**For the W!**

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Topic 1: The Obama/Bush administration failed to achieve a successful legacy in domestic affairs.

Opening:

In this debate, we will not argue the success or failure of Bush’s domestic policies, but rather support the decisions and actions he made as president. With reference to political time, the effect on future administrations, and the fulfillment of his compassionate conservative campaign platform, Bush’s legacy was not a failure. He used his executive power to act appropriately given the circumstances whether it was legislatively with bipartisan support in Congress, or unilaterally during times of crisis. Many events took place around or during his administration that no President has ever had to address before. Events like the .com burst which drastically affected the economy, a natural disaster of immense proportions like Hurricane Katrina, and a terrorist attack on American soil now known as 9/11. All of these unprecedented events were difficult to navigate, but we argue that Bush and his administration sought appropriate action.

Bush’s term was quickly defined by the tragic events of 9/11 and consequently military intervention in both Afghanistan and Iraq. While Bush’s foreign affairs are outside the scope of this debate, we will argue that Bush acted swiftly and with full support of both Congress and the American people to enact domestic policy to address American fear of future terrorism with the Patriot Act. President Bush recognized that the first duty of the President during a national security crisis is to act calmly and lead. While implementing preventative and defensive policies like the Patriot Act is tricky, taking no action domestically would have been political suicide.

Unilaterally, Bush created the Department of Homeland Security. Legislatively, Bush and Congress passed the Patriot Act with overwhelming support. The main provisions of the Patriot Act are threefold: enhanced interception of terrorist-related communications, oversight of ‘foreign agents’ operating within the US borders, and imposed economic oversight and countermeasures to battle terrorism-related money laundry. The passing of Patriot Act was the victim of circumstances. The United States was under attack from an unconventional enemy operating from the shadow. The public sentiment was extremely fearful and agitated, the US people were looking up for the political leaders and the president to response. Both the democrats and republicans expressed great urges to address this newly emerging threat.

Bush never campaigned as a wartime president and had an extensive domestic political agenda he promised on the campaign trail. While attending to America’s involvement in the Middle East, he was able pass major policies like No Child Left Behind, the Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement and Modernization Act, and the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act. This in itself is an accomplishment as he was able to create a lasting legacy in domestic policy despite the emphasis on foreign affairs during his two terms.

Bush articulated Reagan conservatism to the best of his ability which shaped much of his economic policy. While the success of these policies can be debated in depth, their implementation is a successful execution of traditional republican economic policy President Bush demonstrated that letting people keep more of their own money leads to economic growth. In 2001, America was experiencing the unprecedented triple shock of a recession following the dot-com bust, economic disruption due to the terrorist attacks of September 11, and corporate accounting scandals. Fortunately, the country was able to overcome these challenges, in part because President Bush's tax relief put more money in families' pockets and encouraged businesses to grow and invest. Following the President's 2003 tax relief, the United States had 52 months of uninterrupted job growth, the longest run on record.

While Bush was a successful articulator of President Reagan, he did not let this framework limit his political agenda. Working with many Democrats including Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy, President Bush passed the comprehensive federal education policy: No Child Left Behind. This was the first major update of Former President Lyndon B. Johnson’s Elementary and Secondary School Act that was a part of his Great Society. The controversy of this policy’s success is secondary to the discussion of whether or not President Bush left a failed legacy regardless of its implementation. We argue that Bush took the right action in working with Congress to update an outdated policy to help millions of children, specifically low income, special ed, and minority students to receive a better education.

Another legislative success of the Bush presidency was the passage of the Medicare Prescription Drug and Modernization Act. This was the first major overhaul to Medicare since its creation in 1965 and was desperately needed to reflect the changing needs of many Americans. Through Medicare Part D, every person on Medicare had access to prescription drug benefits and it has been adjusted to work within the Affordable Care Act by the Obama administration.

When looking at political skill, President Bush was highly personable and very action driven. He held strong moral convictions and acted on a mandate he believed God was pushing him to do. He viewed his philosophy as “compassionate conservatism” balancing Republican ideals with his drive to help the underprivileged.

Our opponents would say that the implementation and successes of Bush’s domestic policy hinders the ability to declare his legacy a success, but we argue that when his political skill and process are analyzed for their significance at the specific time of his presidency, it is clear that he made the proper decisions with the support of the American people. It will be seen that the assumed “failings” of his administration were caused by Congress and oversight problems that are both out of the bounds and expectations of a president.

Rebuttal Focuses:

Alex:

* Campaign promises → Bush was not a failure because he did what he said he was going to do
  + Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiative
  + Energy Policy Act of 2005

Sam:

* No Child Left Behind

Haoyu

* Patriot Act
* Homeland security8

Cameron

* Economy/Tax Policies

ECONOMIC PIVOT- many of the economic struggles Bush faced during his presidency came from the previous presidency as well as from circumstances that were outside of his control. Given the cards he was dealt, we argue that he did everything he could to prevent further economic crises.

