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001	Speech	United States Military Academy Commencement [page 8]	1	06/01/2002	P6/b6;
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COLLECTION TITLE:

Speechwriting, White House Office of

SERIES:

Campbell, Anne

FOLDER TITLE:

West Point Commencement, 06/01/2002 [2]

FRC ID:

8474

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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Freedom of Information Act - [5.U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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008	Email	Re: Amnesty - To: John Gibson - From: Anne Campbell	2	05/30/2002	P5;
009	Speech	United States Military Academy Commencement [page 8]	1	06/01/2002	P6/b6;

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United States Military Academy Commencement
June 1, 2002
Draft #20

General Lennox, Mr. Secretary, Governor Pataki, Academy staff and faculty, distinguished guests, families, and graduates: Thank you for your welcome. I am especially honored to visit this great institution in your bicentennial year.

In every corner of America, the words "West Point" command immediate respect. This place where the Hudson River bends is more than a fine institution of learning. The United States Military Academy is the guardian of values that have shaped the soldiers who have shaped the history of the world.

A few of you have followed in the path of the perfect West Point graduate, Robert E. Lee, who never received a single demerit in four years; some of you followed in the path of the imperfect graduate, Ulysses S. Grant, who had his fair share of demerits, and said the happiest event of his life was "the day I left West Point." When I went to college, I guess you'd have to say I was a Grant man.

You walk in the tradition of Eisenhower, MacArthur, Patton, and Bradley – the commanders who saved a civilization – and of second lieutenants who did the same, by fighting and dying on distant battlefields.

Graduates of this Academy have brought creativity and courage to every field of endeavor. West Point produced the chief engineer of the Panama Canal ... the mind behind the Manhattan Project ... and the first American to walk in space.

This fine institution gave us the man they say invented baseball, and other young men who over the years perfected the game of football. General George C. Marshall, a VMI graduate, is said to have given this order: "I want an officer for a secret and dangerous mission. I want a West Point football player."

As you leave here today, I know there is one thing you will never miss about this place: Being a plebe. But even a plebe at West Point is made to feel he or she has some standing in the world. I am told that plebes, when

asked whom they outrank, are required to answer: "Sir, the Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat ... and all the Admirals in the whole damn Navy." I don't think I'm going to share that with the Secretary of the Navy.

West Point is guided by tradition, and in honor of the "Golden Children of the Corps," I will observe one of the traditions you cherish most. As Commander-in-Chief, I hereby grant amnesty to all cadets who are on restriction for minor conduct offenses. And I leave it to General Lennox to define exactly what minor means.

Every West Point class is commissioned to the United States Armed Forces. Some West Point classes are also commissioned by history, to take part in a great new calling for their country.

Speaking here to the class of 1942 – six months after Pearl Harbor – General Marshall said: "We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on one hand, and of overwhelming power on the other." Officers graduating that year helped to fulfill that mission, defeating Japan and Germany, and reconstructing those nations as allies. West Point graduates of the 1940s saw the rise of a deadly new challenge – the challenge of imperial communism – and opposed it from Korea, to Berlin, to Vietnam, in the Cold War from beginning to end. And as the sun set on their struggle, many of these West Point officers lived to see a world transformed.

History has also issued its call to your generation. In your last year, America was attacked by a ruthless and resourceful enemy. You graduate from this Academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is honorable and powerful. Our war on terror is only begun, but in Afghanistan it is well begun. I am proud of the men and women who have fought on my orders. America is profoundly grateful for all who serve the cause of freedom – and for all who have given their lives in its defense. This Nation respects and trusts our military, and we are confident of your victories to come.

This war will take many turns we cannot predict. Yet I am certain of this: Wherever we carry it, the American flag will stand not only for power but for freedom. Our Nation's cause has always been larger than our

Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace – a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Building this just peace is America's opportunity, and America's duty. From this day forward, it is your challenge as well – and we will meet this challenge together. You will wear the uniform of a great and unique country. America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves: safety from violence ... the rewards of liberty ... and the hope of a better life.

In defending the peace, we face a threat with no precedent. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger the American people and our friends. The attacks of September 11th required a few hundred thousand dollars in the hands of a few dozen evil and deluded men. All of the chaos and suffering they caused came at much less than the cost of a single tank. The dangers have not passed. This government and the American people are on watch, because we know the terrorists have more money, more men, and more plans.

The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology. With the spread of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology, even weak states and small groups could gain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention, and have been caught seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us, or to harm our friends, or to strike our people – and we will oppose them with all our power.

For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the Cold War doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases those strategies still apply, but new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence – the promise of massive retaliation against nations – means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles, or secretly provide them to terrorist allies. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who

solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systemically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long.

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security, and essential priorities for America. Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the new world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this Nation will act.

Our security will require the best intelligence, to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they are prepared to act, and act quickly, against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead – a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute – to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and our lives.

The work ahead is difficult. The choices we will face are complex. We must uncover terror cells in sixty or more countries, using every tool of finance, intelligence, and law enforcement. Along with our friends and allies, we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror, as each case requires. Some nations need military training to fight terror, and we will provide it. Other nations oppose terror, but tolerate the hatred that leads to terror – and that must change. We will send diplomats where they are needed, and we will send you, our soldiers, where you are needed.

All nations that decide for aggression and terror will pay a price. We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.

Because the war on terror will require resolve and patience, it will also require firm moral purpose. In this way our struggle is similar to the Cold War. Now, as then, our enemies are totalitarians, holding a creed of power with no place for human dignity. Now, as then, they seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life. America confronted imperial communism in many different ways – diplomatic, economic, and

military. Yet moral clarity was essential to our victory in the Cold War. When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants, they gave hope to prisoners, and dissidents, and exiles, and rallied free nations to a great cause.

