

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON WITH RUDY GIULIANI

SUBJECT: THE STATE OF SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 9/11

MODERATOR: MARK HAMRICK, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

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MARK HAMRICK: (Sounds gavel.) Good afternoon, and welcome to the National Press Club. I'm Mark Hamrick, broadcast and online journalist with the Associated Press, and I'm the 104th president of the National Press Club. We are the world's leading professional organization for journalists committed to our profession's future through our programming events such as this while also working to foster a free press worldwide. For more information about the National Press Club, we'd invite you to please visit our website at www.press.org. And to donate to programs offered to the public through our Eric Friedheim National Journalism Library, there's information on the website there as well.

So on behalf of our members worldwide, I'd like to welcome our speaker today as well as those of you attending today's event. Our head table includes guests of our speaker as well as working journalists who are club members. In fact, that is mandatory. If you hear applause in our audience, we would also remind you that members of the general public are in attendance, so it's not necessarily evidence of a lack of journalistic objectivity. I'd also like to welcome our C-SPAN and Public Radio audiences. Our luncheons are also featured on our member-produced weekly Podcast titled from the National Press Club available for free download on iTunes. You can follow the action on Twitter using the hash tag #NPCLunch. After our guest speech concludes, we'll have Q&A and I'll ask as many questions as time permits.

Now it is time to introduce our head table guests. Please note that a journalist presence at the head table does not imply or signify an endorsement of any speaker. I'd ask you each to come-- (Laughter) I'd ask each of you to stand up briefly as your name is

announced. And we begin from your right. Fred D' Ambrosi, he's the news director with WUSA, Channel 9 here in Washington. He's also a new member of the National Press Club; Jim Parenti, dean of the Semester in Washington program at Georgetown University; Matthew Vadum is senior editor at the Capitol Research Center; Jerry Zremski, Washington bureau chief of the *Buffalo News*, a past president of the National Press Club. In fact, we're thick with past presidents of the National Press Club up here today, and that's a good thing.

Richard Sheirer is New York City's former Commissioner of Emergency Management, and a guest of our speaker; welcome. Colleague from the Associated Press, Eileen Sullivan, Counterterrorism reporter for the AP; Rudy Washington, he's a principal with R. W. Consulting, Commissioner of Civil Service of the City of New York and the former Deputy Mayor of the City of New York. We'll skip over the podium for just a moment.

Melissa Charbonneau with News Hook Media and our incredibly capable Speakers Committee chair who works so hard on events such as this. Thank you again, Melissa. Skip over our speaker for just a moment. Donna Leinwand, a reporter at *USA Today*. She also is a past president of the National Press Club, and organizer of today's luncheon and did that very well, as she always does. Thank you so much, Donna. Johnson Salant, a reporter with Bloomberg News and also a past president of the Club; Andrea Stone is senior national correspondent covering Homeland Security for the Huffington Post; Ben Dooley is White House correspondent for the *Kyodo News*; and Joel Davidson is a senior analyst at Penn, Schoen, Berland. That's a market research and consulting company. Please give them a round of applause. (Applause)

On that terrible day nearly ten years ago, our guest today earned the nickname America's Mayor, the living embodiment of American leadership in a time of unprecedented horror and tragedy. Unsure where the terrorists might strike next, President George W. Bush was largely out of sight that morning, on Air Force One. It was our guest speaker, a lame duck mayor completing the final months of his second term, who assured Americans that the nation's greatest city would survive even as smoke and fire dulled a bright blue September sky. Sure, he'd handled plenty of tough tasks before in his career as a prosecutor and eventually U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York. Our guest prosecuted mobsters and Wall Street financiers including Ivan Boesky. And no stranger to Washington, our guest speaker also served as Associate Attorney General in the Justice Department during the Reagan Administration.

When he became mayor in 1994, New York seemed overtaken by crime and urban decay. Our speaker is credited with reducing the crime rate and improving the quality of life. In particular, cracking down on nuances such as squeegee men, aggressive panhandlers who would menace commuters stuck in traffic. And, of course, very relevant to this day given the tourism there, for cleaning up Times Square. And while he doesn't insist on it, it would be appropriate to call Mayor Giuliani Sir. In 2002, Queen Elizabeth II awarded him an honorary knighthood. So along with being a knight, it's also worth a reminder that he's a survivor of prostate cancer.

He leads a security consulting firm called Giuliani Partners, which helps governments and businesses manage security and prepare for potential disasters. And, of course, we'll be asking him about his thoughts on the political landscape. A political moderate, at least that's the way it turns out these days, he ran in 2008 for the Republican primary for the Republican nomination. And although he topped opinion polls, he did not fare as well in the primaries.

We're told he has not officially ruled out another run for the White House, a decision he says he will not make until after this tenth anniversary of 9/11 passes. If he were to run, our guest told my employer, the Associated Press, that he would focus more on the economy than national security. And this is a quote, tell me if we're wrong, Mayor, "You have to talk about what people are concerned about," he told the AP. "And what they're concerned about is the economy."

