

FOIA Marker

This is not a textual record. This FOIA Marker indicates that material has been removed during FOIA processing by George W. Bush Presidential Library staff.

Speechwriting, White House Office of
Reilly, Jeannette

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
W	17	7	4	1	1031	13966	1987	2075

Folder Title:

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

Chile
1

Chile - Consular Information Sheet
April 12, 2002

COUNTRY DESCRIPTION: Chile has a stable government and a strong economy. Facilities for tourism vary according to price and area. The capital is Santiago.

ENTRY AND EXIT REQUIREMENTS: A passport is required to enter Chile. U.S. citizens do not need a visa for a stay of up to three months. At the international port-of-entry, a fee, payable in U.S. dollars only, is levied on U.S. citizen visitors. The receipt is valid for multiple entries during the validity of the traveler's passport.

In an effort to prevent international child abduction, many governments have initiated procedures at entry/exit points. These often include requiring documentary evidence of relationship and permission for the child's travel from the parent(s) or legal guardian not present.

Dependent children under age 18 (including the children of divorced parents) arriving in Chile alone, with one parent, or in someone else's custody, are required to present a letter notarized before a Chilean consular officer in the United States certifying that both parents agree to their travel. To exit Chile, children traveling under one of these scenarios must present either the notarized letter used to enter the country or a letter of authorization signed before a Chilean notary if executed in Chile. In either case, the document presented must be executed not more than three months prior to entry or departure.

Travelers considering scientific, technical, or mountaineering activities in areas classified as frontier areas are required to obtain authorization from the Chilean government at least 90 days prior to the beginning of the expedition. The portions of Antarctica claimed by Chile are exempt from these pre-approval requirements. Officials at the Torres del Paine National Park require mountain climbers to present an authorization granted by the Frontiers and Border Department, obtainable at the Chilean Embassy or Chilean consulates throughout the United States.

For further information concerning entry, exit, and customs requirements, travelers may contact the Chilean Embassy at 1732 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036, tel. (202) 785-1746, Internet - <http://www.chile-usa.org>. Travelers may also contact the Chilean consulates in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Clara, Miami, Honolulu, Chicago, New Orleans, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, San Juan, Charleston, Dallas, Houston, and Salt Lake City.

SAFETY AND SECURITY: The U.S. Government remains deeply concerned about the security of Americans overseas. As a result of U.S. military actions in Afghanistan in response to the September 11 terrorist attacks, there is a potential for retaliatory actions to be taken against U.S. citizens and interests throughout the world by terrorists and those who harbor grievances against the United States. The Department of State urges Americans to review their circumstances carefully and to take all appropriate measures to ensure their personal safety. Americans are urged to monitor the local news and maintain contact with the nearest American embassy or consulate. The Department will continue to develop information about potential threats to Americans overseas and to share with them credible threat information through its Consular Information Program. Information is available on the Internet at <http://travel.state.gov> and the Embassy's website at <http://www.usembassy.cl>.

Due to the presence of suspected terrorist organizations in the Tri-Border Area (Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay), activities related to terrorism are a concern in the entire region. However, there are no reports of credible threats directed specifically against American interests in Chile. Traditionally, September 11-18 is an active period for public demonstrations. Violent political, labor, or student protests can occur at other times also, often near government buildings in Santiago and Valparaiso or in the vicinity of major universities. Regardless of when or where such assemblies occur, American citizens traveling or residing in Chile are advised to take common-sense precautions and avoid any large

gatherings or any other event where crowds have congregated to demonstrate or protest. Additional advice about demonstrations, particularly during the September period, may be obtained from the U.S. Embassy at the telephone numbers listed below.

There are credible reports that land mines may pose a danger to hikers in remote sections of several popular national reserves and parks near northern border areas, including Lauca and Llullaillaco National Parks, Salar de Surire National Monument, and Los Flamencos National Reserve. Visitors should check with park authorities before entering less-traveled areas and observe all warning signs. There are also demarcated land mine fields in the Magallanes region of southern Chile, between Punta Arenas and the Torres del Paine National Park, and on Tierra del Fuego, which should be strictly avoided.

CRIME: The U.S. Embassy is receiving an increasing number of reports of the theft of purses, wallets, backpacks, and luggage containing passports, credit cards, and money. Thefts have been reported in restaurants, bus stations, airports, and other places frequented by tourists. There has also been a rise in the report of thefts from hotel rooms, including rooms in better hotels.

Street crime is a problem in metropolitan Santiago in general and specifically in the city center. One should be particularly alert while walking in the downtown area, especially in the late afternoon, after dark, or on weekends, even in well-traveled areas. In Santiago and other large Chilean cities, thieves thrive on crowds on the street during rush hour and aboard public transportation.

Petty crime is also prevalent at crowded tourist locations, at Metro (subway) stations, on trains and buses, and occasionally in taxis. Rates of such crime have increased markedly in the last year. Persons wearing expensive-looking jewelry or carrying luggage or cameras are favorite targets for pickpockets and purse-snatchers. Bags and briefcases may be stolen from chairs in restaurants and outdoor cafes. Outside Santiago, robberies and assaults have occurred most frequently in the Vina del Mar and Valparaiso areas, which become increasingly crowded during the height of the Chilean summer season (December through March).

Individuals whose passports are stolen will be required to obtain duplicates of their tourist cards from the Policia Internacional before they can depart the country.

The loss or theft abroad of a U.S. passport should be reported immediately to the local police and the nearest U.S. Embassy or consulate. U.S. citizens may refer to the Department of State's pamphlets, *A Safe Trip Abroad* and *Tips for Travelers to Central and South America*, for ways to promote a more trouble-free journey. These publications are available by mail from, the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402; via the Internet at http://www.access.gpo.gov/su_docs; or via the Bureau of Consular Affairs home page at <http://travel.state.gov/>.

MEDICAL FACILITIES: Medical care, while generally good, may not meet U.S. standards, particularly in remote areas. Although emergency rooms in some major hospitals accept credit cards, many doctors and hospitals in Chile expect immediate cash payment for health services.

MEDICAL INSURANCE: The Department of State strongly urges Americans to consult with their medical insurance company prior to traveling abroad to confirm whether their policy applies overseas and if it will cover emergency expenses such as a medical evacuation. U.S. medical insurance plans seldom cover health costs incurred outside the U.S. unless supplemental coverage is purchased. Further, U.S. Medicare and Medicaid programs do not provide payment for medical services outside the United States. However, many travel agents and private companies offer insurance plans that will cover health care expenses incurred overseas, including emergency services such as medical evacuations.

When making a decision regarding health insurance, Americans should consider that many foreign doctors and hospitals require payment in cash prior to providing service and that a medical evacuation to the United States may cost well in excess of \$50,000. Uninsured travelers who require medical care overseas often face extreme difficulties, whereas travelers who have purchased overseas medical insurance have found it to be life saving, when a medical emergency has occurred. When consulting with your insurer prior to your trip, please ascertain whether payment will be made to the overseas healthcare provider or whether you will be reimbursed later for expenses that you incur. Some insurance policies also include coverage for psychiatric treatment and for disposition of remains in the event of death.

In-country medical evacuations from outlying areas to Santiago cost \$2,000 or more. For travelers to the Antarctic and/or Easter Island, additional insurance to cover the cost of air evacuation specifically from those remote regions is strongly recommended. In the event of illness, injury, or even death, the cost of evacuation from the Antarctic region can exceed \$90,000.

Useful information on medical emergencies abroad, including overseas insurance programs, is provided in the Department of State's Bureau of Consular Affairs brochure, Medical Information for Americans Traveling Abroad, available via the Bureau of Consular Affairs home page or autofax: (202) 647-3000.

OTHER HEALTH INFORMATION: All of Santiago is affected by a high index of pollution, which appears as heavy smog in the winter (May through August) and dust in the summer (December through March). The most severe pollution occurs from May to October. Information on vaccinations and other health precautions may be obtained from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's hotline for international travelers at 1-877-FYI-TRIP (1-877-394-8747); fax 1-888-cdc-faxx (1-888-232-3299), or via CDC's Internet sight at <http://www.cdc.gov/>.

TRAFFIC SAFETY AND ROAD CONDITIONS: While in a foreign country, U.S. citizens may encounter road conditions that differ significantly from those in the United States. The information below concerning Chile is provided for general reference only, and it may not be totally accurate in a particular location or circumstance.

Safety of Public Transportation: Fair
Urban Road Conditions/Maintenance: Good
Rural Road Conditions/Maintenance: Fair
Availability of Roadside/Ambulance Assistance: Fair

Driving is on the right-hand side of the road, as in the United States. Although major roads in Chile are generally in good condition, secondary roads are sometimes poorly maintained and/or poorly lighted. At night, heavy fog conditions in rural areas have led to multiple-vehicle accidents with occasional deaths and injuries. Care should be exercised while driving in the mountains because the roads tend to have many tight switchbacks and rarely have guardrails. Many major highways in Chile are toll roads; drivers should carry a sufficient amount of local currency to cover the tolls.

In Santiago, care should be exercised when changing lanes or merging because Chilean drivers do not signal lane changes and rarely yield to merging traffic. Buses are especially aggressive in moving from lane to lane. Traffic jams during peak hours in downtown Santiago and other areas are common. Taxis are plentiful and relatively inexpensive. Drivers should drive with car doors locked at all times, especially in the southern parts of the city and near the airport, as there have been reports of thieves entering cars stopped at traffic lights or moving in slow traffic.

Santiago's anti-pollution measures call for certain major arteries to switch directions during morning and evening rush hours. Visitors to Santiago should obtain up-to-date information on these changes from their auto rental company or the Chilean Automobile Association (please see below).

Driving under the influence of alcohol in Chile is severely penalized, and it can lead to incarceration if the driver is involved in an accident.

Visitors to Chile must have an international driver's permit in order to drive legally in Chile. Although car rental firms will rent to customers with only a U.S. driver's license, the police have detained several persons for lengthy periods for driving without a valid international permit.

For additional general information about road safety, including links to foreign government sites, please see the Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affairs home page at http://travel.state.gov/road_safety.html. For specific information concerning Chile, driving permits, vehicle inspection, road tax and mandatory insurance, please contact the Chilean Automobile Association, Avenida Vitacura 8620, Santiago, tel. (56-2) 431-1000, <http://www.aclub.cl>, or the National Tourist Bureau, SERNATUR, which is located at Avenida Providencia 1550, Santiago, tel. (56-2) 236-1420, <http://www.sernatur.cl>.

AVIATION SAFETY OVERSIGHT: The U.S. Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has assessed the government of Chile's civil aviation authority as Category 1 -- in compliance with international aviation safety standards for oversight of Chile's air carrier operations. For further information, travelers may contact the Department of Transportation within the United States at tel. 1-800-322-7873, or visit the FAA's Internet website at <http://www.faa.gov/avr/iasa>.

The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) separately assesses some foreign air carriers for suitability as official providers of air services. For information regarding the DOD policy on specific carriers, travelers may contact the DOD at tel. (618) 229-4801.

CRIMINAL PENALTIES: While in a foreign country, a U.S. citizen is subject to that country's laws and regulations, which sometimes differ significantly from those in the U.S. and may not afford the protections available to the individual under U.S. law. Penalties for breaking the law can be more severe than in the U.S. for similar offenses. Persons violating Chile's laws, even unknowingly, may be expelled, arrested or imprisoned. Penalties for possession, use, or trafficking in illegal drugs in Chile are strict, and convicted offenders can expect jail sentences and heavy fines.

DISASTER PREPAREDNESS: Chile is an earthquake-prone country. Limited information on Chilean earthquake preparedness is available in Spanish from the Oficina Nacional de Emergencia de Chile (ONEMI) via the Internet at <http://www.angelfire.com/nt/terremotos2>. Other general information about natural disaster preparedness is available from the U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) at <http://www.fema.gov/>.

CHILDREN'S ISSUES: For information on international adoption of children and international parental child abduction, please refer to our Internet site at http://travel.state.gov/children's_issues.html or telephone (202) 736-7000.

REGISTRATION/EMBASSY AND CONSULATE LOCATIONS: Americans living in or visiting Chile are encouraged to register at the Consular Section of the U.S. Embassy in Santiago and obtain updated information on travel and security in Chile. The U.S. Embassy is located at Avenida Andres Bello 2800, Santiago; tel. (56-2) 335-6550 or 232-2600; after hours tel. (56-2) 330-3321. The Embassy's mailing address is Casilla 27-D, Santiago; the Consular Section's fax number is (56-2) 330-3005; and the e-mail address is "santiagoamcit@state.gov". The Embassy home page is: <http://www.usembassy.cl>, where Americans may also register on-line.

* * *

This replaces the Consular Information Sheet dated July 12, 2001, to update the sections on Safety and Security, and Crime.

[Return to Consular Information Sheets and Travel Warnings Page](#)

**CNN.com** **PRINT THIS**Powered by  **clickability**

Bush, Putin sign arms deal

Leaders also pledge cooperation on missile defense

MOSCOW, Russia (CNN) --U.S. President George W. Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin put pen to paper Friday, signing a landmark nuclear reduction treaty that would remove from deployment two-thirds of each nation's long-range nuclear weapons over 10 years.

"This is a historic and hopeful day for Russia and America," Bush said. "It's a historic day for the world as well. President Putin and I today ended a long chapter of confrontation and opened up an entirely new relationship between our two countries."

The two leaders also signed a joint declaration pledging cooperation on missile defense at the ceremony in the Kremlin's gold-trimmed Andreievsky Hall.

The treaty, Bush said at the signing ceremony, "liquidates the Cold War legacy of nuclear hostility."

The pact will remove from deployment each nation's existing store of roughly 5,000 to 6,000 warheads by about 65 percent over the next decade. The resulting number of warheads held by each country would range from 1,700 to 2,200.

Bush and Putin also discussed the U.S.-led global war on terrorism and economic relations between the two countries.

"Our nations will continue to cooperate closely in the war against global terror," Bush said. "We understand full well that the people of Russia have suffered at the hands of terrorists, and so have we."

Putin said that the talks between the two leaders would have a "positive impact for economic development," and Bush said his country would welcome Russia into the world economy.

Bush plans to have dinner and spend the evening in the Russian leader's residence Friday evening.

The Friday ceremony marked the fifth time the two leaders have met, but the first time in Moscow.

Senior Bush administration officials have said the treaty will enable the United States and Russia to enter into a new strategic relationship and to move away from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which the Bush administration has maintained is an antiquated Cold War agreement that did not allow for modern contingencies, such as allowing the U.S. to pursue a limited missile defense system.

Critics of the treaty have noted that it requires storage of many of the weapons cuts rather than destruction, creating scenarios that could make theft of a nuclear warhead possible.

The treaty will have to go before the U.S. Senate and Russian Duma to be ratified.

Security was tight throughout Moscow in anticipation of Bush's visit. At the U.S. Embassy Thursday,

Recent
good
relations
w/
Russia

Security was tight throughout Moscow in anticipation of Bush's visit. At the U.S. Embassy Thursday, Communists staged a demonstration, criticizing Bush and Putin. They accuse Putin of being too soft with the United States.

In addition to the nuclear weapon reduction treaty, Bush said the two leaders discussed the subject of Iran, one of three countries the president has dubbed an "axis of evil."

"I worry about Iran and I'm confident President Putin worries about Iran," Bush said.

Russia is helping Iran build nuclear power plants, and the United States is concerned that the facilities might be diverted to other uses and that some of the items that Iran wants could later be aimed at U.S. forces.

The senior administration official briefing reporters en route to Moscow called the concern of Russian nuclear technology going to Iran the "single most important proliferation threat there is."

But Putin disagreed. "I'd like to point out that cooperation between Iran and Russia is not of a character which would undermine the process of non-proliferation," he said. "Our cooperation is exclusively as regards to the energy sector focused on the problems of an economic nature."

