunities. We must be willing to confront our common threats. And we must help our partners build more hopeful societies throughout this vital part of the world.

Building more hopeful societies starts with opening up to the opportunities of a global trading system. By opening up to trade, countries attract foreign investment they need to provide jobs and opportunities for their people. By opening up to trade, countries help attract the know-how that will enable them to compete in a global marketplace. And by opening up to trade, countries build wealth and empower their citizens.

The United States has long been committed to a global trading system that is free and that is fair. And so is Singapore. Singapore was the host of the first meeting of the World Trade Organization in 1996, where we announced an important new agreement on information technology goods. A decade later, America and Singapore are again close partners working toward a common purpose, a breakthrough in the Doha negotiations. Only an ambitious Doha agreement with real market access can achieve the economic growth and development goals that this world has set, and we look to nations across the Asia Pacific region to help put these vital talks back on track.

To help build momentum for more open global trade we're also opening up markets with individual nations. On this side of the Pacific, America has negotiated free trade agreements with Singapore and Australia, and we're negotiating similar agreements with Malaysia and South Korea. On the other side of the Pacific, we have successful free trade agreements with Canada and Mexico and Chile, and we've concluded negotiations with Peru. America believes in free and fair trade, and we will continue to open up new avenues to commerce and investment across this region.

Tomorrow I'm going to travel to Vietnam for the annual Summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum. APEC has a vital role to play in promoting more open trading. In 1994, in Bogor, Indonesia, APEC reached an historic agreement to liberalize trade and investment throughout the region by 2020, and the United States strongly supports this goal. Recently, some APEC members have advanced the idea of a free trade agreement for the entire APEC region. I believe this idea deserves serious consideration. The United States believes that APEC is the premier economic forum in the region. We believe APEC has immense potential to expand free trade and opportunity across the Pacific, and we will do our part to help APEC become a stronger organization that serves as an engine for economic growth and opportunity throughout the region.

The remarkable economic growth that this region has achieved points to a clear lesson: The expansion of trade is the most certain path to lasting prosperity. America will continue to pursue trade at every level with individual countries, across all regions and through the WTO. We will work to remove barriers to trade and investment, and by doing so, we will help reduce poverty and promote stability. And we will give citizens on both sides of the Pacific a brighter future.

Building more hopeful societies means working together to confront the challenges that face the entire region. Open markets and the entrepreneurial spirit have set off historic economic booms in Asia. This economic growth creates new opportunities, and yet, we've got to recognize it creates new challenges. We must find the energy to power our growing economies. We must counter the risk of pandemic disease. And we must bring more people into the circle of development and prosperity. Meeting these challenges will require the effort of every nation, and you can count on the commitment of the United States.

As the economies of the Asia Pacific thrive and expand, one of our most pressing needs will be an affordable, reliable supply of energy. Four of the world's top five energy consumers are APEC members, and the region's need for energy is going to continue to rise. The answer to this challenge is familiar in Asia: Harness the power of technology. Together, we must unleash the same spirit of innovation and enterprise that sparked the Asian economic revolution to spark a new revolution in new energy technologies.

America knows the importance of developing new energy sources because we are too dependent on a single source, and that is oil. So we're investing aggressively in clean coal technology, renewable fuels like ethanol and biodiesel, and hydrogen fuel cells. Since 2001, we've spent nearly \$10 billion on clean energy technologies, and we're going to invest even more in the years to come. Across this region, we're cooperating with friends and allies to share our discoveries. We are learning from your experiences, and we're going to work together to improve new energy technologies – it's in our mutual interest to do so.

This cooperation includes several key initiatives that hold the promise of a cleaner and more energy-efficient world. Through the Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, the United States is working with Australia and China and India and Japan and South Korea to share best practices and deploy new energy technologies. Last month our partnership announced nearly 100 new projects, ranging from clean coal to renewable energy to more efficient buildings. These new technologies are helping us to improve our energy security, and as importantly, are helping to improve air quality by [sic] cutting greenhouse gas emissions.

Through the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership, America is working with other leaders in nuclear energy, like Russia and France and Japan, to help developing nations use civilian nuclear energy, while guarding against weapons proliferation. And through the APEC Biofuels Task Force, we're working with nations across the region to search for new ways to replace oil with clean fuels made from palm oil and sugar cane and other natural products.