But today, as we approach the somber anniversary, our primary focus here, at least we'll begin, is the state of the nation's security a decade after the September 11th terror attacks, as well as how to secure America's future. Now, just a note. As I began my term as NPC President, I made a priority of my own to make sure we landed a topnotch speaker for this occasion. And so I'm particularly grateful that our guest speaker today accepted our invitation. Please give a warm National Press Club welcome to Mayor Rudy Giuliani. (Applause)

MAYOR GIULIANI: Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much, Mark. Mark is the 104th president of the Press Club, and I was the 107th mayor of New York City, which means we both existed for a long time, right? And I am very pleased to be here, and this is always a difficult subject for me because the whole recollection of and thinking about September 11 is very complicated. It's very complicated because it was the worst day in my life, worst day in the life of my city, to some extent I imagine the country, or pretty close to the worst day for the country. And in some ways, it was the greatest day, the most glorious day, because of the display of bravery and fortitude and strength that people showed.

And I, as Mark has noted, have been given a lot of honors of various kinds, including being knighted. I do not use the title Sir because my friends back in Brooklyn would beat me up if I tried to use it. (Laughter) And if I ever have any hope of running for office of any kind again, I better not use the title, Sir. In fact, in order to appropriately use the title of Sir, I believe you have to renounce your citizenship. Ain't no way.

But a lot of the praise, honor, whether it was being knighted or being given awards by Mrs. Reagan, which I'm very proud of, I feel very humbled by that because I was standing on the shoulders of giants, of people that really did the brave work and the difficult work and the courageous work. And two of them are with me today, because they worked in my administration with me. One is former Deputy Mayor Rudy Washington. He was one of four deputy mayors in New York City. He organized our effort to bring in heavy equipment that day to try to save lives. He organized our effort to

recover. He was totally dedicated and worked 24 hours a day, probably, for four straight months. He has suffered some ailments as a result of being at Ground Zero so often. He's one of the people that was affected by that, respiratory system affected by it. He's handled that with consummate bravery.

And he has recently made some news, or some trouble, if you want to call it that, by urging that they include a religious leader or religious leaders as part of the September 11 memorial next Saturday. (Applause)

Richey Sheirer was the Commissioner of the Mayor's Office of Emergency Management on the day of September 11, 2001. Richey had a long history of being with the fire department and the police department, had intimate knowledge of the communication systems of New York City and the emergency response of New York City. He's one of the people that prepared New York City for whatever emergency we could possibly think of. We had 20 or 25 emergency plans, we would practice them all the time, and we would try to continue to improve our situation.

On the day of September 11, both Rudy and Richey were with me when we were trapped in a building and it took us 20 minutes to get out and on reflection, could have lost our lives at the time. You really didn't think that way. But when I went home at night and I watched it, I said, "Oh my goodness. Wow, we were so close. We were 2 ½ blocks away from the first building coming down." It hit our building, Richey remained exceedingly calm, tremendously professional, led our effort through that day, our emergency response effort. The recovery effort afterwards, which many people don't understand, was-- I'm not going to say as complicated as the immediate response to the attack, but almost as complicated and almost as dangerous. Everybody that worked there for the next three or four months had their lives at risk with the buildings that could have easily fallen down with the fires below the ground, with the enormous heavy equipment.

When we build a building in New York, a big high rise, we often lose three or four people because it's inherently dangerous to do a construction project. And somehow, we got through that whole four months without anyone being seriously injured. Now, some people are seriously injured now and they shouldn't be abandoned. But I wouldn't have believed it possible that we'd get through that period without a serious injury. And Richey is one of the reasons for that, and he's one of the foremost experts on emergency management in the country. If I didn't have people like Rudy and Richey, I wouldn't have been able to do it, and there were many of them. (Applause)

So, how do you relate to September 11 and whether the country is safer now or not as safe, and what should be done about it? First of all, I think it's worth noting that September 11, 2001, is an event that is a defining event for our country. Whether we think it is or we don't, it is because it's one of those events that people remember where they were when it happened. In my lifetime, I can relate to only two others; one before I was born and one when I was in college. The first one was Pearl Harbor. My parents and everyone of that generation would constantly tell you where they were when they heard about Pearl Harbor.

The second one was the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. I remember where I was when I heard about the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Everyone in this room, I'm sure, could immediately stand up and recite where they were. And then the third one is September 11, 2001. Everyone remembers where they were when the attack on the Twin Towers and on Washington and over the skies of Pennsylvania happened. In fact, this is almost completely accurate. I can't think of too many times that I've spent any time in an airport, including in Singapore and Tokyo and in South Africa where people haven't come up to me and said to me, "Do you know where I was on September 11?" And then they explain to me in detail where they were. First couple of times that happened, I found it very strange, because my answer is always, "No, I don't know where you were. I know where I was. I remember pretty clearly where I was. I don't know where you were." But I've decided that somehow I've become a repository for people feeling like they have to explain that.

So, it is a defining event for us. Right now, as we enter into the second decade of the 21st century, it's the most defining event. And it's had tremendous implications for us, and it's having implications for us that we still don't quite understand, because I'm not sure we understood ten years later all the implications Pearl Harbor had for us, or all the implications that the Kennedy assassination had for us.