Find this article at:

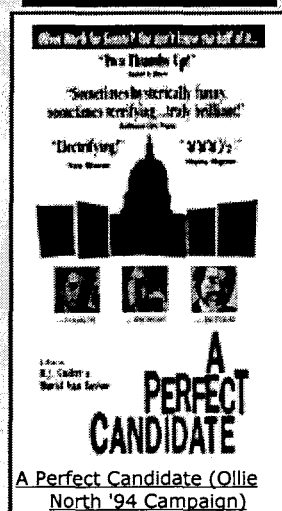
<http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/europe/05/24/bush.europe/index.html>

☐ Check the box to include the list of links referenced in the article.

THE NHL PLAYOFFS on *CNN.com*

NEWS

- ▶ [Abscam](#)
- ▶ [Challenger](#)
- ▶ [Reagan Shot](#)
- ▶ [Sadat Assassinated](#)
- ▶ [US States](#)
- ▶ [1970s](#)



President Reagan's "Evil Empire" Speech

Building on themes previously expressed most strongly in a speech before the British Parliament, President Reagan refers to the Soviet Union as the "Evil Empire" - a term which will forever be linked with him - for the first time in a speech.

It is important to recognize that this was *not* primarily a foreign policy speech. Reagan spoke these words at the National Association of Evangelicals Convention and the references to the "Evil Empire" were allusions to his spiritual notions of there being a battle between "good" and "evil" on earth.

Transcript

Reverend clergy all, Senator Hawkins, distinguished members of the Florida congressional delegation, and all of you:

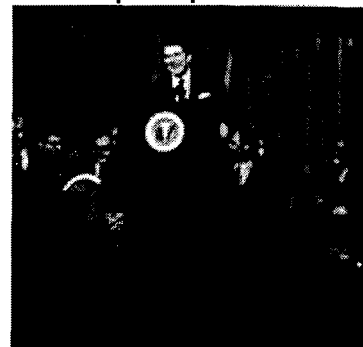
I can't tell you how you have warmed my heart with your welcome. I'm delighted to be here today.

Those of you in the National Association of Evangelicals are known for your spiritual and humanitarian work. And I would be especially remiss if I didn't discharge right now one personal debt of gratitude. Thank you for your prayers. Nancy and I have felt their presence many times in many ways. And believe me, for us they've made all the difference.

The other day in the East Room of the White House at a meeting there, someone asked me whether I was aware of all the people out there who were praying for the President. And I had to say, "Yes, I am. I've felt it. I believe in intercessionary prayer." But I couldn't help but say to that questioner after he'd asked the question that -- or at least say to them that if sometimes when he was praying he got a busy signal, it was just me in there ahead of him. [Laughter] I think I understand how Abraham Lincoln felt

Facts and Figures

Evil Empire Speech



▶ Ronald Reagan's "Evil Empire" speech was delivered in the Citrus Crown Ballroom at the Sheraton Twin Towers Hotel in Orlando, Florida on March 8, 1983.

NARA image

*Reagan
on
Tyrants*

when he said, "I have been driven many times to my knees by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go."

From the joy and the good feeling of this conference, I go to a political reception. [Laughter] Now, I don't know why, but that bit of scheduling reminds me of a story -- [laughter] -- which I'll share with you.

An evangelical minister and a politician arrived at Heaven's gate one day together. And St. Peter, after doing all the necessary formalities, took them in hand to show them where their quarters would be. And he took them to a small, single room with a bed, a chair, and a table and said this was for the clergyman. And the politician was a little worried about what might be in store for him. And he couldn't believe it then when St. Peter stopped in front of a beautiful mansion with lovely grounds, many servants, and told him that these would be his quarters.

And he couldn't help but ask, he said, "But wait, how -- there's something wrong -- how do I get this mansion while that good and holy man only gets a single room?" And St. Peter said, "You have to understand how things are up here. We've got thousands and thousands of clergy. You're the first politician who ever made it." [Laughter]

But I don't want to contribute to a stereotype. [Laughter] So, I tell you there are a great many God-fearing, dedicated, noble men and women in public life, present company included. And, yes, we need your help to keep us ever mindful of the ideas and the principles that brought us into the public arena in the first place. The basis of those ideals and principles is a commitment to freedom and personal liberty that, itself, is grounded in the much deeper realization that freedom prospers only where the blessings of God are avidly sought and humbly accepted.

The American experiment in democracy rests on this insight. Its discovery was the great triumph of our Founding Fathers, voiced by William Penn when he said: "If we will not be governed by God, we must be governed by tyrants." Explaining the inalienable rights of men, Jefferson said,

"The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." And it was George Washington who said that "of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports."

And finally, that shrewdest of all observers of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, put it eloquently after he had gone on a search for the secret of America's greatness and genius -- and he said: "Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the greatness and the genius of America. . . . America is good. And if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

Well, I'm pleased to be here today with you who are keeping America great by keeping her good. Only through your work and prayers and those of millions of others can we hope to survive this perilous century and keep alive this experiment in liberty, this last, best hope of man.

I want you to know that this administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in you, her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities -- the institutions that foster and nourish values like concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.

Now, I don't have to tell you that this puts us in opposition to, or at least out of step with, a prevailing attitude of many who have turned to a modern-day secularism, discarding the tried and time-tested values upon which our very civilization is based. No matter how well intentioned, their value system is radically different from that of most Americans. And while they proclaim that they're freeing us from superstitions of the past, they've taken upon themselves the job of superintending us by government rule and regulation. Sometimes their voices are louder than ours, but they are not yet a majority.

An example of that vocal superiority is evident in a controversy now going on in Washington. And since I'm involved, I've been waiting to hear from the parents of young America. How far are they willing to

go in giving to government their prerogatives as parents?

Let me state the case as briefly and simply as I can. An organization of citizens, sincerely motivated and deeply concerned about the increase in illegitimate births and abortions involving girls well below the age of consent, sometime ago established a nationwide network of clinics to offer help to these girls and, hopefully, alleviate this situation. Now, again, let me say, I do not fault their intent. However, in their well-intentioned effort, these clinics have decided to provide advice and birth control drugs and devices to underage girls without the knowledge of their parents.

For some years now, the Federal Government has helped with funds to subsidize these clinics. In providing for this, the Congress decreed that every effort would be made to maximize parental participation. Nevertheless, the drugs and devices are prescribed without getting parental consent or giving notification after they've done so. Girls termed "sexually active" -- and that has replaced the word "promiscuous" -- are given this help in order to prevent illegitimate birth or abortion.

Well, we have ordered clinics receiving Federal funds to notify the parents such help has been given. One of the Nation's leading newspapers has created the term "squeal rule" in editorializing against us for doing this, and we're being criticized for violating the privacy of young people. A judge has recently granted an injunction against an enforcement of our rule. I've watched TV panel shows discuss this issue, seen columnists pontificating on our error, but no one seems to mention morality as playing a part in the subject of sex.

Is all of Judeo-Christian tradition wrong? Are we to believe that something so sacred can be looked upon as a purely physical thing with no potential for emotional and psychological harm? And isn't it the parents' right to give counsel and advice to keep their children from making mistakes that may affect their entire lives?

Many of us in government would like to know what parents think about this

intrusion in their family by government. We're going to fight in the courts. The right of parents and the rights of family take precedence over those of Washington-based bureaucrats and social engineers.

But the fight against parental notification is really only one example of many attempts to water down traditional values and even abrogate the original terms of American democracy. Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged. When our Founding Fathers passed the first amendment, they sought to protect churches from government interference. They never intended to construct a wall of hostility between government and the concept of religious belief itself.

The evidence of this permeates our history and our government. The Declaration of Independence mentions the Supreme Being no less than four times. "In God We Trust" is engraved on our coinage. The Supreme Court opens its proceedings with a religious invocation. And the Members of Congress open their sessions with a prayer. I just happen to believe the schoolchildren of the United States are entitled to the same privileges as Supreme Court Justices and Congressmen.

Last year, I sent the Congress a constitutional amendment to restore prayer to public schools. Already this session, there's growing bipartisan support for the amendment, and I am calling on the Congress to act speedily to pass it and to let our children pray.

Perhaps some of you read recently about the Lubbock school case, where a judge actually ruled that it was unconstitutional for a school district to give equal treatment to religious and nonreligious student groups, even when the group meetings were being held during the students' own time. The first amendment never intended to require government to discriminate against religious speech.

Senators Denton and Hatfield have proposed legislation in the Congress on the whole question of prohibiting discrimination against religious forms of student speech. Such legislation could go

far to restore freedom of religious speech for public school students. And I hope the Congress considers these bills quickly. And with your help, I think it's possible we could also get the constitutional amendment through the Congress this year.

More than a decade ago, a Supreme Court decision literally wiped off the books of 50 States statutes protecting the rights of unborn children. Abortion on demand now takes the lives of up to 1 1/2 million unborn children a year. Human life legislation ending this tragedy will some day pass the Congress, and you and I must never rest until it does. Unless and until it can be proven that the unborn child is not a living entity, then its right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must be protected.

You may remember that when abortion on demand began, many, and, indeed, I'm sure many of you, warned that the practice would lead to a decline in respect for human life, that the philosophical premises used to justify abortion on demand would ultimately be used to justify other attacks on the sacredness of human life -- infanticide or mercy killing. Tragically enough, those warnings proved all too true. Only last year a court permitted the death by starvation of a handicapped infant.

I have directed the Health and Human Services Department to make clear to every health care facility in the United States that the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 protects all handicapped persons against discrimination based on handicaps, including infants. And we have taken the further step of requiring that each and every recipient of Federal funds who provides health care services to infants must post and keep posted in a conspicuous place a notice stating that "discriminatory failure to feed and care for handicapped infants in this facility is prohibited by Federal law." It also lists a 24-hour, toll-free number so that nurses and others may report violations in time to save the infant's life.

In addition, recent legislation introduced in the Congress by Representative Henry Hyde of Illinois not only increases restrictions on publicly financed abortions, it also addresses this whole problem of

infanticide. I urge the Congress to begin hearings and to adopt legislation that will protect the right of life to all children, including the disabled or handicapped.

Now, I'm sure that you must get discouraged at times, but you've done better than you know, perhaps. There's a great spiritual awakening in America, a renewal of the traditional values that have been the bedrock of America's goodness and greatness.

One recent survey by a Washington-based research council concluded that Americans were far more religious than the people of other nations; 95 percent of those surveyed expressed a belief in God and a huge majority believed the Ten Commandments had real meaning in their lives. And another study has found that an overwhelming majority of Americans disapprove of adultery, teenage sex, pornography, abortion, and hard drugs. And this same study showed a deep reverence for the importance of family ties and religious belief.

I think the items that we've discussed here today must be a key part of the Nation's political agenda. For the first time the Congress is openly and seriously debating and dealing with the prayer and abortion issues -- and that's enormous progress right there. I repeat: America is in the midst of a spiritual awakening and a moral renewal. And with your Biblical keynote, I say today, "Yes, let justice roll on like a river, righteousness like a never-failing stream."

Now, obviously, much of this new political and social consensus I've talked about is based on a positive view of American history, one that takes pride in our country's accomplishments and record. But we must never forget that no government schemes are going to perfect man. We know that living in this world means dealing with what philosophers would call the phenomenology of evil or, as theologians would put it, the doctrine of sin.

There is sin and evil in the world, and we're enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might. Our nation, too, has a legacy of evil with which it must deal. The glory of this land has been its



capacity for transcending the moral evils of our past. For example, the long struggle of minority citizens for equal rights, once a source of disunity and civil war, is now a point of pride for all Americans. We must never go back. There is no room for racism, anti-Semitism, or other forms of ethnic and racial hatred in this country.

I know that you've been horrified, as have I, by the resurgence of some hate groups preaching bigotry and prejudice. Use the mighty voice of your pulpits and the powerful standing of your churches to denounce and isolate these hate groups in our midst. The commandment given us is clear and simple: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

But whatever sad episodes exist in our past, any objective observer must hold a positive view of American history, a history that has been the story of hopes fulfilled and dreams made into reality. Especially in this century, America has kept alight the torch of freedom, but not just for ourselves but for millions of others around the world.

And this brings me to my final point today. During my first press conference as President, in answer to a direct question, I pointed out that, as good Marxist-Leninists, the Soviet leaders have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is that which will further their cause, which is world revolution. I think I should point out I was only quoting Lenin, their guiding spirit, who said in 1920 that they repudiate all morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas -- that's their name for religion -- or ideas that are outside class conceptions. Morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. And everything is moral that is necessary for the annihilation of the old, exploiting social order and for uniting the proletariat.

Well, I think the refusal of many influential people to accept this elementary fact of Soviet doctrine illustrates an historical reluctance to see totalitarian powers for what they are. We saw this phenomenon in the 1930's. We see it too often today.

This doesn't mean we should isolate ourselves and refuse to seek an understanding with them. I intend to do



everything I can to persuade them of our peaceful intent, to remind them that it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the forties and fifties for territorial gain and which now proposes 50-percent cut in strategic ballistic missiles and the elimination of an entire class of land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

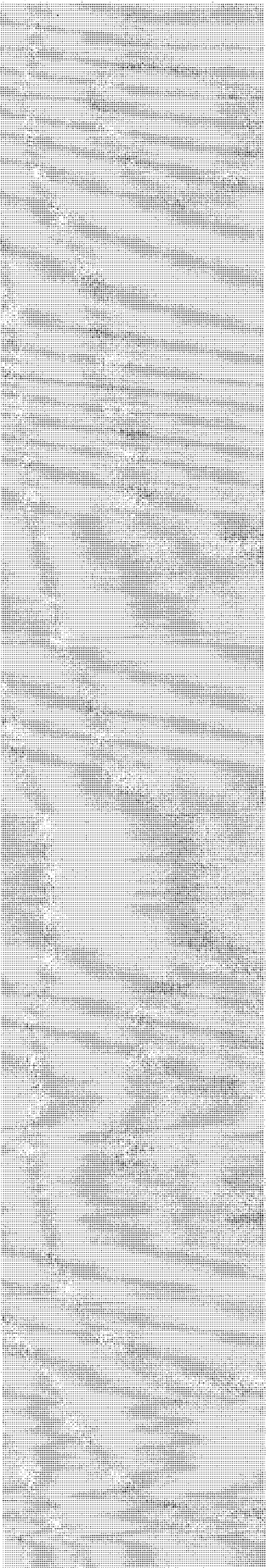
At the same time, however, they must be made to understand we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace. But we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some.

The truth is that a freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud, for that is merely the illusion of peace. The reality is that we must find peace through strength.

I would agree to a freeze if only we could freeze the Soviets' global desires. A freeze at current levels of weapons would remove any incentive for the Soviets to negotiate seriously in Geneva and virtually end our chances to achieve the major arms reductions which we have proposed. Instead, they would achieve their objectives through the freeze.

A freeze would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup. It would prevent the essential and long overdue modernization of United States and allied defenses and would leave our aging forces increasingly vulnerable. And an honest freeze would require extensive prior negotiations on the systems and numbers to be limited and on the measures to ensure effective verification and compliance. And the kind of a freeze that has been suggested would be virtually impossible to verify. Such a major effort would divert us completely from our current negotiations on achieving substantial reductions.

A number of years ago, I heard a young father, a very prominent young man in the entertainment world, addressing a tremendous gathering in California. It was



during the time of the cold war, and communism and our own way of life were very much on people's minds. And he was speaking to that subject. And suddenly, though, I heard him saying, "I love my little girls more than anything -- -- " And I said to myself, "Oh, no, don't. You can't -- don't say that." But I had underestimated him. He went on: "I would rather see my little girls die now, still believing in God, than have them grow up under communism and one day die no longer believing in God."

There were thousands of young people in that audience. They came to their feet with shouts of joy. They had instantly recognized the profound truth in what he had said, with regard to the physical and the soul and what was truly important.

Yes, let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness -- pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on the Earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.

It was C. S. Lewis who, in his unforgettable "Screwtape Letters," wrote: "The greatest evil is not done now in those sordid 'dens of crime' that Dickens loved to paint. It is not even done in concentration camps and labor camps. In those we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried and minuted) in clear, carpeted, warmed, and well-lighted offices, by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do not need to raise their voice."

Well, because these "quiet men" do not "raise their voices," because they sometimes speak in soothing tones of brotherhood and peace, because, like other dictators before them, they're always making "their final territorial demand," some would have us accept them at their word and accommodate ourselves to their aggressive impulses. But if history teaches anything, it teaches that simple-minded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly. It means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom.



