

George W. Bush and the Influence of Holocaust Memory on Human Rights Policy

At 9:03 a.m. on Tuesday, September 11, 2001 a team of terrorists guided a hijacked airplane into the south tower of the World Trade Centers in New York City. Combined with the impact of the first plane seventeen minutes earlier into the north tower it was clear that the United States of America was under attack. Less than forty minutes after the attacks in New York City, a plane was intentionally crashed into the Pentagon, and a fourth plane crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. For the first time since December 7, 1941, the most powerful nation in the world, the United States of America, was attacked by foreign nationals. In the following hours, weeks, and months the United States moved to identify the terrorists, isolate the regime that sponsored them, and coordinate a response. The appalling attacks on September 11 transformed most Americans' view of the world, and also the presidency of George W. Bush. Fundamental to this change was President Bush's emphasis on a call to action and also a transition from an agenda centered on domestic policy, such as lowering marginal tax rates and instituting education standards, to one with a more international focus. Themes that had seemed largely secondary now moved into the foreground. Among these themes was an emphasis on human rights, but now on a global stage, as a support for increased security in the United States. President Bush's emphasis on human rights now became a priority that was interwoven from his domestic action to promote educational accountability and help Americans help their neighbors through an Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives to the Bush Doctrine and action to combat terrorism abroad.

President Bush's increased emphasis on the promotion of human rights in international affairs can be seen across a spectrum of events and actions. The George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum indicates that several themes, including the promotion of opportunity,

freedom, compassion, and responsibility, which stem from twelve principles that guided President Bush's career in public service. These themes are interwoven into the United States' promotion of human rights during President Bush's administration.¹ The twelve principles inform the themes and culminate in President Bush's perpetual call to action in all policy prescriptions. Following September 11, 2001 and spanning the rest of his first term and all of his second, President Bush promoted these themes both domestically and internationally. The Bush administration pursued action to overthrow the oppressive Taliban government in Afghanistan, remove Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from power, bring democracy to countries like Afghanistan and Iraq, reduce the proliferation of nuclear arms, and support American allies such as Israel. Outside of this larger political action, President Bush and his administration promoted education and women's rights, gave aid to combat genocide in Darfur, and promoted economic development in Africa. This promotion of human rights was intended to improve global stability and increase the security of the United States. The "Bush Doctrine" as it commonly referred to, called for the promotion of certain values such as democracy and freedom, to empower individuals to help themselves which would in turn benefit the United States and its Western allies.²

President Bush was not the first President to promote the idea of human rights internationally. President James Carter pursued the Camp David Accords – a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt. His successor President Ronald Reagan countered authoritarian regimes in Grenada and Libya, and encouraged democratic movements in Eastern Europe.

¹ Carina Morgan, *George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum Docent Instruction Program: Museum Area Four – Defending Freedom*. Revision #3. (Dallas, TX: George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum, a National Archives and Records Administration Facility, 2014), 4.

² George W. Bush, "President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point," (West Point, New York: United States Military Academy, June 1, 2002).

President George H.W. Bush intervened in Kuwait following the invasion of Iraqi forces under Saddam Hussein in 1990, and continued to encourage democracy in Eastern Europe. President William Clinton authorized American forces to act under North Atlantic Treaty Organization to fight the genocide and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Yugoslavia. All of these actions, spanning several presidencies, illuminate an increased emphasis on the promotion of human rights, and they can be seen in the background of President George W. Bush's actions to promulgate human dignity.

As President Bush pursued policies that promoted greater human rights, he was informed by historical lessons, at times through his own reading, and visits to historical memorials such as the United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum. The Holocaust as a historical situation communicates lessons that can influence contemporary action. As President Bush stated in his first visit to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum on April 18, 2001, "in places like this, the evidence has been kept. Without it, we might forget the past, and we might neglect the future."³ Moreover, America has a "commitment to the memory of the 6 million [Jews] who died in the Holocaust," and to "averting future tragedies."⁴ This speech provides a link to historical lessons of Holocaust memory and shows a clear influence on future action. Moreover, this speech, given before the terrorist attacks on September 11, shows a foundation for the potential influence of Holocaust memory on President Bush's actions, particularly abroad with respect to the promotion of human rights.