Katie

* Medicaid

After passing in Congress, President Bush signed the Medicare Modernization Act into law in December of 2003. This was the largest overhaul of Medicare in the program’s history. Since Medicare had been introduced in 1965, the role of prescription drugs in healthcare had vastly increased and science had changed the way many thought about health care. Medicare, as it was, was not equipped to deal with these new needs. The MMA sought to fix this problem and did so. The drug benefit provided to more than 40 millions American--including nearly 10 million low-income people--granted better access for all to prescription drugs. Increased private sector competition resulted in more innovation and flexibility in coverage. Because of this, the estimated costs of the program to taxpayers have declined nearly 38 percent since enactment. Another benefit of Bush’s modernized Medicare was a focus on preventive care. Medicare covered modern preventive medicine including cardiovascular blood screening, diabetes screening, ultrasound screenings for aneurysms, and smoking cessation counseling. Bush also increased funding for medical research that has led to medical breakthroughs. A direct effect of this increased funding in the development of the HPV cancer vaccine.

When looking at public response to this action, overall satisfaction was seen at rates over 85 percent in 2007. When Obama sought to reform health care, parts of this measure were also modified to be included in the Affordable Care Act, such as Medicare Part D (a prescription drug benefit).

Furthermore, this act was a part of a larger articulation of Bush’s ideal of an “ownership society.” Bush set forward a strong sense of vision in this message of creating a society in which individuals would feel invested in the nation because of their ownership of houses, businesses, health insurance, etc. Bush was the first person to coin this term and showed his ability to inspire through vision, a category of presidential evaluation defined by Greenstein. The Medicare Modernization Act is a clear example of Bush’s ability to tackle large problems through governance and create solutions that help the majority of Americans, as well as an articulation of conservatism through the new lenses of ownership society.

* Katrina

Hurricane Katrina was one of the worst natural disasters in United States history based on sheer size and geographic impact. Response to this disaster was seen as mishandled with failures noted at every level of management. Federal response plans were very new, after having just been overhauled since 9/11. The National Response Plan adopted in December 2004 provided the framework for federal response and was built on the premise that incidents should be handled at the lowest jurisdictional level possible. Although this plan recognized that there may be times where proactive federal response is required, there was no final plan in place for these circumstances. The mismanagement of Katrina was seen not only on the federal level, but also between local authorities. Yet in the face of all of these problems, Bush took full responsibility for this mismanagement.

“[f]our years after the frightening experience of September the 11th, Americans have every right to expect a more effective response in a time of emergency. When the federal government fails to meet such an obligation, I, as PresidAhhent, am responsible for the problem, and for the solution.”

Bush did not need to claim full responsibility for this crisis, yet he did so, demonstrating his capacity to lead a nation in times of domestic turmoil. Following this, Bush was able to make important changes to the National Response Plan and better prepare the nation for times of national disaster. In every crisis Bush faced as a president, he remained calm and sought solutions against overwhelming challenges.

* Focus on the underprivileged in policy

President Bush was a success in his focus on underprivileged groups. Staying true to his philosophy of compassionate conservatism, Bush was able to act as an articulator of the Reagan Era while still supporting those in need.

Through the Medicare Modernization Act, Bush improved health care to be more affordable, transparent, and efficient. In this reform, Medicare provided extra help for long income beneficiaries. For instance, on average, Medicare will pay for more than 95 percent of the costs of prescription drugs for low-income people.

President Bush also established the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, which has improved how we transformed the way the government addresses human need. This office worked to strengthen America’s “armies of compassion” and waged a determined effort on need. This initiative has done work to help addicts, former prisoners, disadvantaged students, homeless, and low-income individuals. When looking at homelessness, federal partnerships through this initiative led to a nearly 30 percent reduction in chronic homelessness from 2005 to 2007.

Following 9/11, President Bush created the USA Freedom Corps to encourage citizens to serve their country through volunteer work. Nearly 61 million Americans answered this call and served their nation by feeding the hungry, mentoring at-risk youth, and housing the homeless. President Bush also created the President’s Council on Service and Civic Participation that promotes volunteerism and advances corporate social responsibility. By placing focus on national volunteer efforts, Bush helped to foster a culture of citizenship, responsibility, and service.

When looking at education, No Child Left Behind sought to close the achievement gap in education and ensure that every child could reach his or her full potential. This included a 63 percent increase in grants to support high poverty schools and a 67 percent increase in support for special education programs. This led to significant increases in the reading and math skills of students across the country. President Bush also created the Helping America’s Youth Initiative, which encouraged Americans to engage in helping young people become healthy adults.

As a President, Bush is often remembered for the wars he was forced to wage, but few remember his determination to support those in need in our own country. Working within his place in political time as well as external circumstance, Bush created measurable progress for many Americans that were most in need.

Unilateral Info:

Executive Order:

Bush-291

Reagan-381

Clinton-364

Vetos

Bush-12

Obama-12

Clinton-36

Signing Statements

Bush-161

Obama-34

2000 Bush’s campaign:

* Tax breaks for all
* “A humble foreign policy”
* Education
* Energy
* Redesign of military

2004 Bush’s campaign:

* Abortion
* Office of Faith based and community initiatives
* Health care
  + Medicare prescription expansion
* Education
* Environment
* Homeland security
* Same sex marriage and gay rights
  + Federal marriage amendment

ALL TEAMS MUST ADDRESS THE FOLLOWING POINTS

**a) Does the Bush/Obama’s presidency meet the expectations of the founders? Specifically, does this president promote “energy” in the executive, due dependence, and due responsibility?**

**Due Dependence -- Federalist No. 70**

* Due responsibility
* Legacy: how presidents are perceived after they leave office
* A pluralist executive would lead to a lack of accountability and a “clog” in the system
* Due dependence and due responsibility will foster liberty and “safety in the republican sense”