So, I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority. You know, I've always believed that old Screwtape reserved his best efforts for those of you in the church. So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride -- the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an **evil empire**, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you withhold your support for our efforts, this administration's efforts, to keep America strong and free, while we negotiate real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals and one day, with God's help, their total elimination.

While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I've always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root, it is a test of moral will and faith.

Whittaker Chambers, the man whose own religious conversion made him a witness to one of the terrible traumas of our time, the Hiss-Chambers case, wrote that the crisis of the Western World exists to the degree in which the West is indifferent to God, the degree to which it collaborates in communism's attempt to make man stand alone without God. And then he said, for Marxism-Leninism is actually the second oldest faith, first proclaimed in the Garden of Eden with the words of temptation, "Ye shall be as gods."

The Western World can answer this challenge, he wrote, "but only provided that its faith in God and the freedom He enjoins is as great as communism's faith in Man."

I believe we shall rise to the challenge. I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written. I believe



this because the source of our strength in the quest for human freedom is not material, but spiritual. And because it knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man. For in the words of Isaiah: "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might He increased strength. . . . But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary. . . ."

Yes, change your world. One of our Founding Fathers, Thomas Paine, said, "We have it within our power to begin the world over again." We can do it, doing together what no one church could do by itself.

God bless you, and thank you very much.

Share Your Memories!

Do you have any thoughts on the "Evil Empire" speech? Let us know! (We may print your comments here.)

We welcome your comments

©2001, Awesome80s.com. All Rights Reserved.

▲ [Back to Top](#)

John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library

**Inaugural Address
President John F. Kennedy**
Washington, D.C.
January 20, 1961

Real Player Controls

Kennedy
Brutality
or
Tyranny

Requires Real Player ®

Download this audio file by right-clicking and saving this file. (1.74mb.)

Play clip

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens:

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom--symbolizing an end as well as a beginning--signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forbears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe--the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans--born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage--and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge--and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided there is little we can do--for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom--and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required--not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge--to convert our good words into good deeds--in a new alliance for progress--to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support--to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective--to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak--and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course--both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew--remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms--and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah--to "undo the heavy burdens . . . (and) let the oppressed go free."

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again--not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need--not as a call to battle, though embattled we are-- but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"--a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility--I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it--and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same

high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward; with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library - Columbia Point - Boston, Massachusetts 02125

Tel: 1-877-616-4599

Fax: 617-929-4538

Email: kennedy.library@nara.gov

John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library Foundation - Columbia Point - Boston, Massachusetts 02125

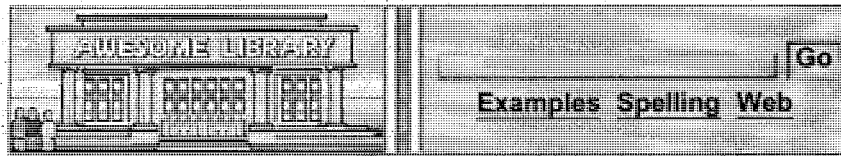
Tel: 617-929-1200

Fax: 617-436-3395

Email: kennedy.foundation@nara.gov

Visit [NARA](#)

Page created June 6, 1996 updated: July 01, 2001



Here: [Home](#) > Countering Terrorism - Middle East

Related Topics

[Muslims Against Terrorism](#)

[Islam](#)

[Countering Terrorism](#)

[Terrorism](#)

[Middle East](#)

Countering Terrorism from the Middle East

R. Jerry Adams, Ph.D.
Evaluation and Development Institute

Seeking Retaliation

It is obvious that the September 11th terrorists attacked civilians and American icons because they were trying to hurt Americans. What is not so obvious is they may also have been trying to get the USA to retaliate, as violently as possible, against Middle Eastern Muslims.

By provoking massive counter-attacks in the Middle East, the terrorists hoped to unify Muslims against the USA. The real purpose, however, was not just to unify Muslims against the USA; the real purpose was to create an Islamic Empire composed of all current Middle East nations. By getting the USA to attack, they thought they had the best chance of starting such a unification. Attacking the USA was just the first step in the plan. In addition, the terrorists were also trying to show the vulnerability of the West, Western values, and Western technology.

However, Muslims of the world were not fooled. Almost every Muslim nation sided with the USA. They knew that killing innocent people violates Islam. They also did not want militant fanatics falsely representing Islam. They did not want militant fanatics destroying their governments and institutions.

This is not the first time that militant fanatics have had this strategy of trying to provoke a military response. For example, Palestinian terrorists know that they cannot defeat the Israelis in a military conflict. They want to enrage the Israelis so the Israelis will respond violently with military force and kill innocent Muslims. They want the world to see photos and television images of Israelis attacking innocent Muslims. Palestinian terrorists think that Muslims throughout the region will unite against Israel if Israel kills enough innocent civilians while pursuing the terrorists. The militant fanatics do not want peace to be negotiated. They want the conflict to continue until Muslims in the region unite into an empire. That is why they make outrageous attacks when peace efforts gain momentum.

As long as the USA, Israel, and the West avoid civilian casualties, Muslims will support bringing the terrorists to justice. If the USA misunderstands the situation and regards the situation as primarily a military conflict, as have the Israelis, then over time the terrorists will win. The more Israel has regarded their conflict with the Palestinians in primarily military terms, the more terrorism has grown.

Al Jazeera, the primary news medium in the Middle East, broadcasts pictures of all Muslim casualties from American bombs and Israeli attacks on Palestinians. The news runs 24 hours a day, so every casualty is seen many, many times. The impact of those pictures, especially of young children killed or seriously injured, can be very strong. Those news stories present in a compelling way the allegation of the terrorists, that Muslims (and not terrorists) are the real targets of American and Israeli war efforts.

The USA needs to be much more effective in the non-military part of its approach. For example, a poll in November of 2001 showed that majority of Pakistanis thought that someone within the **USA or Israel** was behind the September 11th attacks! Only 12 percent thought that bin Laden was behind the attacks. The majority of people thought that the September 11th attacks were an excuse for Americans and Israelis to attack Muslims.

The primary way to fight this type of terrorism is to remove the fertile grounds where it grows. Terrorist networks cannot thrive within populations that see them as criminal fanatics. On the other hand, nations can harbor terrorists when the civilian population or law enforcement view the terrorists as justified or even as heroes. This can result in a passive, rather than aggressive, approach in rooting out terrorists. This passiveness by civilians and law enforcement is at the heart

of the problem.

The second problem that provides fertile grounds for terrorists is nations allowing (or promoting) anti-American attitudes, especially among the young. This is not supported by Islam, but it is supported by some Middle East nations.

The USA needs to focus on solving the two key problems that enable terrorists to thrive by working with Muslim leadership to create long term solutions. Problem solving with Muslim leaders, our natural allies, to stop Middle East terrorists, needs to be a central American goal. This goal should dictate military responses, not the other way around. It is not too late.

1. Problem - Nations harboring or tolerating terrorists.

Recommendation - Terrorists are caught most easily when civilians oppose them and provide information to law enforcement, which also opposes them. Governments, therefore, need to gain support within civilian populations for stopping terrorists. If the clergy or government foster the view that the terrorists are heroes, instead of criminals, this will not happen. Clergy of each country need to make it very clear that attacking innocent civilians is incompatible with Islam. Further, Islam requires Muslims to bring those who hurt innocent civilians to justice. Terrorists can only thrive in nations where there is tolerance for this type of crime within both the civilian population and law enforcement.

The USA, therefore, needs to act in ways that support each country's efforts to eliminate terrorism. It is very difficult to eliminate terrorism from the outside, from another country. The USA needs to collaborate with International Muslim leadership, such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to help clarify within the Middle East that terrorism is criminal behavior, not Islamic heroism. As long as clergy within each Middle East country do not step forward and condemn terrorism, part of the general public will view terrorism as Islamic heroism. The USA also needs to collaborate with Muslim leadership to help ensure that governments do not teach children that hate is part of Islam.

These efforts may seem obvious, but they are missing. The moderate Muslim clergy in many Middle East countries have not stepped forward. Many of the public in some Middle East countries think that terrorism is supported in the Qur'an. Children in at least three Middle East countries are taught strong anti-American views in schools. The governments of several Middle East countries have not treated terrorists as criminals, as long as the violence was carried out in another country.

The USA has not done well in forming friendships and trust with the people of Middle East countries. In the 1980's and 1990's, the USA abandoned the people of Iraq and Afghanistan after the military effort against their governments ended. The abandonment caused people throughout the Middle East to distrust the USA. Because the USA also has not insisted on Israel withdrawing from Palestinian territories, as international law requires, the USA is seen as against Islam. The USA, as well as the governments and clergy in the Middle East, have not presented to the people of those countries the many times in recent years the USA has fought on behalf of Muslims, such as in Bosnia.

2. Problem - Middle East nations that promote anti-American attitudes. This provides support for terrorism against the USA. Allowing the USA to be the focus of anger keeps the focus of anger away from the leaders of Middle East nations where a large percent of the people live in extreme poverty and hopelessness. Fostering anger over a long enough time can lead to violence.

Recommendation - Collaborate with International Muslim leadership, such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to create solutions. Teaching hatred is, of course, contrary to Islam.

Promoting Peace

There are two more key problems, but they do not cause terrorism. Instead, they cause deep conflict and frustration between the USA and Muslims of the Middle East. **Terrorism is the result of a breakdown in which criminal behavior is accepted and supported. Nations can have conflict with each other without supporting criminal behavior to resolve it.**

Resolving the following two problems can lead to long term peace and cooperation between the USA and Muslims of the Middle East.

1. Problem - U.S. foreign policies that hurt Muslim nations. Many Muslims regard Islam to be "one nation," so that when U.S. policies result in harm to Muslims in one nation, it affects Muslims of all nations. Many Middle Eastern Muslims believe that past and current American foreign policies are responsible for a great deal of suffering of Muslims in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and the Palestinian territory.

we want to tolerate terrorism or support it

Recommendation - The long term consequences of U.S. foreign policy to the people of any country where the U.S. intervenes must be considered a very high priority in forming U.S. foreign policies. When shaping long term policy with Muslim nations in particular, the U.S. government should consider collaborating with International Muslim leadership, such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

2. Problem - The USA symbolizes the globalization of Western values, which many Middle East Muslim Fundamentalists view as destructive, as well as attractive. In addition, a strong totalitarian movement is growing within Fundamentalist Islam; the totalitarian movement has had a very bad record on human rights.

Recommendation - The USA needs to collaborate with International Muslim leadership, such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to find ways for Western and Islamic cultures to live in peace. We also need, as a part of this effort, to collaborate on how to promote justice and human rights.

May we find a way to honor each of our heroes,
firefighters, police, rescue, and emergency crews.



May it be our honor to care
for the many in great need.

Try Index, New or the Bookstore.

Return to Teachers, Kids, Teens, Parents or Librarians.

Browse in Spanish, French, German, Italian, or Portuguese.

Email (jadams@awesomelibrary.org) or find out About us. Also see Licenses.

Copyright © 1996-2001 EDI and Dr. R. Jerry Adams



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION PROGRAMS

International Security | Response to Terrorism

27 November 2001

Admiral Blair BBC Interview on Southeast Asia

United States helping to ensure terrorism not taking root

In an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) November 27 in Indonesia, Admiral Dennis C. Blair said the United States was working with Southeast Asian governments to "ensure that international terrorism is not taking root in this part of the world."

The Commander in Chief of the U.S. Pacific Command called the Philippine terrorist group Abu Sayyaf "the most immediate threat" to Southeast Asian security because the organization "is unique in the focus and in the size and in the destructiveness right now."

Blair said the United States was assisting the Philippine government fight the threat by providing American training, advisors, and maintenance support.

"And that's more the model of the way we will operate in this part of the world, supporting other countries who see it as their responsibility to handle terrorist threats," Blair said.

"I think this model of training assistance, intelligence exchange, working on the other aspects like customs and financial dealings is more the model for this part of the world," he continued.

He added that the United States would continue to cooperate on issues such as maritime security and intelligence sharing with the Indonesian government in order to assist its fight against local terrorists.

Following is a transcript of the BBC interview:

United States Pacific Command Transcript
Adm. Dennis C. Blair
Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command
BBC Interview
Jakarta, Indonesia
November 27, 2001

BBC: Can I ask you first of all, there have been these reports that Southeast Asia could become America's next front on its war on terrorism. Is that still the case, and why, sir?

Adm. Blair: Southeast Asia is an area which historically, as long ago as 1995, was a base used by an international terrorist organization to plot an attack against airplanes in the sky. There was, as I mentioned earlier, a Southeast Asian brigade that went to Afghanistan and fought earlier. So this is an area in which terrorists can find a base to operate from and our campaign here is working with the governments in the region who share our commitment against terrorism to ensure that it does not use this base for operations against all of our countries.

BBC: Would your operations involve actually sending in American troops into this region to fight some kind of anti-terrorism war?

Adm. Blair: The focus of our approach here is working with and in support of the

governments. A good example is the Philippines. The Philippines are dealing with a terrorism group, the Abu Sayyaf Group. It does have historical connections with al Qaeda. We are providing training, advisors, maintenance support, in order to help the Philippines deal with that threat. And that's more the model of the way we will operate in this part of the world, supporting other countries who see it as their responsibility to handle terrorist threats.

Current
terror
ex:
Philippines

BBC: You say you've actually sent in personnel into the Philippines to deal with the problems there. Do you see that actually broadening out, that American military personnel might be sent into other countries here in Southeast Asia?

Adm. Blair: The American personnel who have been in the Philippines were part of a preliminary assessment group to figure out what the right sort of support is.

I thought of another area, in Thailand, for example, we have cooperated closely with the Thai armed forces and border police against drug running and this involved, again, American training, American advisors. There's a lot in common between the drug threat and the terrorist threat. So I think this model of training assistance, intelligence exchange, working on the other aspects like customs and financial dealings is more the model for this part of the world.

BBC: But at the moment do you see the Philippines and the Abu Sayyaf as being the biggest threat to American interests and Western interests as a whole in this region, the Southeast Asia region?

Adm. Blair: I think that's the most immediate threat. There are two American hostages that they hold. They're an active group that is working against the Philippine government and against international citizens. In other areas, though there is a good, they could have some sympathizers or al Qaeda cells that we need to go after also, but the Abu Sayyaf Group is unique in the focus and in the size and in the destructiveness right now.

BBC: But you say there are those other cells allegedly of al Qaeda in different parts of Southeast Asia. One of those is right here in Indonesia. We have reports, there are actually American officials who briefed to that effect.

Is there still an operative al Qaeda cell as far as you're aware here in Indonesia?

Adm. Blair: I'm not going to talk directly about intelligence matters, but Indonesia with its huge size, its borders which have been breached in the past by people, smugglers, by pirates and all, have to be concerned about whether groups like international terrorists could move in here. We are working with the Indonesians who share our commitment against them.

The support that we're providing right now is in comparing intelligence and in really sizing up the situation. We are not certainly to the point that we are with the Philippines of more active American assistance.

BBC: But the sort of security alerts as far as the American Embassy is concerned, seems to have actually eased. Do you think the threat... We've had the reports there are credible threats against the American Embassy from al Qaeda-linked groups supposedly. Has that threat diminished now somewhat?

Adm. Blair: I've been here with the Ambassador over the last couple of days and he's satisfied with the security at the American Embassy right now.

BBC: The other sort of side to this, is the indigenous Indonesian extremist Islamic groups here which may or may not have some link with al Qaeda. We certainly know they have links with Afghanistan in the past, maybe in the present as well. How concerned are you

about that?

Adm. Blair: The sort of sectarian violence in the Moluccas and in Sulawesi is of concern to Indonesia, and I think it creates... A term I've used in the past is a seam of lawlessness, an area in which normal security and the ability of people to go about their business in peace is wiped out by violence. Police are not asserting authority. So any time you have these seams of lawlessness, whether they be in Basilan, in Jolo, in Sulawesi, in Eastern Myanmar, those are of concern and we support the governments enforcing the rules, checking up on to protect normal citizens and not allowing international groups to come in and use them for their own purposes.