My hope is that the investments that we make today will enable you to drive different kind of automobiles, and to heat your homes and air-condition your homes using different sources of energy. It's in the world's interest that we work together to end our addiction from oil.

Keeping our economies growing also requires protecting the health of our people. Four years ago we saw the SARS virus inflict terrible damage on Asian Pacific economies, a virus that claimed the lives of hundreds of people all across the world. Now this region faces a new threat of avian flu, and we're working together to address that threat. Vietnam was recently among the nations hardest hit by avian flu. Then Vietnam's leaders started to share information with the international community, and improve monitoring and public awareness, and take the difficult step of culling birds that might be infected. Vietnam's decisive actions have paid off. When I arrive in Hanoi for the APEC summit tomorrow, the country will have gone more than a year without a human case of avian flu. Our strategy is beginning to work.

At our summit, leaders will reaffirm our mutual responsibilities to report new avian flu cases, to contain the spread of animal outbreaks, and to follow wise preparedness plans. We've taken the important steps to stop the spread of avian flu, but we must continue to increase cooperation to ensure that if the pandemic ever does break out, the world will be ready to deal with it.

America has committed over \$15 billion to fight the spread of HIV/AIDS across the world. Today, Vietnam has an estimated 280,000 citizens who suffer from this deadly virus, and many more who are in danger of becoming infected. Through our emergency plan for AIDS relief, we're working with Vietnam to do something about it. We've launched an ambitious five-year program to help Vietnam meet three clear goals: to support treatment for 22,000 people; to support care for 110,000 people; and to support testing and prevention for 660,000 people.

Since 2004, we've provided more than \$138 million for this plan. We've helped bring relief to thousands of Vietnamese. It is in our interest to help defeat the spread of HIV/AIDS. This is a global challenge that grows daily and must be confronted directly. And I look forward to working with our Asian partners to do our duty to defeat this disease.

Our partners also know they can count on the United States when a disaster strikes suddenly. After the tsunami struck in 2004, we quickly dispatched military assistance and humanitarian relief to save lives and help devastated communities rebuild. By coming to the aid of people in dire need, America showed the good heart of our citizens and the depth of our friendship in this region.

Our commitments extend far beyond responding to disaster, and they must if we expect this world to be peaceful and prosperous. We're helping countries like the Philippines and Indonesia to provide their children an education that prepares them to succeed in the global economy. My administration started a new and bold foreign policy – foreign aid initiative called the Millennium Challenge Account. The United States will provide financial assistance to developing nations that govern justly – in other words, fight corruption – that invest in their people and enforce the rule of law. We've signed a Millennium Challenge threshold agreement with the Philippines. We will soon begin discussions with Peru. And, tomorrow, we will sign an agreement with Indonesia. By providing governments that are committed to reform vital aid we will help bring this region closer to a day when the benefits of economic growth and prosperity reach every citizen.

America has a clear approach to the challenges of the Asia Pacific region. We believe that alleviating poverty and fighting disease and harnessing the benefits of technology require partnership, not paternalism. And the United States makes this pledge: Every nation that works to advance prosperity, health and

opportunity for all its people will find a ready partner in the United States.

Building more hopeful societies depends on a foundation of security. At the start of this young century, the nations of the Asia Pacific region face a profound challenge: The same technology and global openness that have transformed our lives also threaten our lives. The same innovations that make it easier to build cars and computers make it easier to build weapons of mass destruction. The same advances in international transportation and finance that allow a manufacturer in Singapore to sell electronics to a store in San Francisco would also allow a proliferating regime in the Far East to sell dangerous technologies to a terrorist organization in the Middle East.

The danger is unmistakable. In an age of unprecedented technological advances, irresponsible behavior by a few can have catastrophic consequences for the entire world. The people of this region understand the threat that the world faces because they have been the targets of terrorist violence. The terrorists have attacked a nightclub in Bali, a hotel in Jakarta, a ferry packed with passengers in Manila Bay, a school full of children in Russia, Australia's embassy in Indonesia, and other targets.

The killers who committed these acts of terror are more than criminals; they are followers of a clear and focused ideology that hates freedom and rejects tolerance and despises all dissent. Their stated goal is to establish a totalitarian Islamic empire stretching from Europe to Southeast Asia. The greatest danger in our world today is that these terrorists could get their hands on weapons of mass destruction and use them to blackmail free nations or to kill on an unimaginable scale. This threat poses a risk to our entire civilization, and all our nations must work together to defeat it.