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem, we reveal a problem – and we will lead the world in opposing it.

As we defend the peace, we also have an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. We have our best chance since the rise of the nation-state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war.

The history of the last century in particular was dominated by a series of destructive national rivalries that left battlefields and graveyards across the earth. Germany fought France, and the Axis fought the Allies, and then the East fought the West, in proxy wars and tense standoffs, against a backdrop of nuclear Armageddon.

Competition between great nations is inevitable, but armed conflict, in our world, is not. More and more, civilized nations find ourselves on the same side – united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. America has – and intends to keep – military strengths beyond challenge, making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless, and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace.

Today the great powers are also increasingly united by common values, instead of divided by conflicting ideologies. The United States, Japan and our Pacific friends, and now all of Europe, share a deep commitment to human freedom, embodied in strong alliances such as NATO. And the tide of liberty is rising in many other nations. Generations of West Point officers planned and practiced for battles with Soviet Russia.

I have just returned from a new Russia, now a country reaching toward democracy, and our partner in the war against terror. Even in China, leaders are discovering that economic freedom is the only lasting source of national wealth. In time, they will find that social and political freedom is the only true source of national greatness.

When the great powers share common values, we are better able to confront serious regional conflicts together – better able to cooperate in preventing the spread of violence or economic chaos. In the past, great power rivals took sides in difficult regional problems, making divisions deeper and more complicated. Today, from the Middle East to South Asia, we are gathering broad international coalitions to increase the pressure for peace. We must build strong, great power relationships when times are good, to help manage crisis when times are bad. America needs partners to preserve the peace, and we will work with every nation that shares this noble goal.

Finally, America stands for more than the absence of war. We have a great opportunity to extend a just peace, by replacing poverty, repression, and resentment around the world with the hope of a better day.

Through most of history, poverty was persistent, inescapable, and almost universal. In the last few decades, we have seen nations from Chile to South Korea build modern economies and freer societies, lifting millions out of despair and want. There is no mystery to this achievement. The twentieth century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on non-negotiable demands of human dignity – the rule of law ... limits on the power of the state ... respect for women ... private property ... free speech ... equal justice ... and religious tolerance.

America cannot impose this vision – yet we can support and reward governments that make the right choices for their own people. In our development aid, in our diplomatic efforts, in our international broadcasting, and in our educational assistance, the United States will promote moderation, tolerance, and human rights. And we will defend the peace that makes all progress possible.

When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women, there is no clash of civilizations. The requirements of freedom apply in full to Africa, and Latin America, and the entire Islamic world. The peoples of

Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation. And their governments should listen to their hopes. A truly strong nation will permit legal avenues of dissent for all groups that pursue their aspirations without violence. An advancing nation will pursue economic reform, to unleash the great entrepreneurial energy of its people. A thriving nation will respect the rights of women, because no society can prosper while denying opportunity to half its citizens.

Mothers, fathers, and children across the Islamic world, and all the world, share the same fears and aspirations. In poverty, they struggle. In tyranny, they suffer. And as we saw in Afghanistan, in liberation they celebrate.

America has a greater objective than controlling threats and containing resentment. We will work for a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

The bicentennial class of West Point now enters this drama. With all in the United States Army, you will stand between your fellow citizens and grave danger. You will help establish a peace that allows millions around the world to live in liberty and grow in prosperity. You will face times of calm, and times of crisis. And every test will find you prepared – because you are the men and women of West Point. You leave here marked by the character of this academy, carrying with you the highest ideals of our Nation.

Toward the end of his life, Dwight Eisenhower recalled the first day he stood on the plain at West Point. “The feeling came over me,” he said, “that the expression ‘The United States of America’ would now and henceforth mean something different than it had ever before. From here on, it would be the Nation I would be serving, not myself.”

Today, your last day at West Point, you begin a life of service, in a career unlike any other. You have answered a calling to hardship and purpose, to risk and honor. At the end of every day you will know that you have faithfully done your duty. May you always bring to that duty the high standards of this great American institution. May you always be worthy of the long gray line that stretches two centuries behind you. On behalf of the Nation, I congratulate each one of you for the commission you have earned and the credit you bring to the United States of America.

Thank you.

*Drafted by: Mike Gerson, John Gibson, Matthew Scully and John McConnell,
Office of Speechwriting
Office: 202/456-0168, 202/456-9378, Cell: (b)(6) (Gerson)*

Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Speech	United States Military Academy Commencement	10	06/01/2002	P5; P6/b6;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
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COLLECTION:

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Campbell, Anne

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West Point Commencement, 06/01/2002 [2]

FRC ID:

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OA Num.:

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2014-0555-F

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Draft #16#19

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West Point is guided by tradition, and in honor of the "Golden Children of the Corps," I will observe one of the traditions you cherish most. As Commander-in-Chief, I hereby direct the Secretary of the Army and the superintendent of West Point to remit all existing minor confinements and cadet punishments. And I leave it to General Lennox to define exactly what minor means.

Every West Point class is commissioned to the Army. Some West Point classes are also commissioned by history, to take part in a great new calling for their country.

Speaking here to the class of 1942 – six months after Pearl Harbor – General Marshall said: "We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on one hand, and of overwhelming power on the other." Officers graduating that year helped to fulfill that mission, defeating Japan and Germany, and reconstructing those nations as allies. West Point graduates of the 1940s saw the rise of a deadly new challenge – the challenge of imperial communism – and opposed it from Korea, to Berlin, to Vietnam, in the Cold War from beginning to end. And as the sun set on their struggle, many of these West Point officers lived to see a world transformed.