**Energy in Executive -- Federalist No. 70**

* The indication that the new executive must be culpable, adequate, etc.
  + Federalists no. 70 and 71 were written to address issues and concerns with the new executive to the anti-Federalists (p much what all the federalist papers did)
  + Fear that a single executive was too similar to a king
  + The ingredients which constitute energy in the Executive are:
    - Unity: leads to executive energy, unity contributes to energy by permitting decision activity, secrecy
    - Duration: long term enough to promote stability in government
    - Support: provide ample salary to attract talented politicians
    - Competent powers: presidents competent powers such as veto power, provides stability by shielding legislative misbehavior
      * Broad, but not too grand, nor too limited to be ineffective

The founding fathers would agree with the claim that President Bush promoted energy in the executive, due dependence, and due responsibility. The circumstances surrounding President Bush’s tenure in office were of unforeseeable occurrences that needed appropriate responses by a unitary figure. The founding fathers had foresight when addressing the powers of the executive; the parameters surrounding the President’s abilities in office had to be able to address the unforeseeable. President Bush’s tenure in office exemplified the necessary actions a unitary figure had to take in order to restore a sense of safety that was in peril after the domestic terrorist attacks of 9/11. When looking at domestic policy, Bush used executive energy to create the Department of Homeland Security. This use of the presidency is in line with the expectation of the founders because a unitary actor was necessary to make the swift changes necessary to maintaining the safety of the American people.

**b) What is the president’s place in political and secular time? How do these circumstances shape our expectations of the office?**

* According to Skronek secular time is an ever increasing amount of power that a President possess. George W Bush was a late regime articulator

EVIDENCE: ( Reagan would be the reconstructive president)

* Trickle down economics
  + Since the Reagan administration, Republicans have been bound to an economic plan based on trickle down economics, limited federal government, and less taxes. Bush articulated many economic principles that were established long before he took office.
  + Previously, this policy was articulated by George H.W. Bush in his campaign promise of “No New Taxes.” However, when Bush I deviated from this policy in order to pursue what we can appreciate as good governance, he was scorned by the public and his party.
  + Looking to the future, Donald Trump has campaigned on similar ideals of tax cuts showing the need of Republican leaders in this era to conform to Reaganism.

**c) President’s relationship with Congress & courts**

Congress:

Bush only vetoed 12 bills over his two terms.

Gets bashed for the use of signing statements

This lead to rocky waters with congress

Was able to work with congress on one of the largest policy disputes he had while in office. His original tax cut plan was supposed to come out to cut 1.7 billion in taxes, democrats said no way and they ended up agreeing to a plan that called for 1.3 billion in cuts. This exemplified his political skill on a rather large issue.

Court:

Bush appointed two justices to the Supreme Court during his presidency.

John Roberts - Bush originally appointed Roberts to the court to fill the vacancy left by Sandra Day O’Connor. However, Chief Justice William Rehnquist passed away during this time of nomination, so Bush changed his appointment of Roberts to fill the vacancy of Chief Justice. Roberts was confirmed by the Senate on September 29, 2005 with a vote of 78-22. All Republicans and one independent voted for Roberts. Democrats were split 22-22. Roberts has been seen as holding a conservative judicial philosophy, although at times more moderate than other conservatives on the bench.

Samuel Alito - Alito became Bush’s choice to replace O’Connor after facing opposition to his second pick Harriet Miers due to her lack of judicial experience. Alito was confirmed by the Senate on January 31, 2006. The Senate confirmed Alito to the Supreme Court by a vote of 58–42,with four Democratic senators voting for confirmation and one Republican and an Independent voting against. His judicial philosophy has been described as the start of a libertarian streak within conservative philosophy.

**d) Unilateral actions**

* Executive action to create new agencies
  + Creation of agencies to push his agenda (Office of faith based and community initiatives)
  + And address needs at the time (Office of Homeland Security)
  + These both are still in existence
* Signing statements-->relationship w/ Congress
* Bush had 291 executive orders as opposed to Reagan who had 381. (just for perspective)

**e) Election results - Is there a presidential “mandate?”**

Election of 2000-

Results: Bush (271 electoral, 50,456,002/47.9% popular vote) Gore (266 electoral, 50,999,897/48.4% popular vote)

Mandate?

After the results of the 2000 election. Bush could not make strong claims about his presidential mandate due to the controversial election results in florida. After 9/11, his presidential mandate gained more authority due to the country’s need to unify and react to the tragedy. Bush’s speeches were very strong and allowed the country to unite around him as a leader.

*“Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.” He went further, “From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.”*

Election of 2004-

Results: Bush (286 electoral, 62,040,610/51.0% popular vote) Kerry (251 electoral, 59,030,000/48.5% popular vote)

Mandate?

Bush’s stronger showing in his second electoral contest reinforces our claim that his mandate had grown after 9/11. Bush had a lot of public and political support for his actions after 9/11 and carried this legitimacy through to the 2004 election.

**f) Comparison with past presidents – greats/near greats, polarizing, mediocre, failures**

Andrew jackson? Bc of personalistic approach to politics

Nixon - Seen to have similar emotional attributes.

Ronald reagan? Bc of an insistence to move fast in making decisions.

Definitely similar to Reagan on taxes and other economic policies. His father and him shared the same beliefs about taxes as well.