In this region, the most immediate threat of proliferation comes from North Korea. America's position is clear: The transfer of nuclear weapons or materiel by North Korea to states or non-state entities would be considered a grave threat to the United States, and we would hold North Korea fully accountable for the consequences of such action. For the sake of peace, it is vital that the nations of this region send a message to North Korea that the proliferation of nuclear technology to hostile regimes or terrorist networks will not be tolerated.

After North Korea's recent nuclear test, the United Nations Security Council passed a unanimous resolution making it clear that the regime's pursuit of nuclear weapons is unacceptable. The resolution imposes sanctions on North Korea's regime and America will work with our partners to enforce those sanctions. We'll also continue working with Japan and China and South Korea and Russia through the six-party talks. Our nations are speaking with one voice: The only way for North Korea to move forward, for the good of their people, is to abandon its nuclear weapons programs and rejoin the international community.

North Korea recently took an encouraging step when it agreed to come back to the table and re-start the six-party talks. The United States wants these talks to be successful, and we will do our part. If North Korea chooses a peaceful path, America and our partners in the six-party talks are prepared to provide security assurances, economic assistance and other benefits to the North Korean people.

Ultimately, the success of these talks depends on the regime in North Korea. Pyongyang must show it's serious – show it is serious by taking concrete steps to implement its agreement to give up its nuclear weapons and weapons programs.

As we work for a Korean Peninsula free of nuclear weapons, we're also strengthening defense cooperation in the Asia Pacific region. Unlike Europe, where our security cooperation takes place through the NATO Alliance, America's security cooperation in Asia takes place largely through bilateral defense relations.

America places the highest value on these partnerships. We're committed to strengthening our existing partnerships and to building new ones. With Japan, we continue to work closely to field a missile defense system to protect both our countries and others in the region from rogue regimes threatening blackmail and/or destruction. With South Korea, we have upgraded our deterrent capabilities, while reducing our footprint and repositioning U.S. troops stationed in the country. With Australia, we're working to improve joint training of our forces, and increase cooperation in areas such as intelligence and missile defense research. With the Philippines, we're working to improve the capabilities of the nation's armed forces to fight terrorism and other threats. With India, we signed an historic agreement to expand defense cooperation, increase joint exercises and improve intelligence sharing. With Vietnam, our Navy has made four port calls over the past three years, the first visits by U.S. military ships since the Vietnam War. And with Singapore, we signed a new strategic framework agreement that provides for joint military exercises and cooperation in military research and development.

By building new defense relationships and strengthening existing alliances, we are ensuring that the forces of freedom and moderation in this region can defend themselves against the forces of terror and extremism.

In addition to these bilateral defense relationships, America welcomes the growing multilateral security cooperation in this region. Today, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia are coordinating patrols in the Strait of Malaka, and working to combat terrorism, piracy and human trafficking. Through the Proliferation Security Initiative, 80 countries are cooperating to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction and related materiel through air, land and sea.

APEC members know that advancing trade and opportunity throughout the Pacific requires safe travel and transport, so we will continue to work together to improve the security of our ports and airports and transportation routes.

With all these efforts, the nations of this region are answering the threats of the 21st century. And in doing so, we are laying the foundation of security and peace for generations to come. In the long run, the surest path to security is the expansion of liberty and freedom. History shows that free societies are peaceful societies. Democracies do not attack each other. Governments accountable to voters focus on building roads and schools, not weapons of mass destruction. Young people who have a say in their future are less likely to search for meaning in extremism. And nations that commit to freedom for their people don't support terrorists and extremists, but, in fact, will join together to defeat them.

America is committed to advancing freedom and democracy as the great alternatives to repression and radicalism. We will take the side of democratic leaders and reformers. We will support the voices of tolerance and moderation across the world. We will stand with the mothers and fathers in every culture who want to see their children grow up in a caring and peaceful society.

We recognize that every democracy will reflect the unique culture and history of its people. Yet, we recognize that there are universal freedoms, that there are God-given rights for every man, woman and child on the face of this Earth. The people of Asia have faith in the power of freedom because you've seen freedom transform nations across your continent.

At the beginning of World War II, this side of the Pacific had only two democracies: Australia and New Zealand. Today, millions of Asians live in freedom. Freedom has unleashed the creative talents of people throughout Asia. Freedom has helped prosperity sweep across the region.