But here are some of them, and some that I think we can learn from. When people endure a traumatic event, one of two things happens. They either become almost immobilized by it or beaten by it or crushed by it, or they grow from it. But on the evening of September 11th, I asked the people of New York, I think it may have been my last, or second to last statement that I made at the third press conference that we had, and we were all pretty exhausted and probably in shock, right? Probably still in shock. I said, "I want the people of New York City to emerge stronger for this."

And I remember thinking as I walked off the podium that I wasn't sure if that was an exhortation, an admonition or a prayer, because I wasn't sure that we'd emerge stronger for it. I felt we would, I hoped that we would. I had this essential faith that the people of New York City handle big things much better than small things. You know, if there's a pothole or you don't get rid of the first three inches of snow, they want to impeach you. But if there's a train wreck or a blackout, they just rise to the occasion.

People of New York really did rise to the occasion. They've been stronger and better than I even thought they would be. New York City, if we just focus now on New York City, which after all was the center of the largest attack, New York City now has more people living there, New York City has more tourists, New York City is economically sounder, even with the recession and the problems that we're having now in our economy. New York City's economy is not as affected as the rest of the country. It's a more diverse economy. There is absolutely no feeling that I detect that people don't want to come to New York because they're afraid of the attack of September 11, or afraid of the realistic advice that New York City is a major target to this day. There's absolutely

no one that doesn't believe that they won't attempt to attack New York City again. In fact, there was an attempt on Times Square just a short while ago that luckily was foiled.

So New York City is a great example of resilience, of American resilience. And resilience is a defense against Islamic extremist terrorism, an important defense. I believe that the terrorists attacked us for at least two reasons, one of which they succeeded at and the second of which they miserably failed at. The first reason they attacked us was to kill many, many people. And they ended up killing almost 3,000 people; worst attack in the history of our country, worse than Pearl Harbor. So you have to say they succeeded in doing tremendous damage to us. It's damage that I still see, and Richey does and Rudy lives because it plays out in people's lives.

I don't know what my feelings will be on Sunday when I see so many of the family members again that maybe I saw for the first time at the family center, or at the site when I took them there for their first visit. Or, at the many funerals and wakes and memorial services. Some of the families are very close to me, some of my closest friends. And it has played out in their lives in ways that you can imagine. Children growing up without fathers or mothers, people who still can't think about it, people who can't come to the memorial service because they still can't deal with the fact that it happened. And other people who have moved on. But they did achieve that significant damage that's almost indescribable and will continue until maybe we move on to another generation or a generation after.

But on the other side of it, I do think they wanted to kill more people than they did. The first estimate that I was given of the number of people that died at the World Trade Center was given to me on the street after we got out of the building we were trapped in, after the second building came down and we saw the cloud rushing through the street. I turned to my communications director and asked her, "Tell me the number of people they think are missing," because I was trying to calculate what kind of help did the fire department need, what kind of help does the police department need? Are these numbers we could handle? We were going to have to ask for the National Guard.

And within about 10 or 15 minutes she got back to me as we were walking to our new command center. She got back to me and she said, "The Port Authority estimates about 12,000." I said, "How do you think they did that?" She said, "Well, they told me what they did. They tried to calculate the number of people in the building when the first plane hit. And the number of people you could get out in that period of time, and they calculated probably about 12,000." I'm going to tell you the reason it wasn't 12,000. The reason it wasn't 12,000 is really simple. It's the bravery and the courage and the loss of life that occurred to the members of the New York City fire department, the New York City police department, the Port Authority police department, and some very, very brave civilians who stepped up and guided people out of the building.

I don't get told this as often as I get asked about where you were on September 11, but I've had more than a few people come up to me all over the world and tell me, "If it wasn't for your fire department, I would not have made it out of that building." They

would say to me, “You can't imagine how much confidence it builds up in you in the middle of a catastrophic event like this when you're walking out of a building that's on fire, and men are walking into that building and don't seem to be afraid to continue to walk in and didn't run out on the first sign of evacuation.” That saved incalculable numbers of lives. It meant that it was an orderly exit. Things far less traumatic than the attack on the World Trade Center have led to riots in which people died trampling over each other. Not a single person did that happen to. That's because of the bravery and the inherent courage of the New York City fire department, the New York City police department, the Port Authority and individuals like Rick Rescorla about whom a movie is being made who saved all the people at Morgan Stanley by being the last one out. I think he saved a couple thousand people. Got them all on elevators, forced them out and said he would be the last one out, and of course he never did get out. That prevented it from being worse than it was, and maybe prevented the terrorists from achieving whatever weird number they had in their head.

But there's a second reason they attacked us. The second reason they attacked us was to break our spirit. It wasn't just to kill people, it was to kill people for a purpose. And the purpose was to break our spirit. And it wasn't accidental that they selected Washington, D. C. and New York City, the capital of the United States, the political capital of the United States, and the economic capital of the world. What's at the core of their hatred of us? Our politics, our economy, our belief in various religions as opposed to what they believe is the one true religion. Our political rights that we give to women, that we give to other people. These are reasons they hate us. So it wasn't accidental that they attacked Washington and they attacked New York City.