BBC: But do you think those groups are likely to be linked with the international people coming here connected to bin Laden?

Adm. Blair: I think there is certainly a potential there for international groups to establish themselves. Again, I don't want to talk about the precise situation at the present, but seams of lawlessness are a big concern.

BBC: And do you think that these Indonesian groups are really some of the most worrying groups in the region? If you're looking across the region and you see the Islamic extremists of Indonesia, one which really shows up on the radar screen?

Adm. Blair: I think that some of the... Let me think about that question for a second.

I don't want to single out any one group or any one region. We simply need to, with the governments of the area across the board ensure that international terrorism is not taking root in this part of the world.

BBC: But you say, I mean obviously the focus is try to root out and eliminate if there are such groups in countries here, in Indonesia. Are you satisfied with the kind of cooperation and the progress which is being made by Indonesian authorities here? And do you believe they're actually capable of dealing with this problem?

Adm. Blair: September 11th was not that long ago and we are really getting started in this new era of cooperation against this threat with the countries of the region including Indonesia. So we've had a good start, but we have a ways to go.

BBC: What are the real focuses, priorities as far as the American military command is concerned? What do you want to see your military partners here in Indonesia and in other countries in Southeast Asia really doing to tackle these groups?

Adm. Blair: I think we're concerned with maritime security, ensuring that the borders between our countries and the borders in this region are secure, and that those ships that pass by these borders and the ships and planes that come in are on legitimate business. That's a big feature.

I think we are concerned that the, really, military support for security forces is followed in places like Basilan and Jolo where police are overwhelmed. And we're also concerned that our intelligence sharing is solid so we cannot allow information or individuals to sort of slip in a crack and not be followed up and not be identified.

BBC: What is the main focus in terms of the assistance which you can give to the Indonesia government and military forces to help them deal with the issue?

Adm. Blair: It's in the areas that I mentioned. We cooperate on issues like maritime security. We cooperate on intelligence sharing. Those are two primary areas.

BBC: (inaudible) like Indonesia, this is a massive country of say 15, 16, or 17,000 islands. Do you really think they can actually protect those borders and stop people slipping in a way that they've done for centuries?

Adm. Blair: It's a tall order, but if you look at the destruction that can be caused by terrorists these days, it's an order that we have to step up to and we have to approach. Technology has made the destructive capability of terrorists so great that we have to take our effort to a new level in order to defeat it.

BBC: How satisfied are you with the support which you're getting from President Megawati in here in Indonesia? She started off being very supportive of the war on terrorism, but then clearly was forced into a position where she spoke out against American military action in Afghanistan, saying that America really has no right to attack a sovereign nation such as Afghanistan in the way it did.

How concerned are you about whether this, the largest Muslim nation in the world, is actually really behind what you're doing?

Adm. Blair: In my meetings over the last couple of days here I'm convinced that Indonesia is sharing common cause with the United States and many other countries against terrorism. We may have policy differences on some aspects of what we both do in areas, but in our commitment that this sort of threat to our citizens should be eliminated, we agree completely.

BBC: Do you think that she really is in a position to actually tackle Islamic extremist groups in the way that you want?

Adm. Blair: I think the Indonesian government is in a position to tackle international terrorism and has a lot of capability to do so.

BBC: And you believe it will do so?

Adm. Blair: I believe it will do so, yes.

BBC: And one final question. Iraq. Is that going to happen? Is there going to be attacks on Iraq next year?

Adm. Blair: I'm not in a position to answer that question.

BBC: Thank you very much.

Adm. Blair: Thank you.

This site is produced and maintained by the U.S. Department of State's Office of International Information Programs (usinfo.state.gov). Links to other Internet sites should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein.

[back to top](#) ▲

[IIP Home](#) | [Index to This Site](#) | [Webmaster](#) | [Search This Site](#) | [Archives](#) | [U.S. Department of State](#)

Copyright 2000 U.P.I.
United Press International

June 18, 2000, Sunday

need
for
intelligence

SECTION: GENERAL NEWS

LENGTH: 1958 words

HEADLINE: Analysis: Military's role in responding to **catastrophic terrorism**

BYLINE: By Brian Michael Jenkins

DATELINE: LOS ANGELES, June 18

BODY:

The role of the U.S. military in responding to **catastrophic terrorism** is generating the most controversy among the 36 recommendations made by the National Commission on Terrorism.

Driving the 36 proposals are three major concerns: One, the terrorist threat has changed, therefore, new thinking is required. Two, **intelligence, especially the collection of information from human sources, must be improved.** And three, we need to think now -- not in the middle of a crisis -- how the nation will deal with an incident of **catastrophic terrorism.**

It is the last issue, however, that has provoked controversy regarding the role of the military. The commission believes that a catastrophic incident of terrorism in the United States, possibly involving chemical or biological weapons, might require the Department of Defense to take over as the lead federal agency. Under current rules, the FBI has the lead role in crisis management in case of a large-scale terrorist incident, while the Federal Emergency Management Agency has lead agency responsibility for managing the consequences.

Specifically, the commission recommends that the president's assistant for national security affairs, in coordination with the secretary of defense and the attorney general, "develop and adopt detailed contingency plans that would transfer lead federal agency authority to the Department of Defense if necessary during a catastrophic attack or prior to an imminent attack." The commission also recommends that the secretary of defense establish a unified command structure that would integrate the capabilities to respond to **catastrophic terrorism.**

Having the Defense Department lead the federal response may not be most effective or appropriate approach. Which is precisely why I favor the commission's recommendation that we carefully examine the circumstances and procedures of any transition in relative calm, not in the shadow of a terrorist catastrophe when angry politicians and an alarmed public are screaming that something must be done.

How likely is **catastrophic terrorism**? No one knows. Uncertainty rules. Were we talking about bombings, the most common terrorist tactic, we could more confidently forecast that more will occur. The World Trade Center and Oklahoma City bombings, along with a half dozen foiled bombing plots in the 1990s, underline the continuing threat, the most recent episode being the plan to carry out a large-scale terrorist attack (or attacks) during the millennium celebrations.

Fortunately, there have been too few large-scale incidents involving the use of chemical or biological substances to support any forecast about their possible employment. Indeed, the

fact that out of tens of thousands of terrorist incidents worldwide over the past 30 years only a handful involved chemical or biological material suggests that there are technological difficulties or self-imposed constraints -- it isn't that easy or terrorists may not consider it that useful. At the same time, the lack of precedents does not mean it won't happen as we saw in the release of nerve gas in Tokyo's subways in 1995.

The commission's own assessment of the threat is well within the current consensus. Terrorists have become more determined to kill in quantity. Large-scale indiscriminate violence is the reality of today's terrorism. Truck bombs are its primary expression. We cannot rule out the possibility that tomorrow's terrorists will employ weapons of even greater potential lethality.

Thinking about the unthinkable is not new. Nearly 50 years of the Cold War obliged us to contemplate the possibility of an all out nuclear war in which tens of millions of Americans would lose their lives.

The commission does not define how many casualties make a catastrophe, but it is orders of magnitude less than tens of millions. Generally, analysts view **catastrophic terrorism** as an event with a thousand or more fatalities. That would put it well beyond the worst terrorist incidents to date and at the upper end of the worst accidental fires and explosions in modern history. The sarin attack in Tokyo killed 12 and made several thousand people ill, many of them not as a direct consequence of the nerve gas, but rather as a result of panic and psychosomatic symptoms.

The more likely terrorist scenarios may involve no more casualties than those of large truck bomb. However, even a small-scale terrorist attack involving chemical or biological substances could cause widespread alarm and potentially national panic, especially if the authorities appeared to be unprepared. For that reason alone, it is necessary to examine how **best** to communicate needed information and mobilize the necessary resources to effectively respond to such an incident.

The burden is not entirely on the government. We as citizens can also do much to maintain calm, ignore rumor, avoid overreaction, and assist one another. Disaster, war or epidemic can bring out the **best** in a community as it often has in our own past.

Civil libertarians say soldiers are trained for combat -- that should be their exclusive mission. It is not and never has been. There is a well-established history of military involvement in non-combat roles. Soldiers -- National Guardsmen and federal troops -- have assisted in emergency evacuations and relief work following natural disasters. They have supported public health authorities. They have run the air traffic control system and delivered the mail. They have patrolled the border and helped interdict drug smugglers, and they have assisted local authorities in maintaining or restoring order during civil disturbances. Federalized guardsmen and federal troops backed up the desegregation of American schools in the 1950s. The use of troops in emergency situations is neither unprecedented nor a threat to civil liberties.

Few would assert that the armed services are the ideal instrument to fulfill these various roles. But with trained personnel, an efficient management structure, tremendous logistics capability, a capacity to deal with large numbers of casualties, and special capabilities to deal with chemical and biological warfare, the armed forces constitute a powerful back up to local authorities and other federal agencies.

A worst case terrorist scenario might involve the military in some combination of missions: assisting public health officials, providing additional emergency medical support and disaster relief while helping local authorities maintain order.

Designating the Department of Defense as the lead federal agency does not usurp local

authority. It means coordinating the federal response, not martial law. Hollywood script writers and paranoid talk radio hosts may share visions of soldiers hunting terrorists on American soil, but that is not a realistic scenario. What would they look for? Task forces combining local police and FBI agents have been established in major cities to investigate terrorism. They have the authority and the competency. If needed, they can draw upon special military equipment such as protective clothing and masks or military expertise about chemical or biological weapons. The FBI would keep the lead at the federal level.

A sustained campaign of terrorism conceivably could bring out the troops to guard vital facilities. When faced with a terrorist bombing campaign on its subways, the French government flooded Paris with thousands of additional gendarmes and soldiers. It reassured a nervous public but did not halt the bombings. In the United States, there are mechanisms already in place to support local authorities who request federal assistance in preserving order.

A chemical incident, whether a terrorist attack or tipped over tank cars, is **best** handled by emergency services. Soldiers might assist in building temporary shelters and feeding an evacuated population, as they have done in hurricanes. FEMA would remain the appropriate federal lead agency.

A large-scale biological attack could stretch local capabilities. Military medical personnel could be mobilized to assist, military and veterans hospitals could provide additional beds; conceivably, soldiers could be called upon to patrol quarantine zones, and if necessary, help maintain order. Local public health authorities have enormous authority to deal with health emergencies, a legacy of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when epidemics of yellow fever, typhoid, cholera and other infectious diseases regularly struck American cities. At the federal level, the surgeon general, a uniformed official, should take the lead in dealing with what is essentially public health emergency.

A terrorist nuclear attack that causes thousands or tens of thousands of casualties -- truly a catastrophe -- would demand an increased federal role, but coping with an event of this magnitude would be an appropriate role for the president himself, with the perhaps the vice-president, assisted by a cabinet level working group, assuming day-to-day responsibility for coordinating the federal response to the incident. Such a structure was created for dealing with major incidents of terrorism.

In each of the cases outlined, the Department of Defense plays a supporting role to other agencies which already have legal authority and greater competency. Increasing the ability of the Department of Defense to provide support may not require designating it as the lead agency.

Moreover, designating the Department of Defense as a possible lead agency and establishing a new joint command to coordinate its efforts would create a new big player in Washington's bureaucracy. If it has the potential mission, the Defense Department's new command will understandably seek the resources to carry it out. That could, in turn, divert resources from other military missions and from civilian agencies.

Given the uncertainty of the terrorist threat, any large expenditure of limited resources should offer a dual use -- that is, efforts to increase the nation's capacity to deal with bio-terrorism are more easily justified if they also enhance the nation's capability to deal with outbreaks of new or re-emerging diseases that result from increased world trade and travel. Then, even if the dreaded incident of bio-terrorism never occurs, the effort has not been wasted. With that criterion in mind, would the country be better served by a strengthened public health service or a beefed-up military command?

Only in the upper register of catastrophe, the equivalent of wartime devastation, might existing federal response mechanisms prove inadequate, but that puts us in a realm far

above any single department or agency.

The commission, whose members represent vast experience in Washington, knows how government works. There are clear benefits in creating impetus for the Defense Department to catalogue its capabilities and assuring that all federal resources will be efficiently mobilized and deployed to assist local authorities in dealing with **catastrophic terrorism**. Giving Defense the lead is one approach.

At the same time, other departments and agencies of the federal government may have greater competency and mechanisms are in place for calling upon military reinforcements. It may not be desirable to divert resources to a new counterterrorist command -- the dual-use principle should apply. And it is always a good idea to keep civilian agencies in front when dealing with domestic issues. Before presuming a course of action, the alternatives need to be carefully examined.

(Brian Michael Jenkins, a senior adviser to the president of RAND Corp., served as an adviser to the National Commission on Terrorism).

LOAD-DATE: June 19, 2000

◀ [prev](#) Document 2 of 4 [next](#) ▶

[About LexisNexis™](#) | [Terms and Conditions](#) | [Privacy Policy](#) | [Support Identifier](#)
[Copyright © 2002 LexisNexis, a division of Reed Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.](#)



Message Alert
 You have **1 message** waiting for you.

[Home](#)
[Browse](#)
[Wireless](#)
[Store](#)
[Subscribe](#)
[More Britannica Sites](#)
[My Account](#)

The Web's Best Search

All Britannica.com

sir william robert grove



Log In or Subscribe Now

Magazines

Paid Adve

Log-in

Password

☐ Remember me

[Forgot your password?](#)

 Not a subscriber yet?
[Learn about the service.](#)

[Account Management](#)

Shopping



**Encyclopædia Britannica 2002
Print Set Suite**
 Price: USD \$1295
 Installment Plan also available -
 \$100 down and 0% Interest!



**Clever Kids Discovery Workshop,
Grades 6-8**
 Price: USD \$29.95
 You save 40%!



THE West Point Story.

Jul/Aug99, Vol. 10 Issue 4, p24
 American Enterprise
 by Kauffman, Bill

THE WEST POINT STORY

"This is a very sentimental place," says Colonel Charles F. Brower, IV (Class of 1969), professor and head of the Behavioral Sciences and Leadership Department at West Point. "It's hard to figure that out, but things have profound meaning when they're built upon so much experience and tradition."

Over six months I asked dozens of West Pointers, "What is your favorite spot?" on these 16,000 acres. The largest number answered "the cemetery," and most of them did so with a halt, a swallow, a dab at the eyes. No matter if our chat had been starchy or informal, acronym-clotted or fluid: mere mention of the West Point Cemetery carried an emotional charge like a bolt off nearby Storm King Mountain.

The dead (7,000) outnumber the cadets (4,000) at West Point. Pennies and pebbles rest on the grave markers: tokens of remembrance, many left by strangers, for the families of the departed are often far away. As if sent by central casting, deer lope past the white headstones at dusk. Some of the inhumed died in war (George Armstrong Custer, tourist favorite), others in peace (Army coach Red Blaik, whose football-shaped stone bears the legend, "On Brave Old Army Team"), one on the launching pad (Ed White, who was incinerated aboard Apollo 1). But just as all lie under West Point, in the end their loyalties lie with West Point.

What is it about the U.S. Military Academy that inspires fealty unto the grave? Its business, after all, is death. It can be "a place of bleak emotions, a great orphanage, chill in its appearance, rigid in its demands. There was occasional kindness but little love" as writer James Salter (W.P. 1945) recalls. Yet he adds, "In its place was comradeship and a standard that seemed as high as anyone



\$3.00

web

F

Its abs

\$

G

70

B

Pick

10 ti

Web

Other

Your

NOT

web M

You'll L

Britannica Concise Encyclopedia
Price: USD \$99

[Visit Britannica Store](#)

Paid Advertisement

FOR COLLEGE

[Go Army!](#)

symantec.

[Click here for computer protection.](#) Norton Internet Security

Canter

[Earn a Master's Degree in Education! Distance learning for TEACHERS.](#)

WorkLife

[Find a job. Get a free resume evaluation. Enter to win a free laptop!](#)

comradeship and a standard that seemed as high as anyone could know. It included self-reliance and death if need be. West Point did not make character, it extolled it. It taught one to believe in difficulty, the hard way, and to sleep, as it were, on bare ground"

I came to West Point not with starry eyes but with a suspicious mind, as the song goes. I expected a grey, unrelievedly martial world. That is not what I found. (Indeed, at my first stop, the West Point Club restaurant, I was serenaded in the men's room by the piped-in sounds not of Wagner or Sousa but of Michael Bolton and James Taylor--which made me, at least, want to kill kill kill.)