In all that lies ahead, the people of this region will have a partner in the American government and a friend in the American people. Together, the people of America and Asia have endured dark and uncertain hours. Together, we've seen modern nations rise from the rubble of war and launch dynamic economies that are the envy of the world. Together, we will confront the challenges of the new century and build a more hopeful and peaceful and prosperous future for our children and our grandchildren.

I appreciate your hospitality. Thank you for letting me come by and share some thoughts with you. May God bless the people of Singapore. (Applause.)

END 6:33 P.M. (Local)

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The White House
President George W. Bush

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For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
November 17, 2006

President Bush Meets with Prime Minister Howard of Australia

Sheraton Hanoi
Hanoi, Vietnam

APEC 2006

President's Trip to Southeast Asia

President's Remarks
view

1:17 P.M. (Local)

PRESIDENT BUSH: I just had an enjoyable lunch with my friend, John Howard. We talked about a variety of subjects. I talked to John about Iraq. I appreciate the Australian contributions to helping this young democracy succeed. There's a lot of questions, I know, in the press around the world about our troop posture and about the attitudes of our government. I assured John that we will get the job done. We will continue to help this Maliki government meet the aspirations of the Iraqi people.

And that – I'm sure there's some questions by the Australian press about what the elections mean. The elections mean that the American people want to know whether or not we have a plan for success, and that – and I assured John that any repositioning of troops, if that's what we choose to do, will be done in close consultation with John and his government. But I also assured him that we're not leaving until this job is done, until Iraq can govern, sustain and defend itself.

We talked about the climate. John has got some very strong ideas about the use of technologies to enable countries like our own and the rest of the world to be able to grow, and at the same time, protect the environment. And I appreciated his views. And I share those views. I assured him that we will continue to spend research dollars to develop technologies such as clean coal technologies, something that Australia is interested in, or the use of ethanol, for example, to power our automobiles, or money spent to develop hydrogen fuel cells, all aimed at changing our energy habits, and at the same time, protecting the environment.

We talked about the neighborhood that Australia is in. I always admire John's strategic vision of the world. I really appreciate the chance to have lunch with you.

PRIME MINISTER HOWARD: Well, thank you very much, George. We did cover all of those subjects, and we spent a lot of time, naturally, talking about Iraq. Our views are very similar. It's not easy, but we hold to the view, and I've said it back in Australia, and I'd repeat it here today, that the idea of the coalition leaving in circumstances where the Iraqi people were not soon to be able to look after themselves and to enjoy the democracy they want would be a catastrophic defeat for our cause, not only in the Middle East, but it would embolden terrorists in that region and it would embolden terrorism in countries like Indonesia.

Our discussions about climate change were very valuable. Our thinking is similar. We don't believe that Kyoto is the answer. Both our countries are committed to dealing with the growth of greenhouse gasses. We can have debate about the severity of the problem, but there's really no debate about the desirability of responding to it, provided we do it in a way that maintains economic growth in our societies and the world.

And we certainly have a similarity of commitment to doing things in the area of technology. And I indicated to the President that Australia is looking very seriously at the place of nuclear power in our own response. And the Australian media will be aware of the upcoming Switkowski report that is going to deal with the whole question of nuclear power in the overall equation.

PRESIDENT BUSH: We'll answer a couple of questions. Jennifer.

Q Thank you, sir. What does it mean to you, personally, and what do you think it means to other Americans who experienced some of the turbulence of the Vietnam War that you're here now, talking cooperation and peace with a former enemy?

PRESIDENT BUSH: You know, Laura and I were talking about – we were talking about how amazing it is we're here in Vietnam. And one of the most poignant moments of the drive in was passing the lake where John McCain got pulled out of the lake. And he's a friend of ours; he suffered a lot as a result of his imprisonment, and yet, we passed the place where he was, literally, saved, in one way, by the people pulling him out.

I guess my first reaction is history has a long march to it, and that societies change and relationships can constantly be altered to the good. And I'm looking forward to my meetings with the President and the Prime Minister here shortly. I found it really interesting, for example, that the Prime Minister's children were educated in the United States. The Prime Minister of Vietnam who, as I understand it, was part of the Viet Cong, sends his children to our country to get educated, and one of his children ended up marrying a Vietnamese American. And it shows how hopeful the world can be and how people can reconcile and move beyond past difficulties for the common good.