And the purpose of it was to break our spirit, to demonstrate how weak we are, to demonstrate how by doing this they would put our economic system in chaos, they put our political system in chaos, and they would show how much better a world ruled by a theocracy could be. Well, boy, just the opposite occurred, right? From the first moment of those firefighters walking into the building, not running out, to our political people, all coming together. Man, we should have bottled that. That was fabulous. I mean, I was the mayor of New York, I had all the support that I could ever possibly ask for from President Bush, from the Democratic members of Congress.

I had many gatherings of Democrats and Republicans going down to Ground Zero and talking about how to prevent another one and how-- I mean, the American flags all over the place being waved. I road with President Bush up West End Avenue on a very famous day, on September 14th, 2001, after he went to Ground Zero. Richey got in the car with me and Commissioner Kerik and Commissioner Von Essen, all of whom are big guys. They crowded in the car with the President, one of them sat on his lap. (Laughter)

And as we were going up West End Avenue, there were flags all over the place, people yelling and screaming, “God bless America,” blowing kisses to President Bush. “We love you, President Bush.” I couldn't help it, looking at them, Richey remembers this. I said, “Mr. President, I don't know how to tell you this. Not a single one of these people voted for you. And I think four of them voted for Governor Pataki and me. This is

not our part of town.” Of course for a Republican, there is no part of town. Except Staten Island. (Laughter)

But the reality is we achieved the unity that most of us had never seen before. And it’s because of something, not just when I talked about how New York became stronger. New York became stronger not because they’re New Yorkers but because they’re Americans, and America became stronger because we realized how important our freedom is and how important it is to defend it and how important it is to remain together when that happens. And those are all wonderful things that emerged from September 11.

And I have absolutely no doubt that if, God forbid, we were attacked again, whether it happens under President Obama, I certainly hope it doesn’t, or it happens under another president that we’ll have exactly the same reaction. President said about a year ago, and some people criticized him for this, but I thought it was absolutely the right statement. He said something like America could handle another attack. He wasn’t inviting one, he wasn’t suggesting we’re going to have one. He was just stating, I think, the obvious; that we could. And it’s important for the terrorists to know that because resiliency takes away a lot of what they think they’re going to do to us.

Now, why do I think the country has really not been attacked since September 11? Well, I have to tell you, if I take myself back ten years ago to the morning of September 11 and September 12th and 13th and 14th, and both of them will remember this because they were at all these meetings with me, we were being warned of numerous attacks. On that very day, we didn’t know if there would be another three or four airplanes that would attack us. And a lot of our response, when people look at what we did and why we did it and the right decisions and the wrong decisions, but a lot of our response was not just to save as many people at the site, but a lot of our response was to protect the city against further attack, which we were told was going to happen. And we were told it was going to happen right in the aftermath of September 11 and for many years to come. And there was very indication that that was the case.

Well, there haven't been a lot of attacks. There have been at least 40 attempts to do such attacks in the United States since then, a lot more than people realize. And those are 40 that I can find from public documents from my previous experience in government. I can assure you there are probably a lot more. But for one, which I would consider Major Hasan’s attack on Fort Hood an Islamic extremist terrorist attack. I have a hard time understanding why the government doesn't see it that way, since he was yelling “Allah Akbar” when he started killing people. As a former prosecutor, that would be pretty good evidence as to exactly why he was doing the killings that he was doing.

But except for that, we have been safe, although a great deal of hard work has gone into it. I'm going to tell you the reasons why I think we were safe and then what we have to do to continue to remain safe. I think the primary reason that we were safe from terrorist attack is because we went on offense against them, starting with the war in Afghanistan and the war in Iraq. I think tying up al-Qaeda, tying up other groups that would try to rival and equal what al-Qaeda would do in foreign wars was enormously

effective in slowing them down. It also gave us a plethora of intelligence that we wouldn't obtain if we weren't present there, if we weren't engaged in a war there, engaged in capturing people, questioning people. That intelligence was unavailable to us before September 11 because we didn't have a major presence in that part of the world.

A biggest fear that I have is that as we get to the 10th anniversary of September 11, people are going to believe it's over. There's nothing special about a 10th anniversary. I said this to one of the women who lost a husband on September 11 a few days ago. I asked her, "How are you going to deal with the 10th anniversary?" She said to me, "Well, it's no different than the 9th or the 11th or the day after." That's true, there's nothing special about the 10th anniversary. It just happens to be a numerical computation that you can make. Here's the simple fact about September 11 that should be emphasized over and over again from now until this 10th anniversary is over. September 11 is not yet part of our history. Pearl Harbor is part of our history. Pearl Harbor is over. That war was won, our enemies have become our good friends, you can do endless analysis of it for purely historical reasons and to learn from it, but it's not part of our present reality.

September 11 is part of our present reality. The reasons I mentioned before, and some others, for which those people attacked us on September 11. The people who attacked us under that banner of distorted Islam still want to attack us under the banner of distorted Islam, and they are planning to do it as we memorialize the 10th anniversary, arguably with even more force, maybe less, maybe they'll resort to other ways of doing it. So we cannot use this as an opportunity to say, "Oh, let's put this behind us," because if we do that, we will repeat the mistake that we made before September 11, which is not evaluating correctly the scope and the danger of Islamic extremist terrorism.