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Our security will require the best intelligence, to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they are prepared to act, and act quickly, against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead – a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute – to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and our lives.

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Competition between great nations is inevitable, but armed conflict, in our world, is not. More and more, civilized nations find ourselves on the same side – united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. America has – and intends to keep – military ~~advantages~~strengths beyond challenge, making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless, and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace.

Today the great powers are also increasingly united by common values, instead of divided by conflicting ideologies. The United States, Japan and our Pacific friends, and now all of Europe, share a deep commitment to human freedom, embodied in strong alliances such as NATO. And the tide of liberty is rising in many other nations. Generations

of West Point officers planned and practiced for battles with Soviet Russia. I have just returned from a new Russia, now a country reaching toward democracy, and our partner in the war against terror. Even in China, leaders are discovering that economic freedom is the only lasting source of national wealth. In time, they will find that social and political freedom is the only true source of national greatness.

When the great powers share common values, we are better able to confront serious regional conflicts together – better able to cooperate in preventing the spread of violence or economic chaos. In the past, great power rivals took sides in difficult regional problems, making divisions deeper and more complicated. Today, from the Middle East to South Asia, we are gathering broad international coalitions to increase the pressure for peace. We must build strong, great power relationships when times are good, to help manage crisis when times are bad. America needs partners to preserve the peace, and we will work with every nation that shares this noble goal.

Finally, America stands for more than the absence of war. We have a great opportunity to extend a just peace, by replacing poverty, repression, and resentment around the world with the hope of a better day.

Through most of history, poverty was persistent, inescapable, and almost universal. In the last few decades, we have seen nations from Chile to South Korea build modern economies and freer societies, lifting millions out of despair and want. There is no mystery to this achievement. The twentieth century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on non-negotiable demands of human dignity – the rule of law ... limits on the power of the state ... respect for women ... private property ... free speech ... equal justice ... and religious tolerance.

America cannot impose this vision – yet we can support and reward governments that make the right choices for their own people. In our development aid, in our diplomatic efforts, in our international broadcasting, and in our educational assistance, the United States will promote moderation, tolerance, and human rights. And we will defend the peace that makes all progress possible.

When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women, there is no clash of civilizations. The requirements of freedom apply in full

to Africa, and Latin America, and the entire Islamic world. The peoples of Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation. And their governments should listen to their hopes. A truly strong nation will permit legal avenues of dissent for all groups that pursue their aspirations without violence. An advancing nation will pursue economic reform, to unleash the great entrepreneurial energy of Islamic peoples. its people. A thriving nation will respect the rights of women, because no society can prosper while denying opportunity to half its citizens.

~~Mothers, fathers, and children across the Islamic world share the fears and aspirations of all humanity. world, and all the world, share the same fears and aspirations.~~ In poverty, they struggle. In tyranny, they suffer. And as we saw in Afghanistan, in liberation they celebrate.

America has a greater objective than controlling threats and containing resentment. We will work for a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

The bicentennial class of West Point now enters this drama. With all in the United States Army, you will stand between your fellow citizens and grave danger. You will help establish a peace that allows millions around the world to live in liberty and grow in prosperity. You will face times of calm, and times of crisis. And every test will find you prepared – because you are the men and women of West Point. You leave here marked by the character of this academy, carrying with you the highest ideals of our Nation.

Toward the end of his life, Dwight Eisenhower recalled the first day he stood on the plain at West Point. “The feeling came over me,” he said, “that the expression ‘The United States of America’ would now and henceforth mean something different than it had ever before. From here on, it would be the Nation I would be serving, not myself.”

Today, your last day at West Point, you begin a life of service, in a career unlike any other. You have answered a calling to hardship and purpose, to risk and honor. At the end of every day you will know that you have faithfully done your duty. May you always bring to that duty the high standards of this great American institution. May you always be worthy of the long gray line that stretches two centuries behind you. On behalf of the

Nation, I congratulate each one of you for the commission you have earned and the credit you bring to the United States of America.

Thank you.

*Drafted by: Mike Gerson, John Gibson, Matthew Scully and John McConnell,
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Welcome

About The Academy

Since its founding two centuries ago, the Military Academy has accomplished its mission by developing cadets in four critical areas: intellectual, physical, military, and moral-ethical - a four-year process called the "West Point Experience." Specific developmental goals are addressed through several fully coordinated and integrated programs.

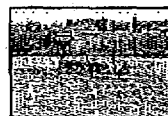
More information
USMA mission
Notable graduates
A brief history
Online tour

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A challenging **Academic Program** that consists of a core of 31 courses provides a balanced education in the arts and sciences. This core curriculum establishes the foundation for elective courses that permit cadets to explore in greater depth a field of study or an optional major. All cadets receive a Bachelor of Science degree, which is designed specifically to meet the intellectual requirements of a commissioned officer in

today's Army.



The **Physical Program** at West Point includes both physical education classes and competitive athletics. Every cadet participates in an intercollegiate, club or intramural level sport each semester. This rigorous physical program contributes to the mental and physical fitness that is required for service as an officer in the Army.



Cadets learn basic military skills, including leadership, through a demanding **Military Program** which begins on their first day at West Point. Most military training takes place during the summer, with new cadets undergoing Cadet Basic Training - or Beast Barracks - the first year, followed by Cadet Field Training at nearby Camp Buckner the second year. Cadets spend their third and fourth summers serving in active Army units

around the world; attending advanced training courses such as airborne, air assault or northern warfare; or training the first and second year cadets as members of the leadership cadre. Military training is combined with military science instruction to provide a solid military foundation for officership.