Vietnam is an exciting place. It's a place with an enormous future, and they obviously have got to work through difficulties like religious freedom, for example, but nevertheless, there's certainly a new hopefulness to this country. And so I'm – thought a lot about what it was like, what my impressions of Vietnam were growing up, and here I am in this country today, and I guess my answer is, it's very hopeful.

Q Are there lessons here for the debate over Iraq?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think one thing – yes, I mean, one lesson is, is that we tend to want there to be instant success in the world, and the task in Iraq is going to take a while. But I would make it beyond just Iraq. I think the great struggle we're going to have is between radicals and extremists versus people who want to live in peace, and that Iraq is a part of the struggle. And it's just going to take a long period of time to – for the ideology that is hopeful, and that is an ideology of freedom, to overcome an ideology of hate. Yet, the world that we live in today is one where they want things to happen immediately. *J. Howard*

And it's hard work in Iraq. That's why I'm so proud to have a partner like John Howard who understands it's difficult to get the job done. We'll succeed unless we quit. The Maliki government is going to make it unless the coalition leaves before they have a chance to make it. And that's why I assured the Prime Minister we'll get the job done.

Do you want to ask somebody?

Q Mr. President, did the Prime Minister raise any new ideas on Iraq during your talks? Can you tell us what they are, and will you be taking them up?

PRESIDENT BUSH: The Prime Minister's main concern was that we consult closely together. And I assured him that's going to be the case. That's the way it has been throughout this war on terror. We value Australia's commitments; I value John Howard's advice. And when our deliberations are complete – and as you may or may not know, we've got a lot of people looking at different tactical adjustments – once I make up my mind what those will be, I'll share it with him right off the bat.

Let's see here – yes, Steve.

Q You mentioned troop postures in Iraq. There's a report that you may want to send 30,000 additional troops to Iraq. Is that something –

PRESIDENT BUSH: Where was that report?

Q In the Guardian newspaper.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Guardian newspaper? Well, I don't read that paper often. But I – look, I'm going to listen to our commanders, Steve. Ours is a condition-based strategy, and Pete Pace is conducting a thorough study – he's the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. John Abizaid has got some ideas, and the Baker-Hamilton commission is looking. I want to hear from Democrats on Capitol Hill what their views may be. I want to hear from my fellow Republicans on Capitol Hill. And then I'll make up my mind. So I'm not aware of the Guardian article.

Q Are you getting sufficient cooperation from South Korea on North Korea? And will this be something you talk to them about tomorrow?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Oh, absolutely. I'll remind –

Q – they're not following through on the sanctions as hard as they could have.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'll, of course, talk to the South Korean President about implementing the United Nations Security Council resolution. I'll talk to Vladimir Putin, Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Abe, as well. I'm meeting with all our partners in the six-party talks.

The APEC is an important summit; it's an important opportunity to talk about the importance of free trade. But it's also important to give us a chance to talk about other issues. And a key issue that John and I, by the way, talked about is going to be North Korea. We have a chance to solve this issue peacefully and diplomatically. It's important for the world to see that the Security Council resolutions which were passed are implemented. So part of my discussions will be how we fully implement those sanctions that the world has asked for, but also it's a chance to set the conditions right so that the six-party talks will succeed. North Korea, as you know, has decided to come back to the table and it gives us a chance to solve this problem peacefully.

Q Mr. President, did you discuss the issue of David Hicks at all with the Prime Minister? And when do you think he might come to trial?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, we did. The Prime Minister brought it up. He was pleased that I was able to sign the military tribunal bill – in other words, a way forward for somebody like Hicks to be able to get a day in court. And he was asking me, do I have a timetable in mind as to when Hicks' trial will be coming forth. I told him I didn't, although we hope that Hicks is one of the early people that will have a day in court.

Interestingly enough, as I understand, Hicks has lawyers that may be trying to appeal certain aspects of the law we passed. If that's the case, he's having his day in court, in an interesting way. But I believe Hicks deserves a trial and is going to get it.

Thank you all very much.

PRIME MINISTER HOWARD: Thank you.

Q One more, do you feel generous, one more?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I'm not generous. It's also hot out here, Gregory. We're in the sun, you're not. (Laughter.)

Q I don't see you sweat.

PRESIDENT BUSH: That's the problem, you might see me sweat.

END 1:29 P.M. (Local)

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