This paper will argue that President Bush and his administration made the improvement of human rights a priority. This paper will also argue that President Bush had an understanding

³ George W. Bush, "President George W. Bush Speaks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," (Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum, April 18, 2001). GWBPLM Archives, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush. 2001: Book 1: January 20 to June 30, 2001, 417.

⁴ Ibid.

of the Holocaust as a historical problem and subsequently made decisions with this influence in mind. This influence is shown in three ways. First, through speeches given by President Bush, both at administrative events, such as inaugural ceremonies, and visits to Holocaust memorials and educational institutions. Secondly, the influence of Holocaust memory is seen through official visits to places such as Auschwitz and the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda. And thirdly, the influence of the memory of the Holocaust is seen in the actions taken by the Bush Administration to promote Holocaust memory and education. Collectively, these actions show President Bush as someone who understands the Holocaust as a historical lesson that can be used to influence future action. The most recognizable platform for this influence of Holocaust memory is the promotion of human rights. Subsequently this effort to improve human rights would improve global stability and also bring increased security to the United States following the events of September 11, 2001.

As President Bush argues in his first speech at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in 2001, “the images here stay with you” and that “the stories we have must be preserved forever.”⁵ These linguistic components build on a close relationship with Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel, who has been a consistent proponent for the promotion of moral rights in the contemporary world. Following President Bush’s inaugural address in January 2001, Wiesel wrote to President Bush and wished him well as he “began working on behalf of peace and prosperity both at home and in the world.”⁶ Wiesel’s words and President Bush’s 2001 speech at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum come early in the Bush administration, before September 11, before war in the Middle East, and before genocide in Darfur, but they show President Bush’s interest in human rights and an appreciation for the memory of the Holocaust.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Elie Wiesel to President George W. Bush, January 20, 2001, in GWBPLM Archives.

These words are paralleled by similar statements given later in his presidency, such President Bush's speech at Yad Vashem on January 11, 2008 in which he makes reference to Holocaust history as a "living memory that is important."⁷ These statements frame President Bush's two terms in office with instances of rhetoric linking an interest in human rights to influence of Holocaust memory. Moreover, as the numerous speeches, visits, and educational initiatives that span the Bush administration are examined further, three linguistic components are used to tie the influence of Holocaust memory to a global priority on human rights.

First, President Bush repeatedly used the phrase "never again" in speeches, such as one commemorating the annual day of remembrance for Holocaust victims and survivors in April 2001 and in remarks to journalists following a visit to the Auschwitz death camp complex on May 31, 2003.⁸ The phrase "never again" resonates with Holocaust survivors, such as Nobel Laureate Elie Wiesel, as well as Holocaust educators. This phrase also ties to President Bush's remembrance of the terrorist attacks on September 11 when he used the phrase to dedicate the 9/11 Pentagon Memorial and commemorate the victims of the attack in 2008.⁹ Secondly, President Bush makes the assertion that "evil is real" and must be combated in both his April 2001 and 2007 speeches at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, May 2003 interview before touring Auschwitz, and January 2008 speech at Yad Vashem. This assertion ties the historical lessons of the Holocaust to the United States' war on terror and states that support

⁷ George W. Bush, "Remarks During a Visit to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem," (Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem, January 11, 2008).

⁸ Bush, "President George W. Bush Speaks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," April 18, 2001, and George W. Bush, "Interview With Print Journalists," (Washington D.C.: The White House, May 29, 2003). GWBPLM Archives, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush. 2003: Book 1: January 1 to June 30, 2003, 557-558.