Moral-ethical development occurs throughout the formal programs as well as a host of activities and experiences available at the Military Academy. These include formal instruction in the important values of the military profession, voluntary religious programs, interaction with staff and faculty role models, and a vigorous guest speaker program. The foundation of the ethical code at West Point is found in the Academy's motto, "Duty, Honor, Country." Cadets also develop ethically by adhering to the Cadet Honor Code, which states "A cadet will not lie, cheat, steal, or tolerate those who do."

Admission is open to all young men and women, and is extremely competitive. Candidates must receive a nomination from a member of Congress or from the Department of the Army. They are then evaluated on their academic, physical and leadership potential. Those candidates who are fully qualified receive appointments to the Academy.



The life of a cadet is demanding, but leisure time does permit recreational activities such as golf, skiing, sailing, and ice-skating. Intramural clubs include a cadet radio station, orienteering, rock climbing, and Big Brother-Big Sister. A wide variety of religious activities are available to cadets from virtually all religious backgrounds.

USMA FACTS

The Army is located approximately 50 miles north of New York City on the Hudson River. The campus and the 1,000-acre Barracks are a small portion of the 1,800-acre reservation.

To be eligible for admission to West Point, a candidate must be at least 17 but not over 23 years old on July 1st of the year of admission, be unmarried, and have no legal obligation to support children. Candidates must be qualified academically, medically, and physically, and must receive a nomination from an approved source, such as a member of Congress.

The 1,000 members of the Corps of Cadets represent every state in the U.S. and several foreign countries. April 1, 2001 New Chapel and the Academy of Religion. By each year.

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West Point, N.Y. 10996

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From the day of its founding on March 16, 1802, West Point has grown in its size and stature, but it remains committed to the task of producing commissioned leaders of character for America's Army. Today, the Academy graduates more than 900 new officers annually, which represents approximately 25 percent of the new lieutenants required by the Army each year. The student body, or Corps of Cadets, numbers 4,000, of whom approximately 15 percent are women. (See [USMA History](#))



A favorite expression at West Point is that "much-of the history we teach was made by people we taught." Great leaders such as Grant and Lee, Pershing and MacArthur, Eisenhower and Patton, Westmoreland and Schwarzkopf are among the more than 50,000 graduates of the Military Academy. Countless others have served society in the fields of medicine, law, business, politics, and science following their careers in uniform. (See [Notable Graduates](#))



Ever mindful of its rich heritage, West Point continues to prepare its graduates to serve as commissioned leaders of character in America's 21st Century Army. 2002 marks the bicentennial of this American "national treasure." Guided by its timeless motto, Duty, Honor, Country, the Military Academy is poised confidently to provide the Army and the Nation with its third century of service.



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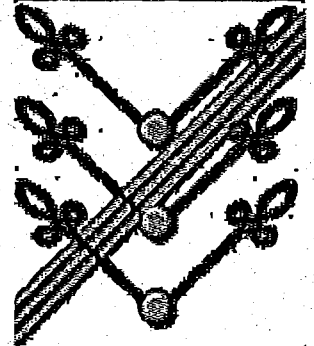
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Classes

In addition to a core curriculum, balanced in the arts and sciences, and a required five-course engineering sequence, cadets may select from 31 fields of study and 19 optional majors. Classes are small, usually less than 18, and the faculty to student ratio is 1:8.

Over 100 extracurricular activities are available, including religious, hobby, and sports clubs.

Upon graduation, cadets are awarded Bachelor of Science degrees and commissions in the U.S. Army. They serve on active duty for a minimum of five years. West Point graduates have served our country in a variety of capacities over the last 200 years, as military leaders, engineers, explorers on land and in space, and as leaders in business and government.



United States Military Academy Commencement
June 1, 2002
Draft #19

General Lennox, Mr. Secretary, Governor Pataki, Academy staff and faculty, distinguished guests, families, and graduates: Thank you for your welcome. I am especially honored to visit this great institution in your bicentennial year.

In every corner of America, the words "West Point" command immediate respect. This place where the Hudson River bends is more than a fine institution of learning. The United States Military Academy is the guardian of values that have shaped the soldiers who have shaped the history of the world.

A few of you have followed in the path of the perfect West Point graduate, Robert E. Lee, who never received a single demerit in four years; some of you followed in the path of the imperfect graduate, Ulysses S. Grant, who had his fair share of demerits, and said the happiest event of his life was "the day I left West Point." When I went to college, I guess you'd have to say I was a Grant man.

You walk in the tradition of Eisenhower, MacArthur, Patton, and Bradley – the commanders who saved a civilization – and of second lieutenants who did the same, by fighting and dying on distant battlefields.

Graduates of this Academy have brought creativity and courage to every field of endeavor. West Point produced the chief engineer of the Panama Canal ... the mind behind the Manhattan Project ... and the first American to walk in space.

This fine institution gave us the man they say invented baseball, and other young men who over the years perfected the game of football. General George C. Marshall, a VMI graduate, is said to have given this order: "I want an officer for a secret and dangerous mission. I want a West Point football player."

As you leave here today, I know there is one thing you will never miss about this place: Being a plebe. But even a plebe at West Point is made to feel he or she has some standing in the world. I am told that plebes, when

asked whom they outrank, are required to answer: "Sir, the Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat ... and all the Admirals in the whole damn Navy." I don't think I'm going to share that with the Secretary of the Navy.

West Point is guided by tradition, and in honor of the "Golden Children of the Corps," I will observe one of the traditions you cherish most. As Commander-in-Chief, I hereby grant amnesty to all cadets who are on restriction for minor conduct offenses. And I leave it to General Lennox to define exactly what minor means.