**DOMESTIC POLICY**

**a) Legislative achievements**

**Medicare Prescription and Drug Modernization Act**

1. “Ownership society”
   1. Visions surrounding personal responsibility and increased ownership of houses, businesses, retirement accounts, and health insurance
   2. *..if you own something, you have a vital stake in the future of our country. The more ownership there is in America, the more vitality there is in America, and the more people have a vital stake in the future of this country.* - President George W. Bush, June 17, 2004
2. Health savings accounts
   1. Bush wanted health savings accounts to be used with health insurance plans
   2. Would be more affordable, wanted to control some costs of health care
   3. Wanted people to be able to make more decisions for themselves about health plans
3. Medicare Modernization Act, December 8, 2003
   1. Bush had argued that medicare was outdated
   2. Reform
      1. His reform included an option for prescription drug benefits that could only be delivered through private insurance plans
      2. If people wanted the new benefit, they had to purchase a private insurance plan
   3. Reasoning
      1. Hoped the proposal would increase competition and allow market forces to regulate health care
   4. View as quasi-victory
      1. New benefits and competition increased
      2. Largest expansion of Medicare benefits since its creation
         1. More funds spent than anticipated

The bill was passed both in the house and the senate with close margins with bipartisan support

Final Senate vote: 52-44 (11 Democrats in favor)

**Cut Federal Income Tax Rate**

1. Proposed major tax cut during campaign
   1. Reasoning
      1. Cuts would give people and businesses more money to reinvest
      2. Which would cause economic growth
      3. Over the long term, this growth would increase the taxable income of American people
   2. Feb. 2001 - Bush said tax cuts would create jobs and stimulate the economy
   3. Opposition?
      1. Tax cuts for the wealthy would not be spent on reinvestment but luxuries, risky ventures, etc.
2. Tax Plan - 2001
   1. $1.6 trillion reduction in taxes
      1. All income brackets received a tax cut
      2. Doubled child tax credit, incentivized retirement savings, phased out federal estate tax
   2. Congress?
      1. Quickly backed by Republicans
      2. Senate Democrats forced a compromise
   3. End result - $1.35 trillion tax cut
      1. Also made it impermanent, expired in 2011
      2. Seen as victory for Bush and his economic vision
3. Second round of cuts - 2003
   1. Reasoning
      1. Political capital gained from Republican victories in 2002 midterms
      2. Believed cuts would further stimulate economy
   2. Bill
      1. Reduction in capital gains taxes
      2. Allowed up to $60,000 tax-free savings annually
   3. Narrowly passed
      1. Cheney broke Senate deadlock
      2. Dems saw this as an attempt to eliminate taxes on investment income and limit size of government
4. Third tax cut - 2006
   1. Modest tax cut, not as expansive as Bush wanted
5. Effects?
   1. The Good (good points for possible rebuttals)
      1. Economy grew (sporadically)
      2. Stock market - from 8,000 in 2002 to 14,164 in Oct. 2007
      3. Unemployment - from 6.3% in 2003 to 4.7% in 2007
      4. Double the child credit
      5. Provided a break for married couples
      6. Expanded the deductibility of charitable contributions
   2. The Bad
      1. Reduced federal revenue by $4 trillion over 10 years
      2. Worsened wealth inequality
      3. Increased federal deficit
      4. Budget was unbalanced
   3. The Ugly
      1. Economic crash in final months of presidency

Gained congressional support for 1.35 trillion in Tax cut

Gallup poll, 3/2001

a majority of Americans (56%) favor these cuts.

Thirty-four percent oppose them.

**Role of Department of Homeland Security: Patriot Act**

**Patriot Act**

1. Main Provisions

* Interceptions of terrorism-related communication
* surveillance of agents of foreign powers
* Economic countermeasures to monitor and intercept money laundry that would contribute funds for potential terrorist operations.

II. Public Sentiment

* Fearful population
* public yearning for Presidential leadership and called for Congressional action to exact retribution
* 911 attack was the most watched event in the world at the time, public was extremely politically informed after the attack
* Even if the drive for public sentiment was ignorant, its impact on public policy and political leaders were substantial
* The public had deferred to the political leaders and experts to protect them, thus the instruments of democracy was functioning as well as the circumstances allowed. It perfectly registered the public desire however irrational, compromising or agitated as a lot of people perceived with hindsight
* Does vulnerability really constitute freedom and liberty? Public liberty is obviously regarded differently under contingencies. When circumstances develops, the emphasis of the different and wild array of components that make up of personal liberty will also have to shift. In China, I can walk the neighborhood in the middle of the night without worrying of getting shot, I can board a plane without ever worrying it is going to be blown up by religious fanatics. Security in itself is most certainly a critical form of civil liberty which the United States desperately needed at that time. Emphasis of certain types of civil liberties are certainly essential, such as the right to privacy and to deny unlawful search and seizures, and it is the centerpiece of the American mindset. However circumstances dictates, as there is no established society that has the luxury to constitute all types of civil liberties simultaneously. It is responsible and necessary to switch up different emphasis adjusted to contemporary circumstances as opposed to clinging onto the narrowed understanding of civil liberty and suffer the blowback.

III. Political Climate

* The crisis aligned with conservative republican stance of having security over civil liberties,
* Democrats are willing to cooperate with President to do damage control as civil liberties are regarded differently. Does vulnerability really constitute freedom??
* Both houses were dominated by hawkish republican
* Moreover, 911 shattered the gridlock in washington which usually hinder and obstruct sitting president during peaceful times.