⁹ George W. Bush, "National Days of Prayer and Remembrance, 2008: A Proclamation by the President of the United States" (Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, August 28, 2008), and George W. Bush "President Bush Attends Dedication of 9/11 Pentagon Memorial" (Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, September 11, 2008).

terrorist endeavors, such as President Bush's March 17, 2003 speech calling on Saddam Hussein and his sons to vacate Iraq.¹⁰ Lastly, President Bush makes the assertion that an increased global promotion of human rights will only come about through international cooperation and teamwork. As President Bush argues in his 2007 speech at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, greater security in places of genocide like Darfur will come through the cooperation of bodies such as the United Nations, African Union, European Union, and Arab League amongst others.¹¹ Moreover, President Bush's justified the claims that the President of Sudan, Omar al-Bashir, needed to cooperate with United Nations peacekeeping and aid forces by stating that Bashir must meet "the just demands of the international community."¹² President Bush goes on to state that if international pressure was not enough to force Bashir to act then "the United States of America, will act."¹³ These words can be tied directly to an influence of Holocaust memory when President Bush states in the same speech that the Holocaust would be called a genocide in today's terms, and although the term did not exist until 1948, because the Holocaust encompassed a new terror, the "state-sanctioned extermination of a people – carried out with a chilling industrial efficiency of a so-called modern nation."¹⁴ This unique historical problem alludes to his later mention of the actions of the government of Sudan, which moved arms to Darfur, conducted bombing raids, and failing to provide for the security of its own people.¹⁵

The close connection between the lessons of the Holocaust and the need for greater action in Darfur, as demonstrated by President Bush's speech at the United States Holocaust Memorial

¹⁰ George W. Bush, "Transcript of Address to Nation, March 17, 2003," (Washington D.C.: Cable News Network, March 17, 2003).

¹¹ George W. Bush, "President George W. Bush Speaks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," (Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum, April 18, 2007).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Museum in 2007, was not the first time that President Bush demonstrated the link in his mind between the memory of the Holocaust and the promotion of human rights. During a speech on April 19, 2001 in observance of the “Days of Remembrance,” a series of days established by the United States Congress leading up to Yom Hashoah that are devoted to a remembrance of the horrors of the Holocaust, President Bush stated that “we seek the wisdom and courage to prevent future tragedies and future evils.”¹⁶ He went on to argue that the United States seeks to be a refuge for the persecuted and a defender of the oppressed and it ties the United States closely to the state of Israel.¹⁷ This is one example but it comes at a time which President Bush’s administrative priorities were still very domestically focused... then came September 11, 2001.

Following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the Bush administration placed a greater priority on the global promotion of human rights as a means to increase international stability and also promote domestic security. This shift in priority is evident in the speeches and visits made by President Bush to Holocaust memorials and museums. On May 31, 2003 President Bush visited Auschwitz before making remarks in Krakow, Poland about the democratic development of Poland following the end of the Cold War and its growing alliance with the United States. In his brief remarks after visiting Auschwitz I and Auschwitz Birkenau, President Bush reaffirmed his remarks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in 2001. President Bush stated that the Auschwitz camp complex was “a sobering reminder that – of the power of evil and the need for people to resist evil,” and that “mankind must come together to fight such dark impulses.”¹⁸ These remarks came two days after President Bush

¹⁶ George W. Bush, “Days of Remembrance Observance” (Washington D.C.: U.S. Capitol Rotunda, April 19, 2001). GWBPLM Archives, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush. 2001: Book 1: January 20 to June 30, 2001, 419-420.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Bush, “Interview With Print Journalists.”

interviewed with several journalists and reiterated his emphasis on the importance of the Holocaust as a historical lesson. As President Bush stated,

I'm going to Auschwitz to see firsthand one of the greatest lessons of the past, that there's evil in this world and that the only way to deal with is together ... terrorism and killing of innocent people is evil, and we've got to work together to achieve the same objectives that were achieved in the past, and that is peace and freedom.¹⁹