Every West Point class is commissioned to the Army. Some West Point classes are also commissioned by history, to take part in a great new calling for their country.

Speaking here to the class of 1942 – six months after Pearl Harbor – General Marshall said: "We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on one hand, and of overwhelming power on the other." Officers graduating that year helped to fulfill that mission, defeating Japan and Germany, and reconstructing those nations as allies. West Point graduates of the 1940s saw the rise of a deadly new challenge – the challenge of imperial communism – and opposed it from Korea, to Berlin, to Vietnam, in the Cold War from beginning to end. And as the sun set on their struggle, many of these West Point officers lived to see a world transformed.

History has also issued its call to your generation. In your last year, America was attacked by a ruthless and resourceful enemy. You graduate from this Academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is honorable and powerful. Our war on terror is only begun, but in Afghanistan it is well begun. I am proud of the men and women who have fought on my orders. America is profoundly grateful for all who serve the cause of freedom – and for all who have given their lives in its defense. This Nation respects and trusts our military, and we are confident of your victories to come.

This war will take many turns we cannot predict. Yet I am certain of this: Wherever we carry it, the American flag will stand not only for power but for freedom. Our Nation's cause has always been larger than our

Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace – a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Building this just peace is America's opportunity, and America's duty. From this day forward, it is your challenge as well – and we will meet this challenge together. You will wear the uniform of a great and unique country. America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves: safety from violence ... the rewards of liberty ... and the hope of a better life.

In defending the peace, we face a threat with no precedent. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger the American people and our friends. The attacks of September 11th required a few hundred thousand dollars in the hands of a few dozen evil and deluded men. All of the chaos and suffering they caused came at much less than the cost of a single tank. The dangers have not passed. This government and the American people are on watch, because we know the terrorists have more money, more men, and more plans.

The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology. With the spread of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology, even weak states and small groups could gain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention, and have been caught seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us, or to harm our friends, or to strike our people – and we will oppose them with all our power.

For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the Cold War doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases those strategies still apply, but new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence – the promise of massive retaliation against nations – means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles, or secretly provide them to terrorist allies. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who

solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systemically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long.

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security, and essential priorities for America. Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the new world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this Nation will act.

Our security will require the best intelligence, to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they are prepared to act, and act quickly, against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead – a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute – to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and our lives.

The work ahead is difficult. The choices we will face are complex. We must uncover terror cells in sixty or more countries, using every tool of finance, intelligence, and law enforcement. Along with our friends and allies, we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror, as each case requires. Some nations need military training to fight terror, and we will provide it. Other nations oppose terror, but tolerate the hatred that leads to terror – and that must change. We will send diplomats where they are needed, and we will send you, our soldiers, where you are needed.

All nations that decide for aggression and terror will pay a price. We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.

Because the war on terror will require resolve and patience, it will also require firm moral purpose. In this way our struggle is similar to the Cold War. Now, as then, our enemies are totalitarians, holding a creed of power with no place for human dignity. Now, as then, they seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life. America confronted imperial communism in many different ways – diplomatic, economic, and

military. Yet moral clarity was essential to our victory in the Cold War. When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants, they gave hope to prisoners, and dissidents, and exiles, and rallied free nations to a great cause.

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem, we reveal a problem – and we will lead the world in opposing it.

As we defend the peace, we also have an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. We have our best chance since the rise of the nation-state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war.

The history of the last century in particular was dominated by a series of destructive national rivalries that left battlefields and graveyards across the earth. Germany fought France, and the Axis fought the Allies, and then the East fought the West, in proxy wars and tense standoffs, against a backdrop of nuclear Armageddon.

Competition between great nations is inevitable, but armed conflict, in our world, is not. More and more, civilized nations find ourselves on the same side – united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. America has – and intends to keep – military strengths beyond challenge, making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless, and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace.

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Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation. And their governments should listen to their hopes. A truly strong nation will permit legal avenues of dissent for all groups that pursue their aspirations without violence. An advancing nation will pursue economic reform, to unleash the great entrepreneurial energy of its people. A thriving nation will respect the rights of women, because no society can prosper while denying opportunity to half its citizens.

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Thank you.

*Drafted by: Mike Gerson, John Gibson, Matthew Scully and John McConnell,
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United States Military Academy Commencement
June 1, 2002
Draft #19

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A few of you have followed in the path of the perfect West Point graduate, Robert E. Lee, who never received a single demerit in four years; some of you followed in the path of the imperfect graduate, Ulysses S. Grant, who had his fair share of demerits, and said the happiest event of his life was "the day I left West Point." When I went to college, I guess you'd have to say I was a Grant man.

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Graduates of this Academy have brought creativity and courage to every field of endeavor. West Point produced the chief engineer of the Panama Canal ... the mind behind the Manhattan Project ... and the first American to walk in space.

This fine institution gave us the man they say invented baseball, and other young men who over the years perfected the game of football. General George C. Marshall, a VMI graduate, is said to have given this order: "I want an officer for a secret and dangerous mission. I want a West Point football player."

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Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace – a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

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For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the Cold War doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases those strategies still apply, but new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence – the promise of massive retaliation against nations – means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles, or secretly provide them to terrorist allies. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who

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Our security will require the best intelligence, to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they are prepared to act, and act quickly, against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead – a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute – to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and our lives.

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All nations that decide for aggression and terror will pay a price. We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.