There is, inevitably, a Potemkin-village quality to any tour of what is, after all, a military installation and government operation. The Public Affairs Office was exceptionally cooperative over the many months of this story's gestation, but even our heroically indefatigable guide, Deb DeGraw, could not comply with a request to meet with "disgruntled cadets." We saw, for the most part, the best West Point has to offer. But one need not be a worshiper at the Church of the Pentagon to appreciate the Academy's virtues, notably an honor code that demands truthfulness in our age of Big Lies.

Philosophy professor Louis Pojman is, at first glance, an unlikely defender of West Point. He is no Sergeant Stryker or military wannabe who gets weak-kneed at the sight of a man in a uniform. "You might say I've been a convert to West Point" he says. Pojman has led the peripatetic life typical of an academic (or a soldier) and has found amidst the Gothic Gray "a kind of idealistic commitment that reminds me of Notre Dame. I've seen so much debauchery and decadence at American colleges; this is really an oasis. There are few academic settings where character and moral values are taken so seriously, where discipline and integrity are valued as highly, where young people are learning to accept stress in their youth. If our nation is to survive its shallow hedonism, it will be because of training like that of West Point." (This, mind you, from the green-ish author of the standard text *Environmental Ethics*.)

For its first century of existence, the U.S. Military Academy at West Point was an institution both revered and reviled. It produced Robert E. Lee, who never collected a single demerit during his four years and went on to serve as its superintendent, and Ulysses S. Grant, who said the happiest day of his life was "the day I left West Point" The Academy is credited with preserving the Union and with destroying the Founders' ideal of a citizen-army. Abolition of the Academy was a live issue in Congress until the twentieth century, when world wars made heroes and celebrities of West Pointers like Douglas MacArthur (1903),

*Lee
Demerits*

Dwight Eisenhower ('15), and Omar Bradley ('15).

Gradually, West Point became enveloped in a romantic haze: It was a place of dashing cadets, of smart parades across the Plain, of Saturday football games along a resplendent Hudson River. Young boys devoured Red Reeder's novels of cadet life; reverential movies were made, from *The Long Gray Line* to the ineffable *West Point Story* (1950), in which James Cagney and Virginia Mayo dance and wisecrack their way into the hearts of some really swell cadets.

Then came Vietnam. Linebacker-halfback Sam Bartholomew ('66) remembers the war's first obvious impact on the Academy as comical: "The football team had the 'Chinese bandits'--defensive specialists. Whenever the bandits would go in the cadets would put on coolie hats," until the Secretaries of the Army and Defense banished the coolies and their Commie imagery.

But as the war expanded, West Point grew grimmer. Graduates were coming home as corpses. Thirty of Bartholomew's classmates died in Southeast Asia; more than 100 were wounded.

The cadet buzz-cut became the symbol of a myrmidon who was willing to kill and die for Robert McNamara and Lyndon Johnson. Current Commandant John Abizaid ('73) bitterly recalls going to Boston College for a football game and "being saluted with 'Sieg Heil.'" West Point lost its allure; the once-choosy Academy had to admit every single qualified applicant to fill the entering class in 1968.

The Academy has recovered nicely. Once more it is among the nation's best math and engineering schools. The cadets are top-notch, their leaders are impressive men, hazing is verboten, no one ever skips class, and the cadets call you "sir" whether they mean it or not. Yet in some respects, this is not the West Point of MacArthur and Eisenhower, let alone Lee. Although all graduates receive a B.S., English majors roam the grounds. Women parade across the Plain--and live in the co-ed barracks. For \$300 million a year, West Point graduates 900 second lieutenants every May, and as the USMA approaches its bicentennial in 2002, we ought to ask again the most fundamental questions: What is West Point? And why is West Point?

"SOMETHING LARGER THAN MYSELF"

"Of the river scenery of America, the Hudson, at Wests Point, is doubtless the boldest and most beautiful," said nineteenth-century poet Nathaniel Parker Willis. The British coveted this strategically vital bend in the Hudson; had they captured the batteries at West Point they could

have severed the link between New York City and the interior of the country--a severance that might have pleased some later Americans, but that would have disrupted communications and supplies during the Revolution, perhaps dooming the cause of independence.

As early as 1776 the Continental Congress debated the creation of a "Military Academy for the Army" so that we would not have to rely on foreign engineers in the unlikely event of future wars. In 1782 a "Corps of Invalids"--surely a name to frighten off potential aggressors!--was established at West Point whereby lame veterans would teach mathematics to younger officers.

Henry Knox and Alexander Hamilton convinced George Washington of the necessity for a national military academy; two days before his death at Mount Vernon, the ex-President took quill in hand and endorsed "a Military Academy" as being "of primary importance to this country."

Hamilton's arch-foe, Thomas Jefferson, had opposed such an academy on the grounds that it was "unauthorized by the Constitution." As was so often the case, President Jefferson disagreed with citizen Jefferson, and in March 1802, he signed into law the legislation creating the United States Military Academy. The institution was a ramshackle affair for 15 years. In 1812, the corps consisted of a single cadet, for Jeffersonians led by Secretary of War William Eustis stunted the Academy on grounds of parsimony in government and a belief in the citizen militia as opposed to the dreaded standing army.

A humorless New England autocrat named Sylvanus Thayer, the thirty-third cadet to be graduated from West Point, saved the Academy when he was appointed Superintendent in 1817. Thayer instituted summer encampments, which persist to this day, as well as daily grading, the ranking of cadets, and rules so strict as to invite disbelief, if not open rebellion: Cadets were not permitted to read novels, play musical instruments, possess cooking utensils, or send unauthorized letters to loved ones. Thayer also turned West Point into the best engineering and science school in the country--and, in ways not much acknowledged anymore, fundamentally altered the Academy's mission.

For as Stephen Ambrose wrote in his standard history, *Duty, Honor, Country: A History of West Point*, "Graduates of the Academy would not even be expected to remain in the Army, where there probably would be no room for them in any case, but they were expected upon their return to civil life to join the local militia company and direct its training and, in war, its fighting." Thus the Academy was intended to reinforce the militia system and not become the heart and mind of a permanent army. Yet

by 1838 Congress had imposed an obligation of four years' service on graduating cadets, and it has fluctuated thereabouts ever since.

Abolition of the Academy was hotly debated in the 1830s and 1840s. (Congressman Davy Crockett called it "not only aristocratic, but a downright invasion of the rights of the citizen, and a violation of the civil compact called 'the Constitution.'") But the Mexican War saved its bacon, as several graduates performed with distinction.

Although three-quarters of the West Point grads who fought in the Civil War wore the Union blue, Confederate President Jefferson Davis was of the class of 1828, and the Confederate generalship was dominated by USMA products. Senate Republicans took up where Crockett had left off: Senator Chandler of Michigan demanded abolition of this viper's nest that had produced more traitors "within the last 50 years than all the institutions of learning and education that have existed since Judas Iscariot's time." Moreover, Northern West Point generals like George McClellan (1846) seemed shy of carnage; one Republican politician charged that the Union army was riddled with "scores of luke warm, half secession [West Point] officers in command who cannot bear to strike a vigorous blow lest it hurt their rebel friends or jeopardize the precious protectors of slavery."

William Faulkner once said that in, the South, the past not only isn't forgotten--it isn't even past. At no If American school is the past so present as at West Point. (Faulkner's visit to the Academy in 1962 was one of his last public appearances. "I had the layman's notion that this was a stiff, regimented place where robots move to numbers" he said, "and I've found it's a little different.") Cadets are made to understand that they are part of the Long Gray Line, which stretches back into a misty past and ahead to an unknowable future; from the halls of Sylvanus Thayer to the shores of West Africa. "Much of the history we teach was made by people we taught," is a point of pride at the Academy; West Pointers commanded both sides in 55 of the 60 major battles of the Civil War and supplied 89 of 155 U.S. ground commanders during the Second World War.

It would be a dull cadet indeed who could walk these grounds for four days, let alone four years, and not get the message: We Produce Great Men. West Point's baseball team plays at Doubleday Field, named for Abner Doubleday (1842), who in legend if not fact invented baseball. The grounds are dotted with cannon, festooned with regimental flags, decorated with statuary reminders of wars past. George S. Patton faces the library--an in-joke, for legend has it he scarcely visited the place during his

five years as a cadet. ("Pa I am stupid there is no use talking I am stupid," he wrote his father.)

Most of the buildings were constructed at the dawn of the twentieth century; they are gray and forbidding, neo-Gothic monuments with a gargoyle here and there, perhaps as homage to the Hudson's venerable reputation as host of goblins and headless Hessians. Though the design has been called "grimly purposeful," there is a spooky, eldritch quality, and it is no surprise that Ralph Adams Cram, namesake of the architecture firm responsible for most of the structures, was a master of the ghost story.

Ritual and tradition animate (critics say "deaden") every aspect of West Point, from R-Day, when parents transfer more than 1,100 sons and daughters to the USMA and watch them--heads shorn, posture erect--parade at sunset, to graduation day, when the 900 or so survivors will toss their white hats into the sky at Michie Stadium, and hundreds of children scramble after the prizes (cadets often hide pictures, dollar bills, and charms inside). The sight of a cadet pushing a child in a wheelchair in pursuit of a hat--and the child's delight at its possession--could make the curmudgeon H. L. Mencken bawl. Proud parents beam, yet there is a hint of sadness in the air, for their children are gone now for five more years, scattered around the globe, in their new family, the U.S. Army, and "home" will be a series of temporary bases.

It is ceremony, plus the shared tribulations that grow harsher with each retelling at alumni gatherings, that imbues cadets with a lifelong attachment to a place of gray walls and bitter Februaries. The Saturday morning parades in the fall, three hours before kickoff time, stir the hearts of visitors and annoy the sleep-deprived cadets, who respond by cracking jokes in the ranks and passing along the coordinates of comely spectators. But the stiff dignity of a march serves a purpose. Novelist Ed Ruggero (1980) told me, "I was in the fourth regiment, the last to leave the parade field.... By the time we passed in front of the Superintendent's reviewing stand the band was playing, 'The Army Song.' Looking through the files of bayonets and rifles ahead of me, I could see the Supe's house, the dark trees in the garden, the hills beyond. It was always on that stretch that I felt most distinctly that I was part of something larger than myself, something worth belonging to"

A note on West Point argot and hierarchy is in order. Freshmen are plebes, sophomores are yearlings, juniors are cows, and seniors are firsties. The Superintendent, or Supe (currently Lieutenant General Daniel W. Christman) runs the place; the Commandant of Cadets (Brigadier General John P. Abizaid) is in charge of the

student-soldiers, particularly their military training. The Dean of the Academic Board (Brigadier General Fletcher M. Lamkin, Jr.) rules the academic roost.

Superintendent Christman, who graduated first in the class of 1965, lives in the 1820 federal-style home of Sylvanus Thayer, a football's throw from the cadet barracks. ("It's like living in a two-room apartment attached to a museum," he says, with the papers and furniture and bric-a-brac of former occupants like Robert E. Lee and Douglas MacArthur.) Superintendent has become a "career job"--next stop, Retirement Village--for three-star generals who serve here for five years, on the theory that this positioning elevates them above petty service politics.

Superintendent Christman is popular with the cadets; despite expanding military training, he is regarded as something of a liberalizer, though nowhere near as thoroughgoing as the greatest liberalizer in the Academy's history, Douglas MacArthur, who, with memories of the merciless hazing he took in his plebe year, became Superintendent in 1919 and proceeded to broaden course offerings, bring in civilian professors, codify the honor system, greatly expand the sports program, and break down the utter isolation of the cadets, who were permitted more leaves and more mail.

The Superintendent's office is lined with portraits of his predecessors, including MacArthur, who delivered his "Duty, Honor, Country" valediction in May 1962 to a mess hall assemblage that included a plebe from Ohio named Daniel Christman. ("Today marks my final roll call with you," MacArthur told the hushed cadets. "But I want you to know that when I cross the river, my last conscious thoughts will be of the corps, and the corps, and the corps." MacArthur's wife, almost alone among auditors, was unmoved, but as she explained, "This is the twenty-ninth time I've heard it.")

There's an old gag that says, "West Point enjoys two centuries of tradition untouched by progress," but that's a lie. The Academy is sensitive to changes in U.S. foreign policy. MacArthur told the cadets, "Your mission remains fixed, determined, inviolable--it is to win our wars." Yet Christman now explains that "We define wars much more broadly than MacArthur ever envisioned. Our mission is to win at any operation: restoring power in Dade County, Florida, if we're asked to do that, or killing Iraq's Republican Guard, if necessary." The curriculum has mutated in response to Kuwait, Somalia, Serbia, et al. "We've moved away from an emphasis on Western European Judeo-Christian history" says the Superintendent. "We're teaching a lot more about Islamic history, Arabic and Chinese, understanding Africa and South Asia" For one

never knows where next the armed forces of peacekeeping will alight. (Professor Pojman is dedicating his next book to his cadets--"who will give new significance to the green uniform"--the implication being that West Point is training tomorrow's officers for a military of pollution-fighters.)

No one better personifies the changes at West Point than Lucian Truscott IV, enfant terrible of the Class of 1969. His first novel, *Dress Gray*, in which a maverick cadet, Ry Slight, takes on a villainous commandant in trying to discover the murderer of a gay cadet, was banned at West Point; 20 years later, he does book signings here.

Truscott is the son of a West Pointer, grandson of the man who commanded the Allied landing at Anzio, and a descendant of Thomas Jefferson. (He'll be buried with his family at Monticello.) He was a refractory cadet who accumulated demerits the way kids collect baseball cards. His writing career began as a sophomore, with a letter to the *Village Voice* that read, "Abbie Hoffman's an idiot." He graduated 658th in his class and was drummed out of the Army after one year.

In *Dress Gray*, a character tells Ry Slight, "Some day, this place is going to change. It won't happen while you and I are here, but we'll see it in our lifetime. You can count on that."

Well, change did come, and it is reflected in Truscott's sequel, *Full Dress Gray* (1998). Ry Slight, who quit the Academy at the end of *Dress Gray*, is back as Superintendent of a multicultural West Point at which he is "charged with defending that which he had once challenged with such vehemence." The novel succeeds as a page-turner, despite its cartoon villains--the two bad guys are scions of a "tobacco-farming family" and "the Nassau County Republican machine." But what is fascinating about *Full Dress Gray* is the extent to which Truscott has now fully embraced an institution at which he was about as *persona non grata* as you can get.

Dress Gray reads as if written by a radical democrat of the early nineteenth century--a Davy Crockett who questions the very need for West Point. *Full Dress Gray*, despite the sinister machinations of an evil commandant and his cadet henchmen, is a virtual valentine to the Long Gray Line. "One of the great ironies of my life is that... I end up being a defender" of West Point, says Truscott. Asked what he would reform about the place, he replies, "I wouldn't do anything different than what Superintendent Christman is doing right now."

Truscott returned last summer to a welcome fit for a prodigal son, supping on the fatted calf at the Supe's

house. General Christman says, "I devoured Full Dress Gray. And having read his cybertraffic on the West Point Forum, I found myself agreeing an awful lot with what he said." Dean Lamkin says of Truscott that, "In his heart of hearts he's a patriot and believes in this institution." As, indeed, he does. Truscott doubts he'd have graduated from any other school: "If I'd gone to Berkeley I'd have flunked out in six months for chasing hippie chicks. West Point probably is the only place I could have graduated from, because it made you have discipline--and in those days I was rather lacking in the discipline category."

"YOU BROUGHT NOTHING INSIDE EXCEPT YOURSELF"

Before a contumacious teenager can be turned into a disciplined, tradition-minded cadet, he or she must be admitted to West Point, which since 1843 has operated an official quota system, through which appointments to the Academy are primarily allotted by states and congressional districts. About three-fourths of the 1,200 new cadets each year have been nominated by a member of the House or Senate; the other places are reserved for soldiers from the regular Army, sons and daughters of career soldiers, and other military-connected candidates. "Most people think your mom or dad has to make a contribution to your member of Congress, and that's absolutely not true" assures Director of Admissions Colonel Michael L. Jones (1970).