President Bush clearly ties the influence of Holocaust memory to an evil that must be combated and an evil that still exists in the contemporary world. As President Bush states “may we always remember” on May 31, 2003 outside of the Auschwitz camp complex, he alludes to his words in days previous in which he says his Auschwitz remarks will “remind us that together we can achieve the big objective ... that we welcome the emergence of countries like – free countries like Poland, and as well as we must be reminded of the lessons of the past.”²⁰ President Bush uses the opportunity to visit and make remarks at Auschwitz to tie the influence of that historical memory to the need for prosperity and freedom in Eastern Europe. Moreover, these remarks come shortly after the invasion of Iraq by American, British, Australian, and Polish forces which was a central component in President Bush’s strategy to promote human rights following September 11, 2001.

The promotion of human rights continued to be a priority for President Bush’s administration as he moved into his second term. President Bush stated that “no insignificant person was ever born” in his first inaugural address, and he builds on this notion of universal human rights in his second inaugural by stating:

We will encourage reform in other governments by making clear that success in our relations will require the decent treatment of their own people. America’s belief in human dignity will guide our policies, yet rights must be more than the grudging concessions of

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ George W. Bush, “Remarks to Journalists in Auschwitz, Poland,” (Auschwitz, Poland: May 31, 2003) GWBPLM Archives, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush. 2003: Book 1: January 1 to June 30, 2003, 574, and Bush, “Interview With Print Journalists.”

dictators; they are secured by free dissent and the participation of the governed. In the long run, there is no justice without freedom, and there can be no human rights without human liberty.²¹

Entering his second term following September 11, the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, a reduction in nuclear arms between the United States and Russia, and diplomatic action between Israel and Palestine, President Bush continued to place a priority on the promotion of human rights. He continued to visit Holocaust memorials and make speeches, and in those speeches he stresses a call to action for the United States and the international community.

On April 18, 2007 President Bush visited the United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum a second time, and delivered remarks that tie the influence of Holocaust action to the need for international action in Sudan to protect human rights including freedom and prosperity. During his 2007 visit President Bush was accompanied by his Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, Special Envoy to Sudan, Andrew Natsios, and United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Zal Khalizad. Early in his remarks he alludes to phrases that he made in his first visit in 2001, most notably that “evil is not just a chapter in history – it is a reality in the human heart” and that “the words ‘never again’ do not refer to the past – they refer to the future.”²² Following this reflection on the memory of the past and its potential influence, President Bush describes the evil the world is seeing in Sudan and the need for international action in response. He states that several agreements have been made with Sudan’s government through the United Nations, but that these agreements have been routinely violated. President Bush then calls on President Bashir to act and end his obstruction of humanitarian aid and peace in Darfur.²³ In addition to this call to action through rhetoric, President Bush and his administration committed aid money to displaced

²¹ George W. Bush, “Second Inaugural Address” (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, January 20, 2005).

²² Bush, “President George W. Bush Speaks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,” April 18, 2007.

²³ Ibid.

persons camps, pushed for a comprehensive peace agreement, and supported the deployment of more peacekeepers from the United Nations and the Africa Union Mission in Darfur.²⁴ President Bush's call to action in Darfur is tied closely to his understanding of contemporary events in Rwanda. This can be seen through his official visit to Rwanda on February 19, 2008 and his remarks there. Following a visit to the Kigali Memorial Centre, President Bush remarks that the exhibit reminds people "that there is evil in the world, and evil must be confronted."²⁵ While the genocide in Rwanda and unrest in Darfur are two separate events in very different contexts, President Bush ties them together through a need for a greater promotion of human rights, and he makes this connection through language rooted in an influence of Holocaust memory.