Because the war on terror will require resolve and patience, it will also require firm moral purpose. In this way our struggle is similar to the Cold War. Now, as then, our enemies are totalitarians, holding a creed of power with no place for human dignity. Now, as then, they seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life. America confronted imperial communism in many different ways – diplomatic, economic, and

military. Yet moral clarity was essential to our victory in the Cold War. When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants, they gave hope to prisoners, and dissidents, and exiles, and rallied free nations to a great cause.

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem, we reveal a problem – and we will lead the world in opposing it.

As we defend the peace, we also have an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. We have our best chance since the rise of the nation-state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war.

The history of the last century in particular was dominated by a series of destructive national rivalries that left battlefields and graveyards across the earth. Germany fought France, and the Axis fought the Allies, and then the East fought the West, in proxy wars and tense standoffs, against a backdrop of nuclear Armageddon.

Competition between great nations is inevitable, but armed conflict, in our world, is not. More and more, civilized nations find ourselves on the same side – united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. America has – and intends to keep – military strengths beyond challenge, making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless, and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace.

Today the great powers are also increasingly united by common values, instead of divided by conflicting ideologies. The United States, Japan and our Pacific friends, and now all of Europe, share a deep commitment to human freedom, embodied in strong alliances such as NATO. And the tide of liberty is rising in many other nations. Generations of West Point officers planned and practiced for battles with Soviet Russia.

I have just returned from a new Russia, now a country reaching toward democracy, and our partner in the war against terror. Even in China, leaders are discovering that economic freedom is the only lasting source of national wealth. In time, they will find that social and political freedom is the only true source of national greatness.

When the great powers share common values, we are better able to confront serious regional conflicts together – better able to cooperate in preventing the spread of violence or economic chaos. In the past, great power rivals took sides in difficult regional problems, making divisions deeper and more complicated. Today, from the Middle East to South Asia, we are gathering broad international coalitions to increase the pressure for peace. We must build strong, great power relationships when times are good, to help manage crisis when times are bad. America needs partners to preserve the peace, and we will work with every nation that shares this noble goal.

Finally, America stands for more than the absence of war. We have a great opportunity to extend a just peace, by replacing poverty, repression, and resentment around the world with the hope of a better day.

Through most of history, poverty was persistent, inescapable, and almost universal. In the last few decades, we have seen nations from Chile to South Korea build modern economies and freer societies, lifting millions out of despair and want. There is no mystery to this achievement. The twentieth century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on non-negotiable demands of human dignity – the rule of law ... limits on the power of the state ... respect for women ... private property ... free speech ... equal justice ... and religious tolerance.

America cannot impose this vision – yet we can support and reward governments that make the right choices for their own people. In our development aid, in our diplomatic efforts, in our international broadcasting, and in our educational assistance, the United States will promote moderation, tolerance, and human rights. And we will defend the peace that makes all progress possible.

When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women, there is no clash of civilizations. The requirements of freedom apply in full to Africa, and Latin America, and the entire Islamic world. The peoples of

Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation. And their governments should listen to their hopes. A truly strong nation will permit legal avenues of dissent for all groups that pursue their aspirations without violence. An advancing nation will pursue economic reform, to unleash the great entrepreneurial energy of its people. A thriving nation will respect the rights of women, because no society can prosper while denying opportunity to half its citizens.

Mothers, fathers, and children across the Islamic world, and all the world, share the same fears and aspirations. In poverty, they struggle. In tyranny, they suffer. And as we saw in Afghanistan, in liberation they celebrate.

America has a greater objective than controlling threats and containing resentment. We will work for a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

The bicentennial class of West Point now enters this drama. With all in the United States Army, you will stand between your fellow citizens and grave danger. You will help establish a peace that allows millions around the world to live in liberty and grow in prosperity. You will face times of calm, and times of crisis. And every test will find you prepared – because you are the men and women of West Point. You leave here marked by the character of this academy, carrying with you the highest ideals of our Nation.

Toward the end of his life, Dwight Eisenhower recalled the first day he stood on the plain at West Point. “The feeling came over me,” he said, “that the expression ‘The United States of America’ would now and henceforth mean something different than it had ever before. From here on, it would be the Nation I would be serving, not myself.”

Today, your last day at West Point, you begin a life of service, in a career unlike any other. You have answered a calling to hardship and purpose, to risk and honor. At the end of every day you will know that you have faithfully done your duty. May you always bring to that duty the high standards of this great American institution. May you always be worthy of the long gray line that stretches two centuries behind you. On behalf of the Nation, I congratulate each one of you for the commission you have earned and the credit you bring to the United States of America.

Thank you.

*Drafted by: Mike Gerson, John Gibson, Matthew Scully and John McConnell,
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United States Military Academy Commencement
June 1, 2002
Draft #19

General Lennox, Mr. Secretary, Governor Pataki, Academy staff and faculty, distinguished guests, families, and graduates: Thank you for your welcome. I am especially honored to visit this great institution in your bicentennial year.

In every corner of America, the words "West Point" command immediate respect. This place where the Hudson River bends is more than a fine institution of learning. The United States Military Academy is the guardian of values that have shaped the soldiers who have shaped the history of the world.

A few of you have followed in the path of the perfect West Point graduate, Robert E. Lee, who never received a single demerit in four years; some of you followed in the path of the imperfect graduate, Ulysses S. Grant, who had his fair share of demerits, and said the happiest event of his life was "the day I left West Point." When I went to college, I guess you'd have to say I was a Grant man.

You walk in the tradition of Eisenhower, MacArthur, Patton, and Bradley – the commanders who saved a civilization – and of second lieutenants who did the same, by fighting and dying on distant battlefields.