Notice I used those words, and I used them often. I do because I have a simple belief. If you can't face your enemy, you can't defeat your enemy. If you can't honestly describe your enemy, there are distortions in your policy decisions as a result of that. There is nothing insulting to decent, good members of the Muslim religion in my saying Islamic extremist terrorism any more than it was insulting to the Italian American community when I was a prosecutor to say the word mafia. Or that it would be insulting to decent Germans to say the word Nazi.

Our failure to do it leads to a series of mistakes that easily could harm us in the future. One mistake to avoid is political correctness. You can't fight crime and you can't deter terrorism if you are hobbled by political correctness. I believe that Major Hasan is an example of that. There's no way Major Hasan should have been a major in the United States Army after several years of spewing forth hatred for the United States of America under the banner of distorted Islam. So, if we want to learn from September 11, here's one of the first lessons to learn: don't underestimate your enemy, don't be afraid to face your enemy honestly and squarely. Don't be afraid to discuss is honestly. And don't create within the bureaucracy, including the bureaucracy of the military, a fear of doing the right thing because it will be misinterpreted. After all, most human beings are not heroes. Most human beings are not going to get a chapter in *Profiles in Courage*. Most human beings do what is expected of them. And if what is expected of them is to ignore

reality because they'll get in trouble, they will ignore reality and we will be the worst for it.

The second thing that I believe we have to remember as we come out of September 11 is there is an impatience that has developed over the last two years to our military presence in Iraq, Afghanistan, and some other parts of the world. That's an understandable impatience. We've been there a long time and we've lost so many wonderful, innocent people. I mean, people who just want to serve their country, and they're the ones chosen to serve, or they choose to serve, and they've lost their lives. So it develops an impatience that is an understandable one in a good country like ours.

But here's what leadership is about. Leadership is saying to the American people that we have to be present in that part of the world in spite of what public opinion polls say. We have to be present in that part of the world until that part of the world stops making plans to come here and kill us. Isn't that why we were in Germany for as long as the time that we were in Germany? Isn't that why we were in Europe? Isn't that why Ronald Reagan pointed cruise missiles at the Soviet Union in the 1980s? Because that part of the world endangered our survival? Isn't that why we remained in South Korea for as long as we have? Well, if our leadership through Republican, Democratic presidents from Truman to George Bush the 1st understood that, our leadership now has to understand that. We need to be militarily present in the Middle East until significant numbers of people in the Middle East stop planning to come here and kill us, or killing us overseas. And we should get the American people ready for that, we should make them patient with that. We should get them to understand the value to us in terms of intelligence, the value to us in terms of stopping things before they get to the point of people trying to kill us here in the United States or attacking one of our embassies abroad.

We should explain to people how that has a deterring impact, to see 100,000 American troops in that part of the world, a deterring impact on these miserable dictators. It would be nice if it were different. It would be nice if we lived in some perfect world. But that's not leadership. Leadership is helping us to live in the world that we actually live in.

Well, my final thought about it is, in addition to those things that we have to do, in addition to the fact that we have done some very good things, both in the Bush and the Obama Administration in improving airport security and significantly improving intelligence, intelligence gathering, and the flow of intelligence, which also had a big impact on preventing those 40 attacks and more. And the good work that both President Obama and President Bush did in the long term effort to catch bin Laden, which was a significant achievement and the significant achievements we're having now.

We do have a tendency to think that the next attack will be like the last attack. So we've loaded up and we've done a good job of preventing an attack like September 11 from happening. Doesn't mean it can't happen, but we've done about as good a job as I think you could possibly expect. But we've ignored other things. Our port security hasn't

really been improved the way it should, and it needs that kind of attention. And we should get out of the mindset that the next attack is going to be like the last one, and we've got to start thinking about, well what else might they try to do? Will they decide that they can do small attacks in smaller cities as a way of disrupting us? And we have to prepare for that.

And we have to say to ourselves that we've let our economy and our budget get so out of control that it's beginning to become significantly and really a national security issue. When this country has to worry about whether it's spending too much money on defending us, then this is a national security problem. And the Republicans and the Democrats should figure out how to get beyond the fighting over old things and start to figure out how do you create a budget that people can have confidence in, a budget that shows that we can get over our spending addiction, a budget that shows we can make some reasonable choices about how much money we're spending on healthcare; not to eliminate it, but to get it under control. If we don't do that, that's going to have an implication for how well we can defend ourselves. And it's past time that that stops being a political issue and it becomes a national security issue.

Having said that, my primary memory of September 11 is of bravery, at least that's what I choose to make it, of how brave those people were. And I remember the first good thought I had on September 11 was seeing the picture of the firefighters putting the flag up on top of the rubble and the fire. And immediately what came to mind was Iwo Jima. And I had just read Tom Brokaw's book, *The Greatest Generation*, and that book really asked the question, "Could this generation handle what that generation was bale to do?" And just watching that picture I said to myself, "They are the sons and the grandsons of the people who fought and won the Second World War, and it's not going to be any different. They're just as strong, they're just as powerful, they are just as much in love with America as their parents and grandparents were." And maybe it takes a time like this to bring that out, but that's there.