The last instance where President Bush clearly ties the influence of Holocaust memory to a continued priority for the greater promotion of human rights is during his visit and remarks at Yad Vahsem in Jerusalem, Israel. President Bush took a guided tour with Yad Vashem Chairman of the Directorate Avner Shalev, and was accompanied by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Prime Minister of Israel Ehud Olmert, and President Shimon Peres. In addition to this distinguished company and time commitment on a short two day trip to Israel, President Bush visited the Children's Memorial, participated in a wreath-laying ceremony in the Hall of Remembrance, and received an extraordinary gift. President Bush was given a replica of biblical illustrations originally created by Carol Deutsch, a Belgian-Jewish artist who created the works while hiding from the Nazi occupation.²⁶ In addition to his actions during his visit to Yad

²⁴ "Fact Sheet: United States Leading the Global Response to Crisis in Darfur: President Bush Remains Committed to Ending the Violence," (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, February 19, 2008).

²⁵ George W. Bush, "President Bush Visits Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda," (Kigali, Rwanda: Office of the Press Secretary, February 19, 2008).

²⁶ "President Bush Receives Replica of Biblical Illustrations from Yad Vashem," Yad Vashem Newsletter No. 6 (March 2008) and "Visit of President George W. Bush to Yad Vashem," (Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem Press Release, January 11, 2008).

Vashem, President Bush made several remarks which can be seen in line with his previous statements on the influence of the memory of the Holocaust. President Bush stated that the Memorial was “a sobering reminder that evil exists and a call that when we find evil, we must resist it” and that his visit was “a moving experience, and it is a living memory that is important.”²⁷ President Bush’s visit to Yad Vashem comes late in his Presidency, but shows both a continuation and a conclusion to his commitment to promote human rights and do so partially because of an influence of the memory of the Holocaust. These remarks come after several major events during President Bush’s second term, including a surge in the American military presence and action in Iraq, increased diplomacy with Iran, and a greater focus on development issues in Africa, including HIV/AIDS prevention. President Bush again refers to the memory of the Holocaust as a living memory that can influence contemporary action, and also that evil is real and must be combated which ties his rhetoric to his human rights policy.

Perhaps the most criticized and enduring aspects of President Bush’s administration, the war in Iraq, ties closely at the level of rhetoric and policy to an influence of Holocaust memory. Despite heated criticism of American action in Iraq, the invasion and war had many supporters, including Holocaust survivor and Nobel Laureate, Elie Wiesel. Before the outbreak of war and following President Bush’s inaugural address in January 2001, Wiesel wrote to President Bush and wished President Bush well as he “began working on behalf of peace and prosperity both at home and in the world.”²⁸ Following the invasion and despite Wiesel’s abhorrence for war, he expressed support for President Bush’s actions in Iraq because it was the only remaining option to combat Saddam Hussein’s provocations and persecutions.²⁹ Evident from the correspondence

²⁷ “Visit of President George W. Bush to Yad Vashem.”

²⁸ Wiesel to Bush

²⁹ George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (New York: Crown, 2010), 247-248.

between President Bush and Elie Wiesel, is a deep reverence on behalf of President Bush towards Wiesel, who President Bush views as “a big figure in the life of the world” and “a leader of talking about what is right.”³⁰ These words show that President Bush has a deep respect for a Holocaust survivor who has worked for decades to promote Holocaust education and communicate its lessons to a wider audience. President Bush shared these goals during his presidency and appreciated the positive influence that Holocaust education could have on the promotion of human rights and freedom.

What we have seen is that President Bush’s understanding and promotion of Holocaust education also promoted his human rights policy agenda. President Bush understood that if someone is educated on the lessons of the Holocaust they can communicate those lessons and situations to educate others. President Bush and First Lady Laura Bush made this connection manifest in a variety of ways. President Bush was an avid reader, especially of history, and during his presidency he read several books that make direct mention of the Holocaust and its complex development.³¹ Among these books, *The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny & Terror*, which President Bush kept by his bedside, argues that central to an increase in anti-Semitism in the Middle East is a demonization of Israel made through improper comparisons to the Holocaust by academics in Europe.³² Moreover, President Bush read *A History of the English Speaking Peoples Since 1900* by Andrew Roberts which makes direct comments on the Holocaust and the “Final Solution.”³³ This reading was informed further by visits from several historians, including Natan Sharansky and John Lewis Gaddis, with whom

³⁰ Bush, “President George W. Bush Speaks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,” April 18, 2007.