Graduates of this Academy have brought creativity and courage to every field of endeavor. West Point produced the chief engineer of the Panama Canal ... the mind behind the Manhattan Project ... and the first American to walk in space.

This fine institution gave us the man they say invented baseball, and other young men who over the years perfected the game of football. General George C. Marshall, a VMI graduate, is said to have given this order: "I want an officer for a secret and dangerous mission. I want a West Point football player."

As you leave here today, I know there is one thing you will never miss about this place: Being a plebe. But even a plebe at West Point is made to feel he or she has some standing in the world. I am told that plebes, when

asked whom they outrank, are required to answer: "Sir, the Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat ... and all the Admirals in the whole damn Navy." I don't think I'm going to share that with the Secretary of the Navy.

West Point is guided by tradition, and in honor of the "Golden Children of the Corps," I will observe one of the traditions you cherish most. As Commander-in-Chief, I hereby grant amnesty to all cadets who are on restriction for minor conduct offenses. And I leave it to General Lennox to define exactly what minor means.

Every West Point class is commissioned to the Army. Some West Point classes are also commissioned by history, to take part in a great new calling for their country.

Speaking here to the class of 1942 – six months after Pearl Harbor – General Marshall said: "We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on one hand, and of overwhelming power on the other." Officers graduating that year helped to fulfill that mission, defeating Japan and Germany, and reconstructing those nations as allies. West Point graduates of the 1940s saw the rise of a deadly new challenge – the challenge of imperial communism – and opposed it from Korea, to Berlin, to Vietnam, in the Cold War from beginning to end. And as the sun set on their struggle, many of these West Point officers lived to see a world transformed.

History has also issued its call to your generation. In your last year, America was attacked by a ruthless and resourceful enemy. You graduate from this Academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is honorable and powerful. Our war on terror is only begun, but in Afghanistan it is well begun. I am proud of the men and women who have fought on my orders. America is profoundly grateful for all who serve the cause of freedom – and for all who have given their lives in its defense. This Nation respects and trusts our military, and we are confident of your victories to come.

This war will take many turns we cannot predict. Yet I am certain of this: Wherever we carry it, the American flag will stand not only for power but for freedom. Our Nation's cause has always been larger than our

Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace – a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Building this just peace is America's opportunity, and America's duty. From this day forward, it is your challenge as well – and we will meet this challenge together. You will wear the uniform of a great and unique country. America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves: safety from violence ... the rewards of liberty ... and the hope of a better life.

In defending the peace, we face a threat with no precedent. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger the American people and our friends. The attacks of September 11th required a few hundred thousand dollars in the hands of a few dozen evil and deluded men. All of the chaos and suffering they caused came at much less than the cost of a single tank. The dangers have not passed. This government and the American people are on watch, because we know the terrorists have more money, more men, and more plans.

The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology. With the spread of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology, even weak states and small groups could gain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention, and have been caught seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us, or to harm our friends, or to strike our people – and we will oppose them with all our power.

For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the Cold War doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases those strategies still apply, but new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence – the promise of massive retaliation against nations – means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles, or secretly provide them to terrorist allies. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who

solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systemically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long.

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security, and essential priorities for America. Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the new world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this Nation will act.

Our security will require the best intelligence, to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they are prepared to act, and act quickly, against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead – a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute – to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and our lives.

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Thank you.

*Drafted by: Mike Gerson, John Gibson, Matthew Scully and John McConnell,
Office of Speechwriting
Office: 202/456-0168, 202/456-9378, Cell: (b)(6) (Gerson)*

United States Military Academy Commencement
June 1, 2002
Draft #19

With change

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Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace – a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

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Thank you.

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United States Military Academy Commencement
June 1, 2002
Draft #16#18

General Lennox, Mr. Secretary, Governor Pataki, Academy staff and faculty, distinguished guests, families, and graduates: Thank you for your welcome. I am especially honored to visit this great institution in your bicentennial year.

In every corner of America, the words "West Point" command immediate respect. This place where the Hudson River bends is more than a fine institution of learning. The United States Military Academy is the guardian of values that have shaped the soldiers who have shaped the history of the world.

A few of you have followed in the path of the perfect West Point graduate, Robert E. Lee, who never received a single demerit in four years; some of you followed in the path of the imperfect graduate, Ulysses S. Grant, who had his fair share of demerits, and said the happiest event of his life was "the day I left West Point." When I went to college, I guess you'd have to say I was a Grant man.

You walk in the tradition of Eisenhower, MacArthur, Patton, and Bradley – the commanders who saved a civilization – and of second lieutenants who did the same, by fighting and dying on distant battlefields.

Graduates of this Academy have brought creativity and courage to every field of endeavor. West Point produced the chief engineer of the Panama Canal ... the mind behind the Manhattan Project ... and the first American to walk in space.

This fine institution gave us the man they say invented baseball, and other young men who over the years perfected the game of football. General George C. Marshall, a VMI graduate, is said to have given this order: "I want an officer for a secret and dangerous mission. I want a West Point football player."

As you leave here today, I know there is one thing you will never miss about this place: Being a plebe. But even a plebe at West Point is made to feel he or she has some standing in the world. I am told that plebes, when

asked whom they outrank, are required to answer: "Sir, the Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat ... and all the Admirals in the whole damn Navy." I don't think I'm going to share that with the Secretary of the Navy.

West Point is guided by tradition, and in honor of the "Golden Children of the Corps," I will observe one of the traditions you cherish most. As Commander-in-Chief, I hereby direct the Secretary of the Army and the superintendent of West Point to remit all existing confinements and cadet punishments.