IV. Passing the Bill

* Passed very swiftly, Barely over a month over the 911 attack
* Passed Less than 48 hours after the presentation of the final wording
* Passed in both house of the congress and it had great support from the general public

**Federal marriage amendment**

1. What?
   1. Proposed amendment to the federal constitution that would define marriage as a union between one man and one woman

B. Congress

1. July 18th 2006
   1. Did not pass in house.
      1. 236 to 187; needed to reach 290

C. Possible criticism

1. Discrimination against homosexuals

D. Rebuttal

1. Had public mandate to support such an amendment
   1. Bush was primarily elected by evangelical christians
   2. 2003: Wirthlin poll found that 57% of Americans supported
      1. 2006: Gallop poll found that 50% of Americans supported

E. Past Presidents

1. President Bill Clinton in 1996 signed the Defense against Marriage Act (Doma)
   1. Defined marriage as between one man and one woman

Future?

Obama - first president to support gay marriage, saw changes in public opinion

Trump? Pence, as VP, has had very anti-gay views

**Invoked Antiquities Act (Environmental Legacy)**

1. What?
   1. Presidential proclamation to create national monuments and from public lands
      1. President Bush established three marine monuments (protected 125 million acres of natural habitats)
         1. The Marianas Trench, Pacific Remote Islands, and Rose Atoll
            1. Protecting: coral reefs, whales, sea turtles, dozens of bird species, hundreds of varieties of fish
2. II. past presidents
3. Invoked precedents established by Theodore Roosevelt

**Hurricane Katrina response**

1. Before
   1. Bush put FEMA on highest level of alert before Katrina made landfall
   2. Federal efforts intended to support state and local officials
      1. Relief supplies readied
      2. Military made preparations for emergency
   3. Bush signed emergency declaration allowing LA to use fed resources for state disaster-response
2. Evacuation
   1. Mayor ordered voluntary evacuation of New Orleans
      1. Many residents did not respond
   2. Bush pushed for LA Governor to force a mandatory evacuation
      1. By the time it came, it was too late
3. Failure in response
   1. Administration accused of negligence, incompetence, even racism
   2. Argued that state and local authorities lead natural disaster response
      1. Federal government then supports their efforts
   3. Local and state authorities were ill prepared and bickered over how to respond
   4. Federal government failed to expand medicaid to those who affected by the hurricane medically
4. After
   1. Worked with Congress to secure $126 billion for rebuilding region
   2. The affordable Care Act (under Obama) addressed weak areas that were exposed through the crisis
   3. “28 August 2015 – The top United Nations disaster resilience official today said on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Hurricane Katrina that the ‘true legacy’ of the costliest United States hurricane disaster, which devastated New Orleans and claimed more than 1,800 lives, was to raise the bar for disaster risk management worldwide.”
      1. It provided the other nations to urge their governments to enact better guidelines to deal with natural disasters

**Foreign aid to Africa for HIV/AIDS**

1. Overall
   1. Bush gave more money to Africa than any other president
      1. More than $5 billion a year in humanitarian aid
   2. Largely targeted AIDS and malaria
   3. Continues to have a lasting effect
2. Millennium Challenge Corporation
   1. Created in 2004 through Congress with bipartisan support
   2. Direct aid to African states that try to reform corrupt and undemocratic governments
3. President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), 2003
   1. Guaranteed $15 million to be spent over the course of five years on prevention, treatment and research on HIV/AIDS
   2. Before PEPFAR, estimated 100,000 people were on antiretroviral drugs in sub-Saharan Africa. By the time Bush left office in 2008, there were about 2 million.
      1. Most activists credit the program for being instrumental in turning the tide on AIDS
   3. Some controversy
      1. Up to 20% of funds were spent on abstinence focused prevention programs
      2. Funds could not be used for needle-sharing programs
4. Initiative to fight malaria, 2005
   1. $1.2 billion initiative to fight malaria
5. Legacy
   1. By the time Bush left office, approval of US was up in Africa (65% in Tanzania and in 70s and 80s in other countries)
   2. Part of presidential library was dedicated to PEPFAR
   3. Bush has continued to to help sick people in poor countries
      1. Fighting cancer in Africa

**Clear Skies Initiative-->Amendment to the Clean Air Act. EPA**

Clear skies initiative

1. Background
   * 1. Molded over successful SO2 emissions trading program of 1995 under President Clinton
     2. Market based proposal which centered on the idea that "that economic growth is key to environmental progress, because it is growth that provides the resources for investment in clean technologies."
2. Market based cap and trade approach which would legislate power plant emission caps without specifying how the power plants were supposed to go about it

II. Intent

1. Reward innovation, reduce costs
   1. Each power plant facility would be required to have a permit for each ton of pollution emitted. Because the permits are tradeable, companies would have a financial incentive to cut back their emissions using newer technologies.
   2. Reduce respiratory and cardiovascular disease by reducing smog
   3. Protect wildlife ecosystem from acid rain
   4. Protects the reliability and affordability of electricity