The cadet profile is a guidance counselor's dream. For the class of 2001, the mean SAT scores are 620 verbal and 644 math; 90 percent earned varsity letters, and almost two-thirds, remarkably, were team captains. Ruggero the novelist writes, "While West Point attracted some of the brightest students in America, they were not the same kids who would have gone to Harvard or MIT. They were the kind of students who did well at Penn State and the University of Texas."

A knack for trigonometry is not enough. The admissions department rank orders candidates by a "whole candidate score" which also takes into account "leadership skills" and performance on a physical aptitude exam, which includes pull-ups, a standing long jump, a basketball throw, and other feats beyond the ability of your typical MIT geek. Physical standards are lower for female applicants.

In May 1998, the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Equal Opportunity released a study showing "a substantial academic qualifications gap between black and white applicants who have been accepted for future enrollment" at West Point. Using data from the incoming plebe class in the fall of 1995, the CEO found that white admittees outscored black admittees by an average of 40 points on

verbal SATs and 60 points on math SATs.

Academy officials replied with the usual boilerplate about "diversity" and the ever-useful "problems with methodology" but they need not have been defensive: After all, West Point is based on a quota system, albeit one with a geographical base.

Whatever leg up affirmative action gives blacks today at West Point is dwarfed by the preferences granted to southern and western whites in antebellum days, when young men from the interior of the country simply did not have access to the kind of education enjoyed by the sons of prosperous East Coast families. Throughout the nineteenth century, Superintendents begged Congress to tighten admission standards, to no avail, for the ingenious congressional appointment system was a rich source of patronage.

Besides, some of the unlettered turned out rather well: For instance, a Virginia country boy named Thomas J. Jackson, dressed in homespun, gained admission despite making it painfully clear that "he could add up a column of figures, but as to vulgar or decimal fractions, it is doubtful if he had ever heard of them," as a classmate said. The examining board admitted him, in an obvious case of affirmative action for hard-working crackers, and his diligence and native smarts soon made him one of the class of 1846's better students. (In the war that followed Thomas J. Jackson picked up the nickname "Stonewall," and now you know the rest of the story.)

The first black graduate of West Point, Henry Ossian Flipper (1877), declared, "If my manhood cannot stand without a governmental prop, then let it fall. If I am to stand on any other ground than the one white cadets stand upon, then I don't want the cadetship" Today, says Louis Pojman, the green-ish philosophy professor, "there's a little bit of affirmative action and the cadets hate it. When they see someone get pushed up because of her gender or because they need a black person, they talk. That's a demoralizer, but it doesn't happen much."

If nineteenth-century West Point had an aristocratic tincture, the current corps of cadets is largely middle class. "In this century our nobles have not encouraged their sons to go to West Point" notes Gore Vidal, who was born in the cadet hospital, son of West Point's star quarterback Gene Vidal (1918). The almost comically genteel nature of the haughty nineteenth-century cadet is illustrated by a story told of the painter James McNeill Whistler, who arrived in 1851 and left two years later, done in by his "unfortunate opinion that silicon was a gas." An instructor once reproved Whistler: "what! You do not know the date

of the battle of Buena Vista? Suppose you were to go out to dinner and the company began to talk of the Mexican War, and you, a West Point man, were asked the date of the battle. What would you do? Do?" replied Whistler coolly. "Why, I should refuse to associate with people who could talk of such things at dinner!"

The Academy acts as a leveller. As a general explains in John P. Marquand's novel *Melville Goodwin, USA*, "you brought nothing inside there with you except yourself. Pocket money, family, and chauffeurs did not matter at the Point." In his critical *Ivory Fortress: A Psychiatrist Looks at West Point* (1974), former West Point shrink Richard U'Ren wrote of a gathering of cadets and parents: "One cadet's father, from Virginia, came dressed in a Brooks Brothers suit, while another's, from Louisiana, wore a blue bowling shirt: yet it was impossible to determine which cadet belonged to which father." Whether this is a refreshing obliteration of class distinctions or an appalling triumph of enforced sameness and dull uniformity is for each reader to decide.

THE BURDEN OF BEAST

New cadets arrive in late June, and if they are not feted at frat mixers and juice-bar receptions, they don't expect to be. "When I first came here, I had this idea that upperclassmen were going to be hitting me," laughs firstie Thurman McKenzie, a varsity track athlete.

They don't hit you anymore; instead, the teenaged newcomers are thrown into "Beast Barracks" the decidedly feral nickname for Cadet Basic Training. As Commandant of Cadets, Brigadier General John Abizaid is the commanding officer of the corps. Sturdily built and witty, Abizaid is described as a "soldier's soldier" by subordinates. "It's really funny to watch these guys come in here with their hats on backwards, and next thing you know we turn them into soldiers," Abizaid says as he shows me a video of Beast Barracks. (West Point is big on promotional videos set to incongruous rock music. In this one, new cadets are soldierized to the tune of "Takin' Care of Business," that classic '70s ode to idleness. Another video shows Pointers peacekeeping in Somalia to the strains of U2's "Where the Streets Have No Name.")

For six weeks, more than a thousand 18-year-olds will wake at 5:20 a.m. and spend their days running, rappelling, shining shoes, and studying their M-16s as though they were geometric theorems. When addressed by an upperclassman, they can say one of four things: Yes, sir; No, sir; Sir, I do not understand; or No excuse, sir. (Cadet Mattox of Los Angeles says that after plebe year, "I even began my prayers, 'Sir'") New cadets are permitted

one 10-minute call home each week. Televisions and other mass culture entertainment are not permitted. Between 4 and 9 percent will quit during Beast Barracks, and it's a long ride home, especially for dropouts from small towns, who are typically given a hero's sendoff when leaving for the Point.

Beast Barracks is largely cadet-run. New arrivals are divided into squads of ten; upperclassmen act as squad leaders in what is seen as a manufactory of leadership. Some are bullies, others want to be everybody's pal; some inspire, others berate. But the grant of responsibility usually does its job: junior Bryce Bowman of suburban Buffalo, New York, says that being a squad leader was the experience that made him feel finally, fully, part of the Long Gray Line.

The new cadets do almost everything, right down to shoeshining, as a team. "Cooperate and graduate" goes one adage, for as former English professor Pat C. Hoy says, "Few believe they can make it alone. Those who try usually fail. A lone rifleman does not wage war and win." (Hoy, who went on to teach at Harvard, lamented, "at Harvard, where I see so few signs of restraint, I'm yearning for the gifts of community. At West Point I had yearned for freedom and solitude.")

Those who have endured Beast Barracks describe it best. "It's an initiation far harder than Army basic training" according to General Norman Schwarzkopf (1956), "designed to drive out those plebes who can't handle physical and psychological stress, and teach the survivors the discipline and basic skills they need to get along at West Point."

Separated from family, friends, and hometown, the fledgling passes through this summer crucible and emerges a West Point cadet. Something has been gained--and lost, as well. As critic U'Ren writes, "Since cooperation and discipline are esteemed so highly in the military, individualism and self-reliance--the old civilian virtues--must be ruthlessly expunged." Colonel Kerry Pierce, director of the Office of Policy Planning and Analysis, stresses that cadets must learn that "the group is more important than the individual," and as this is at odds with the dominant American ethos, it belies the hackneyed claim that West Point is "quintessentially American." It is not--for better and/or for worse.

Beast Barracks is prominent in West Point lore not only for the ingenuity of the hazing--forcing the newcomers to drink Tabasco sauce and toothpaste, stand at attention on their heads, warm toilet seats for upperclassmen, and other wholesome hijinks now largely banished--but for its

"West Pointicization": Memorizing old football scores, Academy facts, and, most colorfully, bizarre definitions. "How's the cow?" upperclassmen ask the lowly plebe, to which he responds, "Sir, she walks, she talks, she's full of chalk, the lacteal fluid extracted from the female of the bovine species is highly prolific to the nth degree."

Irreverence is not among the qualities contributing to an applicant's whole candidate score, but it ought to be. A longstanding joke (updated every few years for inflation) has it that West Point is a "\$250,000 education, shoved up your anatomy a nickel at a time." Upperclassmen are high unanimous in proclaiming a sense of humor as the sine qua non of a successful plebe year. The healthiest way to deal with a picayune regulation--besides quitting--is to obey and have a good laugh later. "I remember making it back to my room, dosing the door, and laughing so hard" at the absurdity of it all, says one junior. Then he fell asleep, woke up before sunrise the next morning, and did it all over again.

Non-sadistic hazing has a purpose beyond cruelty. "There's a tendency, when you're 18 years old, in a new environment, and people are yelling at you, to just want to give up" notes Lucian Truscott. "My experience was you didn't get guys to not give up by being nice to them. They learn they can endure pretty much anything--that's why they don't give up." Nonetheless, the cruder forms of hazing have largely vanished--one of the Academy's ubiquitous "mission statements" declares that instilling "sensitivity to the needs and feelings of others" is a purpose of Beast Barracks. Today's regimen, however, is perhaps more demanding than in Tabasco-guzzling days. That old spoilsport Commandant Abizaïd has de-emphasized fraternity froth and rededicated Beast Barracks to "rifle marksmanship, road marches, tactical training" and other military skills, for as he says bluntly--his manner of speech is so forthright, so unadorned, that he probably speaks to his mother bluntly--"West Point is not going to school to be a physics major; it's learning to drive a tank."

"Yeah, I know the definition of leather [one of the ritual memory tests], but this summer the things we were asked to memorize were much more military--the soldiers' creed and everything about our assault rifle and grenades" says plebe Andrew Scott, a descendant of General Winfield Scott, old Fuss 'n' Feathers of Mexican War fame, whose remains repose in the West Point Cemetery. Andy's sister, Katherine, is a firstie, a battalion commander: She lives in Scott Hall, named after her preening ancestor. Sibling relations are strange, though not necessarily strained, at West Point. "We can talk to each other" says Kate. "No plebes can interact with upperclassmen, that's

fraternization. But it's my brother, so I'm allowed to recognize him. If I was walking across the area and saw him, he wouldn't just come up and say, 'Hey, Kate.' He would stand at attention. But he can come over to my room. I can give him advice, but I try to stay away from giving him unfair advantages. That's not what a brother or sister is for; we can be there for moral support."

The generals who run West Point today are products of the Vietnam years--the Academy's nadir. A poll of firsties in 1971 found that more than half regretted coming to West Point. (It wasn't all bleakness, though. The highlight of Vietnam-era protest along the Hudson came on Moratorium Day 1969, when 200 Vassar girls presented flowers to the cadets. The soldiers-to-be greeted them with wry cordiality. One football player, offered a daffodil, promptly ate it; another cadet announced that he had to leave, as he was late for "poison-gas class.")

After the war, a West Point captain said, "Vietnam taught us something about leadership. You can't be out of touch with the people you are going to lead. In Vietnam, if you gave an order that the troops didn't understand, they might say, 'F*** you, Jack. I'm not going. See you around.' Someone who comes out of this place has to know how to deal with that kind of thing."

Thus the emphasis by Christman & Co. on "ridding this institution of vestiges of sophomoric behavior." The Supe contends "there was for far too long a feeling that we could hector and berate a plebe and that was okay, that somehow we'd go out into the Army and not be affected by that. Well, I saw too many junior officers deal with their platoon or company the way an upperclassman dealt with a plebe--and you don't do that."

"SIR, THE DESSERT TODAY IS OREOS..."

Much as Commandant Abizaïd may be loath to admit it, West Point is a school; each cadet's room contains a personal computer but not a gun. (The computer's cost is deducted from their pay, which totals about \$7,000 a year.) Typically, a cadet rises at 6:00 and spends the bulk of the day in class, until mandatory athletics in late afternoon. Leisure time--or study time, as it were--is reserved for evenings. Taps is played over the barracks intercom at 11:30; lights must be out by midnight, except for firsties (a recent liberalization). Televisions are not permitted for a cadet's first two years; plebes may have stereos after their first Christmas, but the noise mustn't travel down the hall. Drinking and drug use are forbidden.

In some respects these are typical college kids--Gary Conway, director of cadet radio station WKDT, tells me

that the corps prefers alternative rock and country to John Philip Sousa. But in other ways--well, as Bryce Bowman asks, "In how many colleges do you wake up and say to your roommate, 'How do we clean our room today?'" Nor are there many schools in which fatigued students who start to nod off in class are encouraged to stand in order to stay awake. Unnerving to the instructor, one might think, but they seem not to mind.

In his retirement at Gettysburg, where he could walk around Cemetery Ridge and Little Round Top and all those other lyrically named bloodbaths he had studied half a century before, Dwight Eisenhower wrote, "The pleasures of a cadet's life were the same in my day as they were in Grant's and probably are today--the forbidden food tidbits smuggled in from the outside and enjoyed in barracks after taps, the long winter evenings spent in unauthorized meetings discussing graduation prospects, the practical jokes on each other or on the lowly plebe." The homely pleasures of cadet life remain constant. They are bonded through common trials; these friendships, which will last past a lifetime, give their lives shape and ballast.

"This is not a monastery" insists Supe Christman, despite the T-shirt that reads, "Sex Kills...Go to West Point and Live Forever." Whereas once the plebe was forbidden to go home from R-Day until the next summer--an obvious attempt to sever him from family and home--today he gets two weekend passes before his first Christmas, and in subsequent years "weekend opportunities grow exponentially," says Christman.

Ed Ruggero worries about this. "West Pointers are often criticized for being socially immature, probably as a result of being locked up for four years. They get out to their first assignments and many of them act like high school sophomores (I was one of those). In recent years cadets have been given more privileges--leaves, passes, etc.--with the idea that they'll know how to act. I don't think this will make them soft, but I am concerned that it will dilute those bonds that come from shared experiences. I believe this is one of the problems the Naval Academy faces; midshipmen are a lot closer to being college students than are West Point cadets. They also have many of the same problems other college students have (cheating, drugs, sex scandals)."

Ruggero may be playing the part of Old Grad--each class is convinced, says Christman, that theirs was the "last time when Beast Barracks was still Beast Barracks"--but he is asking the question that West Point has asked and answered differently every few years--since 1802: What is the proper balance between regimentation and liberty? A restive cadet in the 1970s asserted, "The central, ironic

paradox of Academy life is that the institution attempts to build leaders by denying them room for individual choice, thought, and initiative." Or as a critic of the academies puts it, "Compare this to the lifestyle of an ROTC cadet who attends a civilian university. Those cadets, generally, hold jobs to help pay for their education and some even have families to support. They must decide on their own whether or not to stay up late, go to class, stay in shape, etc. It is incumbent upon them to discipline themselves," whereas "Academy cadets have most of their decisions made for them.... The Academy may produce a more regimented officer, but not necessarily a more self-disciplined one."

At 12:05 p.m., the 4,000 members of the corps of cadets eat lunch in cavernous Washington Hall, underneath an assortment of early American and state flags. I am guided to the table of Company C-4 by Joanna Pietrantonio, a firstie from Southern New Jersey, a platoon leader who looks as though she could be cast as the pretty and wholesome cadet--the anti-Heather Locklear--in a weekly West Point TV series. (See nearby sidebar.) She is an English major who likes T. S. Eliot, Emily Dickinson, Ezra Pound, and opera. There are ten of us, including three plebes who sit, ramrod straight, at the end of the table opposite "Table Commandant" Iker, a friendly firstie from Oklahoma. The table commandant sets the tone for the table, which is conversational but not raucous. Among those at our repast is Ben Cilver, a wrestler from Auburn, Washington, who took last year off and did volunteer work in Nepal, Bangladesh, and India to "escape the concrete, materialist society I'm in here sometimes." Cilver is an engaging fellow: a real self-improver, the sort who "if I'm reading a book and I don't understand a word I look it up." Imagine Jack Kerouac at West Point--athlete, Christian, a boy with wanderlust whose post-Army dream is "to go to a little high school, teach English lit., and coach wrestling, just like my father."