This is the most exceptional country in the history of the world. What nation has ever fought wars for other people? Empires are created, like Rome and England fighting wars to acquire territory for the empire. America has fought wars to liberate and help other people. No nation in the history of the world's ever done that. This is an exceptional country. We should love it, we should understand its failings and fix them, but we should also understand that no human beings have ever done it better than Americans in the 20th and 21st century. It's never been any better than this for human beings, and we should be very grateful. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HAMRICK: Thank you, Mayor.

MAYOR GIULIANI: You're welcome.

MR. HAMRICK: Well, we have a lot of questions, lot of people. Nice crowd for you here today, we're grateful for all of that. Let's start with the personal side a little

bit. Someone asks the question, "Where did you personally find the strength to continue leading the city after 9/11?"

MAYOR GIULIANI: No one place. First of all, I don't think I had a choice. It was a question of do I roll up in a little ball and have people showing me on television like that? It would have been really embarrassing if the mayor started crying. Or, do I just try to do the best that I can? A lesson that my father taught me very young in my life, which I share with other people all the time, I have no idea why he taught me this lesson. He said, "If you're ever in an emergency, if you're ever in a fire, remain calm because it'll give you the best chance of figuring your way out of it." And then he used to go on and say, "If you aren't calm, pretend you are and it will help you be calm." And I kept remembering that, and I prayed a lot.

I had no one biggest loss on September 11. But maybe the most jarring was Father Michael Judge, because it was the first one. We had reestablished a command center at the police academy and someone informed me that the first person was discovered dead and was being carried out of the World Trade Center to St. Peter's Church, and it was Father Michael Judge, who was the chaplain of the fire department. Father Michael Judge was the person I was already thinking about that I would lean on to help me get through it, to help me explain death to so many people because he did it so many times for me with the fire department. And when I lost him, I really felt alone. I felt almost like I felt when I lost my father. "I'm now going to have to grow up and do this myself."

But I guess you find the strength in the things that brought you up, the things that-- and then I would go back and think about the other emergencies that I handled and I realized I knew how to do this. And when I went home that night, I read a biography of Churchill because I wanted to see, how did somebody handle something far worse than this? You know, repeated attacks every single night, because I thought that was going to happen. And it gives me a great deal of strength to be able to say-- and it did going through cancer-- if somebody else can go through it, I can go through it. And I want to be able to say to the people of New York, "If the people of London went through it, you can go through it."

MR. HAMRICK: So we have a lot of questions about sort of the face of terrorism today. We'll try to get through as many of these questions as we can. One has to do with obviously the ongoing threat from al-Qaeda and then the shift that seems to have occurred and was even present before 9/11, and that is the fear of the threat from homegrown terrorists. What are your thoughts about balancing those two and where we are today from that?

MAYOR GIULIANI: I think that they're both equally dangerous threats. In some ways, homegrown terrorists are more dangerous. They're more dangerous because they're harder to detect. If something is being organized overseas, particularly in areas where we have this tremendous military presence, which also means tremendous intelligence presence that follows from a tremendous military presence, the need to communicate that across the world gives us a much better chance of finding it, detecting

it. Stopping people from coming in, picking up messages. When it's done homegrown, it's much harder to detect.

I was in London the day of the attack in London, the four bombings in London a half a block away from the Liverpool station when the first bomb went off. This is why people are reluctant to invite me to parties and things like that. And that was homegrown, U. K. terrorists, which I think shocked even them and their intelligence services are about the best in the world. So homegrown terrorists are very, very dangerous. But so far, most of them are still organized around Islamic extremism and around their own desire to participate in jihad, irresponsible in saying even though it is.

Unfortunately, that's the area where you have to look for 90 or 95 percent of your terrorists. And if you divert your resources from that, you can make a terrible mistake.

MR. HAMRICK: So two questions in one. What was your reaction to the death of, the killing, of Osama bin Laden? And then secondly, how have we managed the problem presented by Pakistan?

MAYOR GIULIANI: Well, my reaction to the death of bin Laden was relief, and a tremendous amount of pride in the way in which the United States handled it. I thought it was President Obama's finest moment. I think he handled it courageously, particularly in having to make the decision to send the SEALs in rather than just engage in a bombing that would have left all kinds of questions of whether we really captured him. I thought his decision making about the burial at sea, et cetera, were all excellent. I thought it did demonstrate also that President Bush's policies helped to yield the information that led to that. And I think that has to be acknowledged.

And I think it will make the 10th anniversary somewhat easier because when you bring someone to justice, there's something very elemental about that desire in human beings who have been victimized the way these people were victimized. And I think it will help. And I think it will help to destabilize and eventually deconstruct al-Qaeda, so I think that was all positive.

I think Pakistan is very easy to criticize but very complicated to do, both for the Bush and now the Obama administrations. I think there are allies of ours in Pakistan and there are enemies of ours in Pakistan. And Pakistan is a nuclear power. So, we have to be able to play a game with Pakistan that is better than the game they're playing with us, which is how to take advantage of the people that are helping us, how to minimize the people that aren't.