The bill did not move out of committee in 2005; therefore it was never law

**Support for Adult Stem Cell Research**

1. Background
   1. Dickey Amendment - banned use of federal funds for research in which embryos were destroyed
      1. Consistently passed by Congress
   2. Clinton Administration - took a different approach to this law
      1. Allowed government to fund the research as long as the destruction of embryos was privately funded
2. Bush Administration - faced decision of whether to continue policy under Clinton
   1. Saw both sides
      1. Appreciated possibilities of research for finding cures for diseases
         1. Related this to his sister’s death from leukemia
      2. Worried about relation of this decision on issue of abortion
         1. Belief that life begins at conception and was to be protected
   2. Found middle ground
      1. Authorized federal funding for embryonic stem cell research but only for existing stem cell lines
      2. Aka - only cells that had come from embryos that had already been destroyed prior to his decision

C. impact of stem cell research

1. In 2006 an alternative to embryonic stem cells was developed. The new technology addressed the concerns that religious groups had about the destruction of embryonic stem cells. Conducting research on adult skin cells, pluripotent stem cells, would have never been developed had it not been for Bush’s policy that limited research to already existing lines in embryonic stem cells.
2. President Bush’s embryonic stem cell policies also paved the discussion about the ethics of cloning and destroying embryonic stem cells on a large industrial scale
3. Public response
   1. Delivered decision via prime-time address from Texas ranch, August 2001
   2. Public generally supported the decision
   3. Opposed by many in scientific community and in Democratic party
4. Fallout - continued throughout presidency
   1. Vetoed two bills intended to overturn his decision in 2006 and 2007

**Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives**

1. Created office with first executive order, January 21, 2001
2. Based on idea that local groups and nonprofits could better serve people in need than the federal government
   1. Faith-based organizations, charities, and community groups could respond to people’s needs
   2. Federal money given to thousands of faith-based and community organizations through federal grants
   3. Precedent: 1988 Bowen v. Kendrick
      1. Religious affiliated agencies could receive govt aid as long as the money was not spent to promote religion
3. Positive Effects
   1. Homelessness - Federal partnerships with FBCOs have been greatly expanded to combat homelessness, contributing to a nearly 30 percent reduction in chronic homelessness (approximately 50,000 individuals) from 2005 to 2007. The estimated number of homeless veterans was cut by nearly 40 percent from 2001 to 2007
   2. Disadvantaged Students - More than 515,000 children received after-school tutoring annually through Supplemental Educational Service providers, including FBCO partners
   3. Initiative secured an established clear, constitutional guidelines for faith based organizations to use public funds.
   4. Provided greater incentives for charitable givings through the tax code
   5. This initiative inspired 36 Governors (19 Democrats and 17 Republicans) and more than 70 mayors to adopt their own faith based and community initiatives program offices
4. Controversy
   1. Violation of church/state separation because federal money funded activities of religious organizations

Bush passed this initiative unilaterally with an executive order, fulling a campaign promise of “compassionate conservatism”. Bush ran on socially conservative values of limited government and local control. The creation of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives was based on the valid belief that local groups can best serve the needs of their communities. President Obama kept the office but renamed to Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships . Obama then added an advisory board of secular and religious leaders. The office continues to empower organizations to seek locally build solutions to community challenges.

Secular time..

**Energy policy Act of 2005**

1. Background
   1. It attempted to combat growing energy problems by offering tax incentives and loan guarantees for energy production of various types (nuclear redesigns, wind; ocean energy sources were added for the first time as alternative)
   2. Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
   3. In order to pass this bill the *Public Utility Company Act of 1935* was repealed because of its outdated policies
   4. Increased the use of alternative fuels
   5. Law gave department of energy the authority to provide $67 billion in loans and guarantees to help support innovative
   6. Desired to incentivize direct involvement by the private sector
      1. Important; allowed private sector to take risks and innovate
   7. $50 million per year for wind energy research and development in his annual budget requests.
   8. 2004 to 2008 ⅓ of energy of electricity capacity added in the US was from wind power...largely due to federal subsidies and tax breaks
   9. 2009 under obama wind energy received $52.5 million

II. criticism

1. Did not support conservation enough
2. The broad subsidies it provided were mostly for nuclear and oil industries

III. support

1. Made improvements for home energy more affordable (walls, doors, windows, roofs, water, and heaters

Final senate vote passed Yeas-74 nays 12; bipartisan support (Obama supported the bill while senator)

**Major Failure - Social Security reform**

1. Pursued privatization of Social security system
   1. Would allow younger workers to divert a portion of their payroll taxes, which funded Social Security, into private savings accounts
2. “60 Stops in 60 Days”
   1. Going public effort by Bush to promote reform
   2. Nationwide tour
3. Problems
   1. Strong opposition from Dems
      1. Vowed to block any reform until private accounts were off the table
   2. Fatal flaw - absence of how to maintain funding for those receiving benefits when workers opt for private savings accounts
      * 1. Bush’s position only addressed the flaws of social security but had no concrete ways of addressing the issue. Bush’s strategy was to establish broad guidelines for allowing workers to invest part of their salary and left the details to be worked out by congress about how the new system would be implemented
4. Admin dropped the proposal in 2005
5. Our defense
   1. Social Security as it stood was not looking good
      1. Meant for a time when lives were shorter and were more workers to pay into the pot
      2. Revenue had fallen below forecasted rate
   2. Partial privatization was one solution to help make it more sustainable in the long term, but it was partisanship in Congress that led to this failure