³¹ Karl Rove, “Bush Is a Book Lover: A Glimpse of What the President Has Been Reading,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 26, 2008.

³² Natan Sharansky, with Ron Demer, *The Case For Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny & Terror* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 223-225.

³³ Andrew Roberts, *A History of the English Speaking-Peoples Since 1900* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 308-312.

President Bush discussed German history.³⁴ Aside from President Bush's reading interests, First Lady Laura Bush visited the first Jewish school built in Poland since the Holocaust in June 2001, which has a library named after her.³⁵ Lastly, President Bush promoted Holocaust education and the preservation of Holocaust memory by appointing members to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Board of Directors, to positions of oversight in the Office of Holocaust Issues, and the Task Force for International Cooperation of Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Awareness.³⁶ These appointments show President Bush as an Executive who was committed to Holocaust education and its communication to a wide audience. This can be tied to his speeches and official visits to show President Bush as someone with a deep interest in the influence of Holocaust memory and its ability to effect contemporary change.

We have seen that President Bush's promotion of human rights was rooted in the influence of Holocaust memory. Moreover, President Bush's promotion of human rights centered around the advancement of the Bush Doctrine, "a broad new approach to national security" which argues "the need for preemption in order to 'confront the worst threats before they emerge,'" and "the need to transform the cultures that breed hatred and fanaticism by ... actively promoting democracy and liberty in the Middle East and beyond."³⁷ As President Bush argues, "we live in a time when the defense of freedom requires the advance of freedom."³⁸ President Bush consequently promoted democracy, freedom, and human rights to promote security globally and in the United States.³⁹ And in his second inaugural address President Bush

³⁴ John F. Dickerson, "What the President Reads," *Time*, January 8, 2005.

³⁵ Morgan, 78-79.

³⁶ "President Bush Appoints 13 Members to United States Holocaust Memorial Council," (Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum, April 25, 2005).

³⁷ Paul Berman, et al. "Defending and Advancing Freedom," *Commentary* 120, no. 4 (November 2005): 21.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

succinctly summarized the Bush Doctrine: “the survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world.”⁴⁰

This “Bush Doctrine” remains hotly contested, but not surprisingly several Jewish scholars and scholars with Jewish heritage have understood its origins in Holocaust memory and have supported its merits. Norman Podhoretz, the child of Jewish immigrants from Galicia and editor-at-large of the neoconservative publication *Commentary*, argues “what we are fighting is indeed a world war against another totalitarian aggressor.” This is paralleled by Richard Pipes, Professor Emeritus of History at Harvard University who fled occupied Poland with his family at age sixteen in 1939, who states that he “approves of its principles, and I admire his determination in pursuing it.”⁴¹ These statements are echoed by Paul Johnson, a British historian who has written a history of the Jews and a work on the Holocaust, amongst many others. As he argues for the merits of the Bush Doctrine, Johnson references the global breakdown in security following the failure of the League of Nations in the 1930s and goes on to state that America “acts for itself, but also for the world ... the evil organizations that threaten the United States and the regions that support them, also threaten the entire world, its men, women, and children.”⁴² Lastly, Natan Sharansky, former deputy prime minister of Israel, Soviet political prisoner, and author of *The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny & Terror* that President Bush read during his President, points out that the path ahead will not be easy, but “the President of the United States rightly understands, as few leaders of the last century have understood, that his own nation’s security depends on the advance of freedom around the

⁴⁰ Bush, “Second Inaugural Address.”

⁴¹ “Defending and Advancing Freedom,” 56-57.