But I do believe that part of the problem we have in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and I don't want to get political particularly because I don't like doing that around September 11, but I don't consider this political, I consider this important to say, I think part of the problem that we have in Pakistan and Afghanistan is the silly time tables that we put on things. You cannot fight a war with a time table. When did this idea emerge? Who figured this out? This is the dumbest thing and the most dangerous thing it can

possibly do. Imagine if we had engaged in the Civil War or the First World War or the Second with a time table. "You know, we'll fight Nazism for three years, then we'll get tired and leave." "We're going to be in Afghanistan until the summer of 2010 or the summer of 2011."

First of all you can't win a war that way. Secondly, you give your enemies a tremendous blaring headline, "They really aren't serious. We really can wear them out. We can really wear them down." And finally, when you do that, you demoralize your troops and put them under much greater danger, because they realize the more pressure we can put on, maybe they'll speed up that withdrawal and they certainly won't change their minds.

You fight a war for an objective. Objectives don't have time tables. What was the objective in the Second World War? Defeat Hitler. What's the objective in Afghanistan? To make Afghanistan safe so they stop plotting to kill us there. And when we should leave Afghanistan is when we've accomplished that objective. That could be tomorrow, that could be six years from now, just like the cold war. We should remain in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in that part of the world until people in that part of the world, significant numbers of people, stop trying to figure out how to kill Americans.
(Applause)

MR. HAMRICK: You referenced this in the beginning of your speech. Mayor Bloomberg has decided that no religious leaders will participate at Ground Zero in the ceremonies on Sunday. Would you have come to the same decision, and what do you think of it?

MAYOR GIULIANI: Well, I respect Mayor Bloomberg very much and I appreciate what a good mayor he's been because I worked very hard to reform New York City and I worried intensely in my last year in office that that would be changed by another machine politician taking over and ruining the CompStat program and the welfare reform program and a hundred others. Mayor Bloomberg has carried them on and he has improved them. But I disagree with the mayor about this. If I were the mayor, I would allow four religious leaders to say a little prayer since so many people want it. And at least I personally witnessed how important religion was in getting people through September 11, what an important role it played, whether you're religious yourself or not. It played a tremendous role having gone to so many masses, so many religious services, so many synagogues. Maybe a hundred, I don't know. And seeing how that offered some strength to move on.

I would say that religion played a very significant role in getting people through September 11, whether you believe or you don't believe, it's just a reality. And it would be very simple to have a priest, a minister, a rabbi and an imam the way we did at the service that Rudy organized at Yankee Stadium, which was emceed by Oprah Winfrey, if I'm not mistaken, right?

MR. WASHINGTON: James Earl Jones.

MAYOR GIULIANI: Right. So you just get them up and say a little prayer. The microphone will not melt if you say a prayer. And the First Amendment to the Constitution prohibits the establishment of religion and any interference with the free exercise of religion. It doesn't mean you can't say the word religion in a government building. We don't have to be hostile to religion, we just can't establish one and require people to be part of that religion. Of course we shouldn't do that. At the same time, we shouldn't be at war with religion as if it's evil and bad and awful, which I think is an excessive reaction that probably has marred the last 30 years of our country.

MR. HAMRICK: So you said you didn't want to be political, but I'm going to hope for the sake of our audience today that that had to do with 9/11, because we are in the political season now post-Labor Day. The consensus, is the consensus right or wrong that you are not going to run for president?

MAYOR GIULIANI: How do I know? I'm not part of the consensus. Nobody asked me.

MR. HAMRICK: That's what I'm asking.

MAYOR GIULIANI: I don't know the answer to that. I decided to put it off about three weeks ago as we got closer to September 11 because it didn't seem to me it was right to answer questions like that then. But I'll tell you what I said before that. What I said was I would very much like to see a change of direction in our country. I am a Republican, I was the first Republican elected mayor of New York City in 25 years, and the first one to remain a Republican in 50. (Laughter) I may be described as a moderate Republican, but I just ask people to read the *New York Times* editorials about me and see how moderate I really was.

I thought I governed economically as the most conservative mayor in the history of the city. George Will, in 2008, said I was the most authentic conservative candidate because of my economic policies and my welfare policies, my policies on crime and security. And I think if I were to run, I would have a chance of winning the presidency, a chance. Nobody ever knows. But I would have a hard time getting nominated. I'm a realist, and I understand how the primary system works. So, I would like to see if there's somebody that emerges that I think would be a strong candidate in the Republican Party for president. If somebody does emerge that I believe can win, then I would probably support that person. And if I think we're truly desperate, then I may run, which is the way I got elected mayor of New York City. Do you know what my slogan was? You can't do any worse. (Laughter)

MR. HAMRICK: Texas Governor Rick Perry endorsed you in October 2007 in your bid for the nomination. So would you like to return the favor?

MAYOR GIULIANI: Well, I like Rick very much. I've told him if he wants to disavow his endorsement of me, he can. They give him so much trouble about it, he was

attacked by Mike Huckabee or somebody for endorsing me. I'm such a liberal, crazy, out of control Republican. I could see myself doing that, sure, but I don't know yet. I don't know enough about what Rick is going to say tomorrow night and the next two or three nights they debate. I don't know what Romney's going to say, what-- this is a very strange election compared to the one I was involved in because they've only had like-- it seems to me like one debate, maybe two. And we don't really know all their positions yet and how they can handle it and who looks like they would have the best chance of winning the presidency. So I'd rather wait and see what happens there. But I do have a lot of admiration for Rick. I campaigned for him when he ran for governor against Kay Bailey Hutchinson, very strong supporter of his. I'm a good friend of his and I think his record in Texas is exactly the kind of nation we would need in the United States. But I'm not sure he's the right candidate yet. I mean, there's a lot to that. At this point, four years ago, I was the nominee and I was going to run against Hillary Clinton. So you see how accurate those things are, right?