**No Child Left Behind**

No Child Left Behind was a major success of the Bush administration because

* It was wanted by the American people (find stats)
* It was created through exemplary bipartisanship
  + John Boehner (R-OH), George Miller (D-CA), Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Judd Gregg (R-NH) coauthored the bill
* Passed overwhelmingly in both chambers
  + House 384-45
  + Senate 91-8
* It was an update of the ESSA of 1965 under LBJ’s Great Society, but with a republican twist
  + Bush wanted to appeal to the conservatives of Congress and the country but understood federal engagement in education wasn’t going away
    - So the program places a lot of control with the States---> this lead to poor implementation and “failure” but the blame cannot be put on the president
    - States were allowed to pick what type of tests to use, what standards to meet, what “proficient” looked like
* Program had emphasis on helping low income, minority, and special ed students
* Did not want to aim too low so set expectations that 100% of students reach “proficient” by 2013
* AYP=adequate yearly progress
  + If a school misses its state’s ayp targets for 2+ years (for either the entire population of students or just a subgroup) then it can be punished

1. Allow kids to transfer to better performing public school
2. If misses AYP 3 years in a row, must offer free tutoring
3. Possible state intervention if bad
   1. Shut down, charter school, takeover
4. Redirect Title1 $ to tutoring and school choice

* Teachers must be “highly qualified”--> BA in subject they are teaching+teaching certification
  + AND should be equally distributed throughout the district
* Criticisms=Education policy is HARD to implement properly because it requires local and state gov participation
* Imperfections of NLCB prompted Obama to campaign on passing ESSA-->began the era of tweaking fed ed policy, someone had to go first

Compassionate conservatism:

Use conservative ideas to advance social benefits.

1. Use tax cut to stimulate economy, 1.6 trillion reduction

To the extent that there were failures in the Bush Administration, it was not a failure of him or the Administration, but of Congress.

**b) State of the economy**

* 1.7 trillion in tax relief through 2008
* Believed letting people keep their money leads to economic growth
* Encourages people to grow businesses and invest
* **In 2003, after some of these tax reliefs were implemented, the US had 52 months of uninterrupted job growth, the longest run for the US ever**
* Economy was in a terrible time due to the dot com bust, then the terrorist attack and then the 2008 crisis

**In 2001, President Bush proposed and signed the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act. This legislation:**

Reduced tax rates for every American who pays income taxes, including creating a new 10 percent tax bracket

Doubled the child tax credit to $1,000 by 2010

Reduced the marriage penalty beginning in 2005

Put the death tax on the road to extinction

Increased education tax benefits

Increased limits on IRA and 401(k) contributions and changed limits on defined benefit pension plans – which were made permanent in the Pension Protection Act of 2006

In 2002, the Congress passed the Sarbanes-Oxley Act otherwise known as the “Public Company Accounting Reform and Investor Protection Act.” This act was meant to protect investors from the possibility of the fraudulent accounting activities by corporations.

**In 2003, President Bush proposed and signed the Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act. This legislation:**

Reduced the top tax rate on dividends and capital gains to 15 percent

Accelerated income tax rate reductions

Accelerated the expansion of the 10 percent bracket

Accelerated the increase of the child credit to $1,000

Accelerated the reduction in the marriage penalty

Quadrupled small business expensing from $25,000 to $100,000

Increased bonus depreciation for businesses to 50 percent through 2004

The economy returned to growth in the fourth quarter of 2001 and continued to grow for 24 consecutive quarters. The economy grew at a rapid pace of 7.5 percent above inflation during the third quarter of 2003 – the highest since 1984. The President's tax relief reduced the marginal effective tax rate on new investment, which encourages additional investment and, in the long-term, higher wages for workers.

**The War on Terror**

In October 2002, Bush received Congressional approval to launch the Iraq War. It began on March 19, 2003, and replaced Saddam Hussein in April. By 2004, photos revealed the use of torture at the Abu Ghraib prison, worsening the situation. The war escalated. Bush sent a "surge" of 20,000 additional U.S. troops to help transition power to Iraqi leaders in 2007. War spending continued climbing during the 2008 recession, as the country focused on economic terror at home. In total, Bush spent $850 billion on the two wars, while expanding funds for the Department of Defense and Homeland Security. For more, see War on Terror Facts.

**c) Political skill, i.e., professional reputation & public prestige**

Bush’s Political Skill

When looking at political skill, President Bush was highly personable and very action driven. He held strong moral convictions and acted on a mandate he believed God was pushing him to do. He viewed his philosophy as “compassionate conservatism” balancing Republican ideals with his drive to help the underprivileged. When his administration was met with extreme crisis, he acted swiftly proving to be a strong leader in times the nation needed it the most.