⁴² “Defending and Advancing Freedom,” 41-42.

world.”⁴³ These scholars provide a small sampling of the positive responses to the Bush Doctrine, and their arguments appreciate the Bush Doctrine for its moral clarity and merits. Among Jewish intellectuals, the connection between Holocaust memory and the need for increased promotion of human rights is clear. This connection is also evident in priority that President Bush’s administration gave to human rights, especially through the Bush Doctrine. Moreover, although President Bush always emphasized human rights, he did not embrace nation-building, as seen in his acceptance of the Presidential nomination at the Republican National Convention in 2000.⁴⁴ Following the events of September 11, and his subsequent action to combat terrorism and make the United States more secure included action that promoted nation building.

Rooted in the increased promotion of human rights by the United States following September 11 is an influence of the memory of the Holocaust. Through speeches, visits, and educational initiatives President Bush ties his policy prescriptions, including the Bush Doctrine, to historical influences such as Holocaust memory. Holocaust memory is a powerful influence, one that, when used properly, can motivate action to help persecuted individuals. President Bush understood this influence, and his references to it are explicit. These references can also be seen under the umbrella of the twelve principles that guided President Bush’s career in public service. Fundamental to these twelve principles are the ideals of responsibility, compassion, freedom, and opportunity, and these ideals motivate a call to action to help people who need support help themselves. Through his work to improve the United States of America, President Bush

⁴³ “Defending and Advancing Freedom,” 61.

⁴⁴ George W. Bush, “Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia” (Santa Barbara, CA: University of California at Santa Barbara The American Presidency Project, 2000).

understood that he would also improve life abroad, and with an understanding of the influence of Holocaust memory, he worked for the promotion of human rights both domestically and abroad.

Early in his first term, on March 2, 2001 President Bush replied to a letter to a Ms. Victoria Patricia Goldstein congratulating her on becoming a citizen of the United States. In the letter President Bush stated to Ms. Goldstein that “as a direct descendant of Holocaust survivors, you follow in the rich tradition of countless brave men and women.”⁴⁵ President Bush honors that tradition when he uses the influence of the memory of the Holocaust to inform his human rights agenda. Many of the issues that incited the most passionate debate during President Bush’s two terms in office continue today; their work is not complete. United States’ action to promote human rights in Iraq, Africa, Afghanistan, and Eastern Europe, amongst many places, is ongoing and its overall success is unknown. What is clear is that President Bush, similar to his predecessors, used the position of the United States as a world power to promote certain goals, among them was an increased priority towards human rights. While the motivations behind this promotion of human rights are diverse, the influence of the memory of the Holocaust is clear. The work towards universal human rights is not yet finished, but its undertaking is an important step in the global promotion of peace and security.

⁴⁵ George W. Bush to Ms. Victoria Patricia Goldstein, March 2, 2001, in GWBPLM Archives.

Bibliography

- Berman, Paul et al. "Defending and Advancing Freedom." *Commentary* 120, no. 4 (November 2005): 21-68.
- Bush, George W. "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia," Santa Barbara, CA: University of California at Santa Barbara The American Presidency Project, August 3, 2003. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25954>
- Bush, George W. "Days of Remembrance Observance." Washington D.C.: U.S. Capitol Rotunda, April 19, 2001. Accessed through GWBPLM Archives. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush. 2001, Book 1: January 20 to June 30, 2001.
- Bush, George W. *Decision Points*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2010.
- Bush, George W. "First Inaugural Address." Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, January 20, 2001. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/inaugural-address.html>
- Bush, George W. "Interview With Print Journalists." Washington D.C.: The White House, May 29, 2003. Accessed through GWBPLM Archives. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush. 2003, Book 1: January 1 to June 30, 2003.
- Bush, George W. "Letter to Ms. Victoria Patricia Goldstein," March 2, 2001. Human Rights Box 1, Subject File 1, Document 446627. Dallas, TX: National Archives and Records Administration, George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum, 2014.
- Bush, George W. "National Days of Prayer and Remembrance, 2008: A Proclamation by the President of the United States of America." Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, August 28, 2008. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/08/20080828-1.html>
- Bush, George W. "President Bush Attends Dedication of 9/11 Pentagon Memorial." Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, September 11, 2008. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/09/20080911-3.html>
- Bush, George W. "President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point" West Point, New York: Office of the Press Secretary, June 1, 2002. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html>
- Bush, George W. "President George W. Bush Speaks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum." Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, April 18, 2001. Accessed through GWBPLM Archives. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush. 2001, Book 1: January 20 to June 30, 2001.
- Bush, George W. "President George W. Bush Speaks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum." Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum, April 18, 2007. <http://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/speakers-and-events/all-speakers-and-events/president-george-w.-bush-speaks-at-the-united-states-holocaust-memorial-mus/president-george-w.-bushs-remarks>