MR. HAMRICK: We just said you could not be nominated. What is it about the Republican Party these days that would prevent that from happening?

MAYOR GIULIANI: I didn't say I couldn't be, I said it would be difficult to be nominated. We would have to be truly desperate, which maybe we are, I don't know.

MR. HAMRICK: What about the party?

MAYOR GIULIANI: It's the organization of the primary system. The Republican Party is a big party, like the Democratic Party. It has all kinds of factions in it, far right, right, conservative, moderate, depends on where you are. If you run in a primary like New Hampshire, it's one thing. It's really going to be economic issues that define it. If you run in a caucus like Iowa, it's going to be social issues that still have enormous impact. Even if the economic issues are the most important, they still pull at the soul of many people. So it's the way the primary process is organized.

And the mistake I made last time was getting too focused on the idea of the national campaign. And I would tell both Rick Perry and Governor Romney not to worry so much about what those national polls are. I was at 34 percent and somebody else was at 30 percent. National polls don't mean anything. Winning Iowa means something, winning New Hampshire means something, winning South Carolina means something. And those primaries are tilted very much, at least two out of three, are tilted very much in favor of conservative Republicans who are very strongly conservative on social issues. And I'm simply not that conservative on social issues, and I'm not willing to change just to become president.

MR. HAMRICK: Just briefly, because I want to follow up with some of the lighter sides of what people wanted to ask you about. But briefly, can conservatives win the electorate that tends to have to be one from the middle?

MAYOR GIULIANI: You know, I think that this election will get determined, like most reelections of presidents, based on our economy and the President's performance with regard to our economy-- I think his speech the next night is going to be really important. I think it's his last chance to be moderate. It's his last chance to do a Bill Clinton, which is what he has to do if he wants to give himself a chance to be reelected. But if he remains tied to extremely unrealistic ideas about our economy and those unrealistic ideas are borne out by the poor performance of our economy, doesn't matter if somebody's right wing, middle wing or no wing, they're going to beat him. Because the American people will say, "Let's give something else a chance, this isn't working."

I mean right now if the election took place, I believe the President would lose to any one of the Republican-- top two or three Republicans that are running. Right now. The election is going to be next year, not now. They lose because the American people are fed up with the results. And they'll take a chance on something else. If he doesn't show improvement in the economy, then I think it's not going to-- all the rest of the stuff isn't going to matter that much. If there is improvement in the economy and if he does pull a Clinton in the sense-- and I mean that in the right way-- in the sense of trying to govern in the middle-- I didn't mean it as a disparaging thing. For the last couple of years, having been a critic of President Clinton, I've been saying to myself, "I want you back. You weren't so bad. You reformed welfare and you put 100,000 cops out on the street and you understood how to compromise with us." And this has been really a disaster. Gee, I didn't want to get too political.

MR. HAMRICK: We took care of that, I appreciate that. Well, one of our traditional housekeeping matters here is as a gesture of our thanks before we get to the final question, I'd like to present you with a true token of our appreciation, the National Press Club coffee mug.

MAYOR GIULIANI: That's so nice, thank you.

MR. HAMRICK: Thank you. And here's our final question. As we've been talking about, the political season is heating up, but so is another season, baseball, the post season soon upon us. You bought Yankees World Series rings. What are the chances you'll have another opportunity to do that after this post season?

MAYOR GIULIANI: Here's my lucky Yankee bracelet. I wore it the other night in Boston when we beat the Red Sox. I think the Yankees have gotten very hot at exactly the right time. It's like football; the team that wins the Super Bowl is usually the team that gets hot in December and January. And the Yankees have all of a sudden started to hit the way they're capable of. If you look at their batting averages after the All Star break, they're fabulous. Jeter's batting like .330. He was supposed to be finished, now he's batting .330 since the All Star break. Cano is batting like .320. A-Rod is back and hit a home run the other day.

And they just brought up a rookie, Jesus Montero, who in his third game hit two home runs to beat the Orioles yesterday. So, I'm worried about the Red Sox, always am.

I'm worried about the Rangers, and I'm worried about the Philadelphia Phillies. Whew, what a pitching staff. But somehow, I think the Yankees are going to be in the World Series. And, of course, if they're in it they'll find a way to win.

MR. HAMRICK: How about a round of applause for our speaker today, Mayor Rudy Giuliani. (Applause) I'd like to thank all of you for coming here today. I'd also like to thank our National Press Club staff including our library and broadcast center for organizing today's event. Of course, I'd like to thank our guest speaker. Finally, here's a reminder that you can find out more about the National Press Club on our website, and that's at www.press.org. And if you like, you can also get a copy of today's program there. Thank you very much, and we're adjourned. (Sounds gavel.)

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