* Tax cuts, charm offensive, numerous efforts of trying to gain support from both sides of the congress
* He recognized and embraced the preaching and teaching style of the presidency in pushing forward his administrative agenda.
* After Sep 11, Bush employed the same face-to-face political skill that marked the early days of his presidency
* Reinforced relations with key democrats
* Demonstrated extensive willingness to bring bipartisan outcomes on his education bill

Professional reputation & public prestige:

* The case of handling the force landing of the American reconnaissance aircraft in South China Sea in 2001

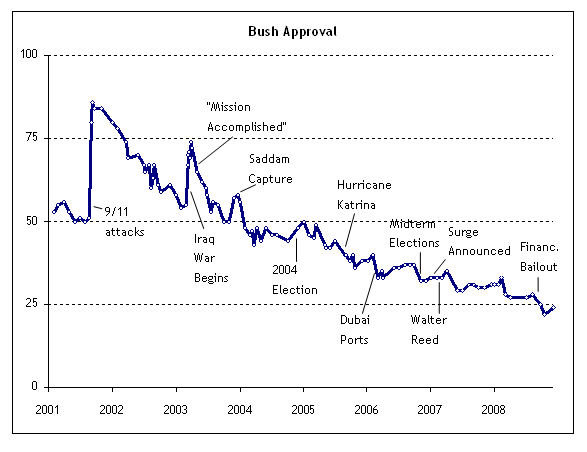
April 2001, A US military reconnaissance aircraft was detected by the PLA within the Chinese Hainan air space. Two Chinese fighter jets forced the US aircraft down and its current rew detained. Bush swiftly put forward a statement demanding China to return the downed aircraft and release the crew. He then later quickly stepped back, took a much more patient and cooperative tone. Both the crew and the aircraft were returned later, as Bush received praise from both Republicans and the Democrats.

* Moving Speech at the site of 911 attack.
* Key Democrat members stating that he is offered a blank check after the 911 attack to cope with this brand new type of warfare.
* Post 911, Democrats and Republicans who did not believed Bush had the abilities to be the US president changed their minds “he grew into the presidency before our eyes”
* Stem-cell address, made clear that he understood the importance of preaching & teaching side of his presidency.
* Infamous Axis of Evil Speech.

Drew attention to his personal commitment to evangelical Christianity might have leading him astray as he continues to moralize politics.

**d) Presidential approval & instances of “going public”**

1. Presidential Approval



1. Going Public
   1. 60 Stops in 60 Days Tour
   2. Bush made a public tour in support of his social security reform

**e) Administrative strategies**

1. Cabinet selection
   1. Cabinet recognized for overall competence
      1. Problems→ “Yes” men
   2. Some historic standouts
      1. First African American Secretary of State – Colin Powell
      2. First African American woman Secretary of State – Condoleezza Rice
      3. First Asia Pacific woman in presidential cabinet – Secretary of Labor Elaine L. Chao

**f) Character/skill v circumstance**

* America was facing a triple shock in 2001, starting with the dot com bust, then the terrorist attack, and then the corporate accounting scandals
  + Difficult to find a series of events more pressing in presidential tenure history
* His speech 3 days after the 9/11 attack at ground zero really proved to be quite powerful.
* He was going public to the American People in an effort to unify the country after the most horrific attack on American soil ever
* Did a great job in doing so, the country really rallied together and Bush had great support and approval rating were very high

Closing:

George W Bush took office as the President of the United States in January 2001. His presidency witnessed events that transformed America in recent history. The tragic 911 terrorist attack, the resulting patriot act, the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, his tax cut policies, and devastating natural disaster forever marked his eight years in office. Controversy about his policies and political leadership stockpiled as time progressed as the war on terrorism dragged out for years. His presidency was therefore distortedly remembered by the American public. For the voters and the public are extremely susceptible to selective memories, they recall the outcomes of policies and judges them with hindsight. However, they pay no or little attention to the circumstances under which the policies were formulated and the situation Bush was trying to address. Policy complications that marked the Bush presidency such as the education bill, tax cuts and patriot act, either displayed optimistic prospects at the time, with congressional or public support, or were victim of circumstances. He speared headed the no child left behind initiative when there was barely any meaningful federal education reform in 4 decades. Before hurricane Katrina, federal involvement in post disaster reliefs had been minimum. It is crucial to note that the Bush was an articulator of the Reagan administration, the tax cut plans were already in place as fundamental republican economic policies of the era. Moreover, a large portion of the population also supported the tax cut program. The political momentum of the policy continuation was enormous, had Bush not carried out the tax cut, he will most definitely suffer crippling political reprocution from both the house and the public. The patriot act was the direct response to the house and the US populous’ desire, Bush essentially had no choice but to follow political and public sentiment. Bush ran as a peacetime president, intended to focus on the American continent. Unexpected events such as the tragic 9/11 terrorist attacks and early clashes with China in the Asian pacific required him to step up and rest the American nation on his shoulders. He delivered a steadfast response, he opened up a trail for the nation to persevere through while fulfilling his campaign promises of domestic developments. This in itself, was a tremendous achievement. Furthermore, the patriot act was adopted by the Obama administration rather wholeheartedly as multiple renewals of the articles included were consistently carried out by Obama. What was ironic, is Senator Obama’s stance against the Patriot Act, and the contradictory position held by president Obama. This is a crystal clear indication as Patriot Act is undoubtedly beneficial for the United States. Moreover, as Donald Trump, the president elect, will be assuming office at the beginning of next year, the fundamental republican economic principles are still very much in place and resembles those carried out by the Bush Administration. Bush continued the republican economic policies as he had virtually no choice over the subject but had to concede to the political sentiment. He passed the Patriot Act with stunning support from the Congress and the people, and Obama the Democrat soaked it up and repeatedly seeked continuation of the bill. Bush’s policy setbacks were mostly due to circumstantial limitations, as to the controversies of his long-standing bills, were arguably made irrelevant as the succeeding administration, or soon to be administration swiftly embraced them. Therefore, it is irrational and delirious to dismiss the successes achieved by the Bush administration while ignoring the hulking situational obstacles and inadvertently accuse it for being a failure.

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