- Bush, George W. "President Bush Visits Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda." Kigali, Rwanda: Office of the Press Secretary, February 19, 2008. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/02/20080219-1.html>
- Bush, George W. "Remarks to Journalists in Auschwitz, Poland." Auschwitz, Poland: May 31, 2003. Accessed through GWBPLM Archives. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush. 2003, Book 1: January 1 to June 30, 2003.
- Bush, George W. "Second Inaugural Address." Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, January 20, 2005. <http://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/01/text/20050120-1.html>
- Bush, George W. "Transcript of Address to Nation, March 17, 2003." Washington D.C.: Cable News Network, March 17, 2003. <http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/03/17/sprj.irq.bush.transcript/>
- Bush, George W. "Visit and Remarks of President George W. Bush to Yad Vashem." Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem, January 11, 2008. http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/events/event_details.asp?cid=149
- Bush, Laura Welch. *Spoken from the Heart*. New York: Scribner, 2010.
- Dickerson, John F. "What the President Reads." *Time*, January 8, 2005. <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1015820,00.html>
- "Fact Sheet: United States Leading The Global Response To Crisis In Darfur: President Bush Remains Committed to Ending the Violence." Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, February 19, 2008. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/02/20080219-5.html>
- Gerson, Michael J. *Heroic Conservatism: Why Republicans Need to Embrace America's Ideals (and Why They Deserve to Fail If They Don't)*. New York: HarperOne, 2008.
- Langer, Lawrence L. *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Morgan, Carina. *George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum Docent Instruction Program: Museum Area Four – Defending Freedom*. Volunteer Information Center, Docent Training Academy. Revision #3. Dallas, TX: National Archives and Records Administration, George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum, 2014.
- Olasky, Marvin. *Compassionate Conservatism: What It Is, What It Does, and How It Can Transform America*. Forward by George W. Bush. New York: The Free Press, 2000.
- "President Bush Appoints 13 Members to United States Holocaust Memorial Council." Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum, April 25, 2005. <http://www.ushmm.org/information/press/press-releases/president-bush-appoints-13-members-to-united-states-holocaust-memorial-coun>
- "President Bush Receives Replica of Biblical Illustrations from Yad Vashem." Yad Vashem Newsletter No. 6, March 2008. http://www.yadvashem.org/newsletter/february2008/newsletter_february2008_print.html

“President Bush to Visit Yad Vashem Friday.” Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem Press Release, January 8, 2008.

http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/pressroom/pressreleases/pr_details.asp?cid=204

Roberts, Andrew. *A History of the English Speaking-Peoples Since 1900*. New York: Harper Collins, 2007.

Roth, John K. *Holocaust Politics*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.

Rowe, Karl. “Bush Is a Book Lover: A Glimpse of What the President Has Been Reading.” *Wall Street Journal*, December 26, 2008.

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123025595706634689.html>

Sharansky, Natan, with Ron Demer. *The Case For Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny & Terror*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

“Visit of President George W. Bush to Yad Vashem.” Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem Press Release, January 11, 2008.

http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/events/event_details.asp?cid=149

Wiesel, Elie. “Letter to President George W. Bush,” January 20, 2001. Human Rights Box 2, Subject File 6, Document 457531. Dallas, TX: National Archives and Records Administration, George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum, 2014.