Every West Point class is commissioned to the Army. Some West Point classes are also commissioned by history, to take part in a great new calling for their country.

Speaking here to the class of 1942 – six months after Pearl Harbor – General Marshall said: "We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on one hand, and of overwhelming power on the other." Officers graduating that year helped to fulfill that mission, defeating Japan and Germany, and reconstructing those nations as allies. West Point graduates of the 1940s saw the rise of a deadly new challenge – the challenge of imperial communism – and opposed it from Korea, to Berlin, to Vietnam, in the Cold War from beginning to end. And as the sun set on their struggle, many of these West Point officers lived to see a world transformed.

History has also issued its call to your generation. In your last year, America was attacked by a ruthless and resourceful enemy. You graduate from this Academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is honorable and powerful. Our war on terror is only begun, but in Afghanistan it is well begun. I am proud of the men and women who have fought on my orders. America is profoundly grateful for all who serve the cause of freedom – and for all who have given their lives in its defense. This Nation respects and trusts our military, and we are confident of your victories to come.

This war will take many turns we cannot predict. Yet I am certain of this: Wherever we carry it, the American flag will stand not only for power but for freedom. Our Nation's cause has always been larger than our

Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace – a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Building this just peace is America's opportunity, and America's duty. From this day forward, it is your challenge as well – and we will meet this challenge together. You will wear the uniform of a great and unique country. America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves: safety from violence ... the rewards of liberty ... and the hope of a better life.

In defending the peace, we face a threat with no precedent. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger the American people and our friends. The attacks of September 11th required a few hundred thousand dollars in the hands of a few dozen evil and deluded men. All of the chaos and suffering they caused came at much less than the cost of a single tank. The dangers have not passed. This government and the American people are on watch, because we know the terrorists have more money, more men, and more plans.

The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology. With the spread of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology, even weak states and small groups could gain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention, and have been caught ~~in the attempt to carry it out.~~ They seek seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us, or to harm our friends, or to strike our people – and we will oppose them with all our power.

For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the Cold War doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases those strategies still apply, but new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence – the promise of massive retaliation against nations – means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles, or secretly provide them to terrorist allies. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who

solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systemically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long.

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security, and essential priorities for America. Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the new world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this Nation will act.

Our security will require the best intelligence, to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they are prepared to act, and act quickly, against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead – a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute – to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and our lives.

The work ahead is difficult. The choices we will face are complex. We must uncover terror cells in sixty or more countries, using every tool of finance, intelligence, and law enforcement. Along with our friends and allies, we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror, as each case requires. Some nations need military training to fight terror, and we will provide it. Other nations oppose terror, but tolerate the hatred that leads to terror – and that must change. We will send diplomats where they are needed, and we will send you, our soldiers, where you are needed.

All nations that decide for aggression and terror will pay a price. We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.

Because the war on terror will require resolve and patience, it will also require firm moral purpose. In this way our struggle is similar to the Cold War. Now, as then, our enemies are totalitarians, holding a creed of power with no place for human dignity. Now, as then, they seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life. America confronted imperial communism in many different ways – diplomatic, economic, and

military. Yet moral clarity was essential to our victory in the Cold War. When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants, they gave hope to prisoners, and dissidents, and exiles, and rallied free nations to a great cause.

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem, we reveal a problem – and we will lead the world in opposing it.

As we defend the peace, we also have an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. We have our best chance since the rise of the nation-state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war.

The history of the last century in particular was dominated by a series of destructive national rivalries that left battlefields and graveyards across the earth. Germany fought France, and the Axis fought the Allies, and then the East fought the West, in proxy wars and tense standoffs, against a backdrop of nuclear Armageddon.

Competition between great nations is inevitable, but armed conflict, in our world, is not. More and more, civilized nations find ourselves on the same side – united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. America has – and intends to keep – military advantages beyond challenge, making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless, and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace.

Today the great powers are also increasingly united by common values, instead of divided by conflicting ideologies. The United States, Japan and our Pacific friends, and now all of Europe, share a deep commitment to human freedom, embodied in strong alliances such as NATO. And the tide of liberty is rising in many other nations. Generations of West Point officers planned and practiced for battles with Soviet Russia.

I have just returned from a new Russia, now a country reaching toward democracy, and our partner in the war against terror. Even in China, leaders are discovering that economic freedom is the only lasting source of national wealth. In time, they will find that social and political freedom is the only true source of national greatness.

When the great powers share common values, we are better able to confront serious regional conflicts together – better able to cooperate in preventing the spread of violence or economic chaos. In the past, great power rivals took sides in difficult regional problems, making divisions deeper and more complicated. Today, from the Middle East to South Asia, we are gathering broad international coalitions to increase the pressure for peace. We must build strong, great power relationships when times are good, to help manage crisis when times are bad. America needs partners to preserve the peace, and we will work with every nation that shares this noble goal.

Finally, America stands for more than the absence of war. We have a great opportunity to extend a just peace, by replacing poverty, repression, and resentment around the world with the hope of a better day.

Through most of history, poverty was persistent, inescapable, and almost universal. In the last few decades, we have seen nations from Chile to South Korea build modern economies and freer societies, lifting millions out of despair and want. There is no mystery to this achievement. The twentieth century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on non-negotiable demands of human dignity – the rule of law ... limits on the power of the state ... respect for women ... private property ... free speech ... equal justice ... and religious tolerance.

America cannot impose this vision – yet we can support and reward governments that make the right choices for their own people. In our development aid, in our diplomatic efforts, in our international broadcasting, and in our educational assistance, the United States will promote moderation, tolerance, and human rights. And we will defend the peace that makes all progress possible.

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