Lunch today is sloppy joes and scalloped potatoes (dietician Dawn Roper tells me that the cadets prefer "pizza and wings, like all teenagers"); the entire corps is served simultaneously in a herculean feat of scullery. In 20 minutes, our plates will be cleaned.

One of the plebes reports, "Sir, the dessert today is Oreo cookies." This news is digested, and I reflect on the self-discipline it takes to announce, without smiling and with a sense of gravity, the presence of black and white cookies. We eat and chat, all but the plebes, who are quiet. They are permitted to eat unmolested, however, unlike in days of yore. (Sam Bartholomew recalls, "I'll never forget July 4, 1962. I had a big steak, strawberry shortcake, and french fries dumped in the trash because

an upperclassman thought I had mixed up the first and last names of the actress in Godzilla vs. Frankenstein.")

A plebe still may not speak to an upperclassman unless spoken to. I ask the trio of plebes, "Do you dread being in the presence of these guys, the upperclassmen? Yes, sir," they reply in unison.

Lunch has been wolfed down, and a plebe stands to report, "Sir, there are two and a butt end stalks of broccoli left." (I was reassured of the cadets' basic normality when, later, Ben Celter told me that he and his classmates also find it hard not to crack smiles at this sober-faced accounting of the table's scraps.) At meal's end, the command is given to all cadets, "Brigade rise" and the plebes of C-4 stand and shout, "Go Cowboys, fire it up, C-4, yee-hah, you know it." Cadet Pietrantonio tells me that C-4 is the only company that makes its plebes yell its motto. It's "loud and obnoxious," she says with a smile, but "our company is really close," unlike her company of her first two years, which "was not cohesive" and had "a lot of arguing and resentment toward the chain of command."

For all the humanizing--or weakening, choose your adjective--reforms of recent years, West Point can still sometimes be stern, forbidding, mirthless. Most cadets do time in the slough of despond--to which religion is a favorite antidote.

Ardent West Pointers speak of the corps as Christians speak of the body of believers. West Point is no longer an Episcopalian redoubt--is any place this side of the Connecticut suburbs?--but the hillside Cadet Chapel remains a looming (and booming--its 20,000-pipe organ is the largest in the world) Gothic hillside presence. Catholic and Jewish chapels also grace the grounds; there are no plans--yet--for a mosque.

Mandatory chapel attendance was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1973--a good thing, says staff chaplain Scott McChrystal, for it "served the purpose of inoculation: you take something so you don't get it later." The chaplain is an ordained minister with the Assemblies of God--you can't get much farther from West Point's historic Episcopalianism--who boasts an unusual resume: He was a platoon leader in Vietnam and a tactical officer at The Citadel before he heard The Word. He estimates that at least half the cadets participate in some form of worship--many in such parachurch groups as Officers Christian Fellowship or Navigators--although he curses the enemy Time. "There are ample opportunities to integrate your faith with what we do. But if you don't grab ahold and make time, that will get squeezed out by seemingly more urgent requirements. My son [a plebe] is pressed to find

even 10 minutes for devotion in a day."

There is probably less racial segregation at West Point than at other institutions of higher learning. Some of this is due to compulsion--cadets eat, live, work with other members of their company; there are no "black tables" or "ethnic dorms" of the sort found elsewhere. (Cadets do note that Asian students tend to hang together; the "Asian Connection" they call it.) But the religiosity of many cadets dissolves racial barriers. Like athletics, Bible studies and Sunday school are instruments of integration.

As for politics, the corps is more Republican than most student bodies this side of Hillsdale College. Cadets are careful not to denigrate the Commander in Chief in front of outsiders with pads and pencils, but seldom is heard a venerating word about President Clinton. Gore Vidal, who has written about his birthplace with both affection and mordant wit, captured the irony of a military academy full of "conservatives" with his observation that "the ideals of socialism are anathema to them even though, paradoxically, the West Pointer is entirely cared for by the state from his birth in an Army hospital (if he is born into a military family) to taps at government expense in a federal bone-yard."

SOMETIMES A STUDENT...

The B.S. is the only degree granted at West Point, although cadets may major in 19 fields, including such unscientific frovolities as History or Philosophy and Literature. But every cadet takes the same 31-course core: 16 are in the "humanities and social sciences" 15 are "math, science, & engineering." This ratio is disturbing to those who fear the Academy is becoming just another college (albeit one that requires students to study "Terrain Analysis" and offers courses in "Low-intensity Conflict"). "People say we've turned into Penn State," sighs Commandant Abizaid, but "there are no civilians walking around in beads and sandals. We are not training people to be doctors and lawyers and candlestick-makers--we're training them to be soldiers."

The catalogues contain the usual guff about the twenty-first century, our allegedly shrinking world, and "performing global duties in a multicultural environment," but there are no cakewalk courses of the sort that keep the Ohio State football team eligible. West Point offers "not a single course in AIDS awareness, or music appreciation, or bowling, or physics for poets and lovers," says Dean Lamkin.

"The heart of this academy must forever be the junior rotating faculty," insists Superintendent Christman. These

are captains and majors with master's degrees, often West Point grads, who teach for three years and then march back into the Army. They compose 62 percent of the faculty; another 22 percent are civilians with doctorates, and the remainder are Academy Professors, military men with Ph.D.s who lead the departments and stay until retirement.

"Scholarship is not as important as teaching," says Lamkin. Unlike other deans, he weighs an applicant's skill in the martial arts. "Would you hire a brilliant mathematician who was a so-so soldier?" I ask. "Absolutely not," he replies. "I cannot be putting up an example that bifurcates the academic and military development of cadets."

The preponderance of military men among West Point's faculty is often excoriated by outsiders. Early in this century Harvard's president Charles W. Eliot offered the classic criticism: "No school or college should have its teaching done almost exclusively by recent graduates of the same school or college who are not teachers and who serve short terms. West Point, so far as its teachers are concerned, breeds...a very bad practice for any educational institution."

Does the Point's professoriate stack up against a top civilian faculty? "No," says Professor Pojman, a civilian Ph.D. with academic tours of duty at Oxford, Berkeley, and NYU, among others, "but it doesn't have to. Almost 90 percent of the courses here are core courses: You need people who know that course, you don't need worldwide scholars. And, actually, for most teaching at universities, you don't need a Ph.D. That's a myth." Moreover, "these officers are there for them," putting in office hours that would make a State U. prof's head spin. (The civilian professors are often similarly dedicated. Says Dean Lamkin, "I interview each of them personally and I ask, 'Do you believe in duty, honor, country?'" Hint to prospective interviewees: Answer Yes.)

Norman Schwarzkopf, who was an engineering mechanics instructor during one rotation, declares, "West Point taught the military ethos in the most effective way imaginable: It gave us war heroes for teachers." Instructor Schwarzkopf would often "put aside the textbook, sit on the edge of the desk, and talk about what it means to be an officer, about values and morality and honor. I felt that was my responsibility far more than teaching the principles of friction and why wheels roll down hills. Sure, I wanted the cadets to understand mechanics--but only so they'd graduate and become good Army officers."

Then there is the chronic time squeeze. A faculty member in the 1970s asserted, "although there are potentially great

students at the Academy, very few of them ever attain that status." Professor Pojman concurs, noting that "the biggest difference between [cadets] and good students elsewhere is that they don't have the time to develop into scholars."

Classes at West Point are much like those in a typical selective university. Except they're not. For one thing, no one straggles in. "They don't even consider cutting class," says Colonel Rick Kerin. "They don't consider being late. It's just ingrained" Cadets stand at attention as class begins; the "section marcher" announces their presence. Responses begin, invariably, with "sir" or "ma'am." Class size is almost always below 18. Humanities classes are seldom lectures; they take the form of extended dialogues, as in Professor Kerin's drama class, where 12 members discussed Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. Its feminist themes were chewed over, but sacrifice, chivalry, and honor also worked their way into the hour. (Don't suppose that classroom discussion at West Point pits troglodytes against Neanderthals. As at most schools today, the theme of the freshman composition course is "diversity and multiculturalism," by which is not meant the experience of Swedish Americans and Welsh Americans.)

We also sat in on Major Kellie Simon's "Discrete Dynamical Systems and Introduction to Calculus" a required course for plebes. Major Simon is a rotating instructor with a no-nonsense class demeanor. After the morning salute, she sends her plebes immediately to the blackboards, in teams of two. They scrawl their names in the upper corner of each pane and spend the next 55 minutes "working problems" that were absolutely incomprehensible to your innumerate fly on the wall. After much conferring, head-scratching, and trial and error, one cadet team comes up with the right answer and is invited by Major Simon to enlighten the others. Cadets who don't get it are invited--nay, strongly encouraged--to come by for extra instruction, for at no college in America are teachers as available for tutoring. (Nor is one likely to overhear a calculus student at any other school of higher learning ask, "Did you have boxing today?"

Every plebe takes a freshman literature course that consists largely of poetry--contemporary poetry, not Kipling and "In Flanders Fields." While some of the military instructors view it as sissy-ish, Terry Freeman, the founder of West Point's visiting poets program, argues, "No one familiar with the ugliness of the simplistic, heavy-handed, impersonal rhetoric that sometimes infests military discourse can doubt that sensitizing cadets to the beauty and power of poetic language will ennoble and enrich their leadership in a profession that must involve saving lives more than it does taking them." (Jefferson Davis would

have approved. As Secretary of War, he wrote President Buchanan, "It has long been the subject of remark that the graduates of the Military Academy whilst occupying the first rank of scholars in the exact sciences were below mediocrity in polite literature. Their official reports frequently exhibited poverty of style.")

Freeman and his successor, Colonel Kerin, have brought such poets as Mark Strand, Robert Pinsky, and Charles Wright to give readings--which the poets do with great enthusiasm, for as Kerin says, "we buy 1,000 books or so of theirs as course texts" which often quadruples the poet's sales. The visiting poets are pleasantly surprised. As one, Jorie Graham, remarked, "What moved me deeply was the way [the cadets] searched through the literature, from Shakespeare to contemporary poetry, in order to determine a right moral choice in a situation where, increasingly, that is impossible."

SOMETIMES A SOLDIER...

So what are they: college students receiving military training or soldiers talking college-level courses? "We are all confused," chime in several top-rank firsties to whom I posed the question.

Commandant Abizaid is not confused. "Cadets are future officers of the United States military," he says forcefully. "They are not college students. They take college courses in the process of becoming officers in the Army." There is no hand-wringing among the military instructors over the dearth of meditation time at the Academy. "We understand that the cadet lifestyle denies the possibility of contemplation," one faculty member has said, "but then who wants a platoon leader who contemplates the order to take the hill?"

Upon graduation a cadet becomes a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army and is obliged to serve at least five years. The highest-ranked grads choose their branch--infantry for the gung-ho, Corps of Engineers for the calculating--while the "goats" (lowest-ranked cadets) get the leftovers. A cadet may drop out without incurring any further military obligation until his cow year. "Walking into class the first day of third year is like breaking a mirror" goes one old joke. "Both bring seven years of bad luck" Quit thereafter--or be separated for bad grades or misbehavior--and you're in the Army now, as a lowly enlisted man.

This past summer, on the Sunday before classes began, Commandant Abizaid instituted an Affirmation Ceremony at which the incoming cows were presented with second lieutenant's bars to carry until graduation. He has also--to

the discomfort of some upperclassmen--required cadets to address each other by their shadow ranks: plebes are privates, yearlings are corporals, cows are sergeants, and firsties are lieutenants.

A large majority of those retaking the oath arrived at West Point with aspirations that went beyond soldiery. (The "South Hudson Institute of Technology" is one mocking nickname for the Academy.) "I came desiring Sparta," says Lieutenant Colonel Michael Chura ('80), deputy director of the Department of Military Instruction; "I was in a minority." Colonel Pierce, director of policy planning, says that only 20 percent of male cadets (and 14 percent of females) in the classes of 1998-2002 came to West Point primarily out of a "desire to be an Army officer" (These figures are obtained from surveys of cadets during the first three days of Beast Barracks; "How are you enjoying it so far?" is not among the questions.)

So why do they come? They want a challenge; a good education (a free education if you don't count the five-year obligation as payment in full); something different, difficult, and exciting. But then again most people join the military for reasons other than the smell of gunfire. The armed forces are the nation's largest government jobs program, and today's recruitment ads sell the military as a kind of Job Corps with tanks and helicopters. Michael Chura spent two and a half years as a recruiter; he found that people join the regular Army for job security, as a means to get money for college--"so why should West Point be any different?"

Those who expect their post-Beast education to be math and engineering with a few marches thrown in are soon disabused. Summers are devoted to military training: after plebe year, they train at nearby Camp Buckner, learning to fire the M-16 and survive in the woods and taking ever-popular demolitions training; they also spend a week at Fort Knox, where tank-driving is among the skills acquired. The next summer cadets act as squad leaders at Camp Buckner or Beast Barracks or sojourn in actual Army units around the country. Finally, the summer before becoming a firstie, half the class leads training at Camp Buckner or Beast, while the other half are posted at bases around the world.

The downside of placing cadets in charge at Camp Buckner, according to one cow, is that "it's their first time making decisions, and their mistakes cost 1,000 people their time and make them hate it." The upside is, well, that it's their first time making decisions, and mistakes cost time, not lives. West Point takes upon itself the burden of being a "leadership laboratory" As Superintendent Maxwell Taylor stated in 1946, "West Point

is essentially a school for leaders."

There is also leadership by the book: juniors must study Military Leadership, which includes classes on "vertical dyad linkage theory." Old-fashioned West Point-haters would have a field day with this; as the Academy's one-time scourge, Harper's Weekly, scoffed, "war being an art, not a science, a man can no more be made a first-class painter, or a great poet, by professors and textbooks; he must be born with the genius of war in his breast."

Robert Shaw, a North Carolinian, son of a disabled Vietnam vet, is First Captain of the class of 1999. The first captain is a sort of valedictorian-plus: selected on the basis of his academic and military records, he is responsible for the entire corps. ("We old first captains must never flinch" said one--"Black Jack" Pershing--to another--Douglas MacArthur.)

Shaw is a rarity: a First Captain who is a product of the U.S. Military Academy Prep School, located in northern New Jersey, which over ten months prepares enlisted men and high-school grads with substandard records for the Academy. Each year about 150 prep schoolers enter West Point; they rise to the top quickly, for as Shaw says, "The prepsters are the ones who already know everything as far as wearing a military uniform, shoeshine, room appearance." Yet a stigma also attaches itself to USMAPS grads, for an inordinate number are jocks who lacked the grades to make West Point on their first go-around. (More than a third of black West Point cadets started at USMAPS, as compared to 11 percent of whites. Yet USMAPS alumni graduate from West Point at a rate slightly above average.)

"I started college," says Shaw. "First semester I did so well they asked me not to return; so I enlisted in the infantry and spent just short of three years in the 82nd Airborne Division." His platoon leader was a West Pointer who pushed, pulled, and lobbied Shaw into USMAPS.

Now Shaw is a star, and a true believer. He speaks reverently of his hero, General James Gavin, the 82nd Airborne assistant commander on D-Day. (And a West Point critic--"the Academy"] said Gavin, "tends to stultify curiosity") Shaw says that "the most rewarding" thing he has done at West Point is mentor two plebes: a sophomore task that provides genuine leadership training.

"There's worse ways to go," says Shaw, when I ask if he ever thinks about dying in battle. He is not vainglorious about it; his father's disability is more real to him than John Wayne movies. At an 1880 West Point reunion of the

Grand Army of the Republic, General William T. Sherman (1840) said, "There is many a boy here today who looks on war as all glory, but boys, it is all hell." Despite the CNN interventions of the 1990s--"There's nothing more moving than having an infantryman or soldier help a young child across the street or help stabilize a region without having to resort to violence" says Major Peter Bechtel, a political science instructor--one suspects that certain of these cadets will someday find hells that make Somalia look like Eden.

WHERE THE GIRLS ARE

The nineteenth-century poet Charles Fenno Hoffman asked of West Point, "Where dost thou find a fitter place on earth / To nurse young love?" Alas for these young hearts, the point is moot.

Cadets may date each other, but the Academy takes paretals seriously. Hand-holding, let alone kissing, is PDA--public display of affection--and thus forbidden in view of others. Male and female cadets may visit each other, but the door must be open, and they are not allowed to sit on the same piece of furniture. (What cadets do with each other off the post is their own business, though an off-post romp between a plebe and upperclassman would be fraternization, and thus illicit.)

"Sometimes the two sexes don't look at each other in a favorable way here" says Joanna Pietrantonio. "When a guy dates a girl cadet, he usually gets some flack from his classmates." She has been dating Joe Benson, starting tight end on the Army football team, for over two years and concedes "it's hard to maintain a relationship because we only get to see each other at night."

Private displays of affection are not unknown. One graduate of the Class of 1998 impregnated his cadet girlfriend, secretly married her, then had the marriage annulled and deposited the baby with family for safekeeping. Given that regulations state, "Any cadet who is married prior to graduation, or who has custody of a child or incurs a legal obligation to support a child prior to graduation shall be separated from the military academy;" one might have assumed that the lovebirds would be headed for points non-West. But these are litigious times, and since the annulment erased, Kennedy-like, the cadets' marriage, Academy administrators permitted them to stay. (Pregnant cadets may take a one-year leave of absence and return, sans baby.)

Which brings us to the broader question, one that Academy officials insist has been answered once and for all: Should women--who compose 15 percent of the class of 2002--be

at West Point? In 1975, Congress ordered the academies to admit women the next year. (Delaware Republican Congressman Pete du Pont was the prime sponsor of integration.) Former Superintendent William Westmoreland protested, "Maybe you could find one woman in ten thousand who could lead in combat, but she would be a freak, and we're not running the Military Academy for freaks." But the women came.

Finding a West Point officer today who will criticize the sexual integration of the Academy is like stumbling across a Honus Wagner baseball card. Lieutenant Colonel Rick McPeak, a professor of popularity-fading Russian and member of the last all-male class at West Point (1980), recalls that former Dean General Gerald Galloway once began a lecture to the faculty, "If you don't think women should be at West Point, please leave by the door behind you." The exodus did not commence. McPeak explains, "When the Army adopts a policy, many looking from the outside say, 'You just salute; you have your views and you go on.'" Well, no. "When the Army adopts a policy, there is an expectation that you will internalize the values associated with that policy." What West Pointers regard as praiseworthy loyalty can sometimes seem to a civilian like Winston Smith learning to love Big Brother in 1984.

Not all men in the early '80s classes behaved chivalrously. "When a woman comes up to a cadet and says, 'Good morning, sir' and the response is, 'Good morning, bitch,' we have a real problem," says McPeak. "Those things were going on 20 years ago. Either I'm naive or that's ancient history now."

The sharpest critics of letting girls in continue to be old grads. Karl Day ('57) of the Family Research Council says that "mixing and mingling of young females and young testosterone-laden males who are warriors is disruptive of unit cohesion, morale, and discipline. Feminization has degraded the Academy and required a broadening of academics to accommodate women who are not particularly engineering-focused." He explains the attitude gap between old and new grads: "There's a remarkable difference between those who have seen serious warfare and those who have experienced made-for-TV wars, where you put Marines on the beach and there are cameras already there. There's going to be a big change in this country when the bodybags start coming back in size 34B."

The party line is that things are going swimmingly and that only a few mossbacks still gripe about women. Dean Lamkin sounds fed up, as if he's sick of hearing for the 500th time that females ruined the Point and how today's kids couldn't shine the Goat of 1947's shoes. "I don't need to respond to the class of 1951" he says. "I don't need to

respond to anyone but the people of the United States. We've got the greatest student body in the world, and for somebody in an older class to question the morals, the ethics, the intelligence, the dedication of these cadets is totally out of line. That means they haven't been back here in 30 years. They don't know what they're talking about."

So have women changed West Point? Does West Point change women? Kate Scott, the descendant of Old Fuss 'n' Feathers, fiancée of a fellow cadet, a woman whose bloodlines on both sides run West Point gray, says, "There are times when it's clear that there's a difference between me, a female cadet, and a regular cadet. A regular cadet!" she catches herself. "But usually it's not a big deal."

Major Peter Bechtel, whose sister is also a West Point graduate, insists that the presence of women has changed little. "I've seen the same camaraderie [at Camp Buckner], the same discussion. If there's profanity or jokes in a bus, they're said without regard to who's around. It's not the case that they're trying to protect the girls."

"Is it harder to discipline women?" I ask First Captain Robert Shaw. "Not at all," he replies, which is the right answer, though it's hard to see such a polite young man screaming in an 18-year-old plebe girl's face. Reverse roles and complications multiply. Professor McPeak recalls a female platoon leader who had a nightmare: "I give an order and everybody ignores me!" McPeak remarks, "I would never in all my life" have such a concern.

Among the most trenchant critics of sexual integration is James Webb, a Naval Academy graduate and former Secretary of the Navy, whose essay "Women Can't Fight" remains the classic exposition of the theme. "There is a place for women in our military, but not in combat," wrote Webb. "And their presence at institutions dedicated to the preparation of men for combat command is poisoning that preparation." (One cadet suggests "it's kind of a waste" to put women through summer infantry exercises, in light of the prohibition on women in combat.)

Given that West Point is training its cadets to serve in an army whose mission is, more and more, the occupation of various Third World countries for purposes of nation-building, infrastructure creation, and "peacekeeping," Webb's conclusion retains its relevance: "If it is the consensus of Congress that the service academies no longer perform their historic function of preparing men to lead in combat..., it would be logical and cost-effective to close them down If the taxpayers...want simply to buy a brain with military training, they can purchase that combination through an expanded ROTC program at a

fraction of the cost."

Both Lucian Truscott's Full Dress Gray and Ed Ruggero's The Academy feature conservative members of Congress seeking to defund West Point, for as the senator in Truscott's book charges, "we have an Army today that is being feminized, and much of the responsibility for this trend lies with West Point." Yet Truscott dismisses the prospect of real live conservative opposition to West Point. "There's no percentage in it for 'em. They all appoint kids up there, they go to the Army-Navy game, West Pointers inhabit all the military-industrial complex companies." Davy Crockett ain't in Congress anymore.

HONOR THY MATER

"A cadet will not lie, cheat, or steal, nor tolerate those who do." That is the West Point honor code, the 13 words that are "the reason this academy is here" says Cadet Honor Captain Richard Gorini.

The honor code was not formalized until 1922; prior to that, cadets were sometimes expelled for cheating, some times not. "In the early days an officer's spoken or written word was his bond," says West Point historian Steve Grove. "Cheating went on when Thayer was here, and he called the boys in and said, 'You mustn't do that kind of thing,' but it wasn't looked at as an honor violation."

The code is the property of the cadets. They administer it--though the Superintendent can reverse a verdict of "found," or guilty, a matter of frustration to some cadets. This is the way it works, at least on paper: a cadet who has reason to believe that another has lied, cheated, or stolen must report this violation (after confronting the cadet, if he so chooses) to the Cadet Honor Committee within 24 hours. This sets in motion a series of investigations by Honor Committee members, which may culminate in a hearing--a trial, really, for the accused has certain rights, including to legal counsel--before a panel of four Honor Committee members and five randomly selected cadets. If six of the nine find that the cadet under suspicion intentionally violated the code, he is "found" and will be expelled, unless the Superintendent intervenes. (The Superintendent cannot, however, reverse a "not found" verdict.)

In recent years, according to Colonel Anthony Hartle, a professor of philosophy and chairman of the Honor Review Committee, "we have around 100 investigations a year, about 50 go to an honor hearing, and about 25 are found. About eight or nine are separated"; the rest receive lesser punishments.

Although a disproportionate number of cases involve plebes, upperclassmen who violate the code are dealt with more harshly. Honor Officer Christopher Eastburg says, "If I was found for having committed an honor violation, I would suffer much harder sanctions than if I was a freshman, because the longer you're here, the more you're supposed to internalize integrity." (Those who run afoul of West Point regulations--say, by leaving one's room after taps to meet a girl--will be punished if caught, but unless these offenses involve lying, cheating, or stealing, they are not infractions of the honor code.)

Until 1973, a cadet who was "found" by his peers and refused to resign was silenced; that is, subjected to as complete an ostracism as possible. He was not spoken to; if he dared bring a girl onto the dance floor, everyone else walked off. Among those silenced was cadet Timothy Leary, the future Harvard LSD guru, who was "found" by his peers for lying about the possession of booze. The administration reversed the verdict, but Leary went "days without talking to a single person," except for Superintendent Robert Eichelberger, who "felt the silencing was wrong" and invited the shunned cadet to make a weekly trip (non-hallucinogenic) to his office for a chat. Leary left in 1941, concluding that "Nothing good for America could come from those gray gothic piles."

The "toleration" clause, added in 1970, is the hardest for cadets to swallow. Ultimately, a cadet must be prepared to turn in a roommate or buddy for an honor violation. "It would be really, really difficult to turn in a friend," says one first-class cadet. "I would never do it." Nor, he guesses, would most of his classmates. (Twenty-five years ago a cadet told Richard U'Ren, "Most of us know where our loyalties are, and we ignore the toleration clause. I don't like to squeal on my brothers.")

Those who seem over-zealous in reporting fellow cadets are derided as "Honor Nazis." In George S. Patton's day they were called "quilloids" and the friendless Patton was among the most disliked quilloids. (Not that Patton cared: He endured pitiless hazing for asserting that VMI was tougher than West Point.)

Defenders of the toleration clause deny that it encourages "squealing." Karl Day explains the stakes: "I don't want my son going into combat with a platoon leader who will go out on patrol about 200 yards, sit down for three hours, and come back and render a false report. The place we teach them not to do that is the Academy."

Is it possible to teach honor? Cadets receive 44 hours of honor education--primarily cadet-led bull sessions about "ethical dilemmas" ranging from U.S. Army massacres (My

Lai) to illicit leg-shaving (Tailhook). Colonel Rick Kerin suggests that teaching honor has become a necessity: "When I came to West Point, I didn't encounter much in the way of values, particularly with respect to honesty and integrity, that was at all different from what I'd been taught at home. I'm not sure I can say that now of the cadets who come here."

Nevertheless, the Academy is not the sort of place where one needs a bike lock or car alarm. "I leave my office unlocked" says one civilian professor. "People leave their valuables in hallways, and they invariably remain there--even if left for a week or so. I've never felt more secure."

West Pointers take with them a code of honor that acts as lodestar in the wider world. As Bryce Bowman says, "When I'm home, I'll be in a situation and say, 'What would I do at West Point?'"

When I asked my long-time former congressman for names of West Point grads in our area (rural Western New York), he smiled. "Once I appoint 'em to the academies, they're gone for good." Standing armies are uprooting forces: soldiers are scattered to the corners of the globe, and few ever make their way back home for anything more than a visit. Colonel Hartle, whose tone bespeaks his native Cunningham, Kansas, says, "It sounds cold-hearted, but I never thought a whole lot about Kansas. Your roots simply change: The focus is on the organization."

The West Point ring is worn on the same finger as the wedding ring; sometimes they are fused, but as volumes of evidence have shown us, the military and the family are not a good fit. Numerous are the pathologies associated with "military brats" or children of career soldiers who grow up homeless, always moving, never stable. Cadets are not unmindful of the price they will pay. Rare indeed is the grad who weds his or her high-school sweetheart. Those who hold onto the girl or boy back home are known as members of the "2 Percent Club." Joanna Pietrantonio has dated Joe Benson for more than two years, but "we're not engaged" she says. "We've talked about it, but unfortunately there's a high divorce rate for people who get married right out of West Point so we're going to wait."

In Ed Ruggero's novel *The Academy*, the protagonist discovers that his own imperfect family has been supplanted by the corps of cadets, for "he had more in common with these people than he had, perhaps, with his own father." But it is an inadequate substitute family indeed that permits some members to remain anonymous. Congress swelled the corps from 2,500 to 4,400 in 1974, and though it has since been trimmed to 4,000, might this

still be too large?

Colonel Hartle does not advocate a smaller corps, but his explanation of why silencing would be ineffective today is revealing: "If you said a cadet was silenced you'd have a quarter of [the corps], half of them, who would have no idea who the person was. It's a slight exaggeration but I think I knew the face of every person in my class. When my son graduated in 1989, it would not have occurred to him that he should know" his classmates' faces.

Historically, the most incisive criticism of West Point, the one leveled by Andrew Jackson and Davy Crockett, is that it created an elite military caste that was estranged from the broader society and contemptuous of the citizens, who, after all, keep them in their dress grays. As the authors of one sharply critical book, *West Point: America's Power Fraternity* (1973), asked, "Should Americans trust an institution that produces men who don't trust them?"

In 1962, education researcher David Boroff noted that cadets "have a lofty disapproval of young people" as "soft, selfish, egocentric." Today, Professor Pojman says, "These kids go home and see friends from high school: They're smoking, drinking, on drugs. They feel a mild estrangement. Remarks about 'fat Americans' have come up a few times in my classes."

I spoke with one cadet, an outstanding student and athlete, who had not been home in two years. Another pitied his old friends, who are "still in this little town, they don't know about the larger world, they don't know about Iraq." Part of this estrangement, of course, is simply accelerated maturation. Cadet Eastburg recalls, "You grow up in the first six months. When I went home at Christmas freshman year everybody else was still playing video games, and I was like, 'Wow, I've really changed a lot.'"

ON BRAVE OLD ARMY TEAM

Superintendent Douglas MacArthur, who played left field in West Point's first-ever baseball game against the Naval Academy, instructed that these words be incised upon the gymnasium and in the mind of every cadet:

Upon the fields of friendly strife
Are sown the seeds
That, upon other fields, on other days
Will bear the fruits of victory.

No American school takes athletics more seriously than West Point, where Sylvanus Thayer instituted exercise as a part of the curriculum in 1817. The head of physical training at West Point bears the Dungeons and Dragons-ish title "Master of the Sword." She is currently Maureen

LeBoeuf, a lithe and serious Olean, New York native who admits, "It's a disappointment when I walk in. 'Master of the Sword'--people expect to see Xena the Warrior Princess."

"While most universities and colleges are eliminating their physical requirement, here we have 168 hours over four years" says Colonel LeBoeuf. Male plebes must take boxing; females take self-defense. Other requirements include gymnastics, swimming, and a battery of fitness tests culminating in the "famous indoor obstacle course, which cadets love to hate." Climbing, vaulting, swinging, rolling, shimmying up ropes, and carrying medicine balls--it is every non-athlete's recurring gym-class nightmare. The obstacle course is run during cow year in "an old typical gymnasium--we tell them it's the same dust Eisenhower sucked," smiles Colonel LeBoeuf. Standards are lower for women, though administrators are quick to tell Old Grads that the average female cadet does more pushups and situps than did the average male cadet of 30 or 40 years ago.

Consistent with MacArthur's dictum "every cadet an athlete," intramural sports are mandatory for all four years, and one's performance in what is elsewhere known as phys-ed makes up 15 percent of a cadet's overall grade. Varsity athletes usually get automatic As, which brings us to the most glamorous aspect of West Point: Army football, and in particular the Army-Navy game, the emotional centerpiece of the cadet year. (Among the first bits of plebe knowledge memorized during Beast is "What do plebes rank?" The answer: "Sir, the Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat, the waiters in the mess hall., and all the Admirals in the whole damn Navy.")

The first Army-Navy football game was played at West Point on November 29, 1890, after a challenge from a group of midshipmen. The cadets were relative strangers to the game of the oblate spheroid--only two had ever played before--but a challenge is a challenge, and led by Dennis Mahan Michie, son of legendary professor Peter Smith Michie, Army took the field and was routed 24-0. Those were, indeed, different days. At one point, Navy faked a punt and ran the ball for a touchdown, a bit of razzle-dazzle that drew cries of outrage from the West Point side. Gentlemen do not fake punts, the affronted cadets explained. (Among the early football skeptics was James McNeill Whistler, who protested that "to dispute... for a ball kicked round the field... is beneath the dignity of officers of the United States.")

Even today, Army-Navy is "without question, it's not even close" the greatest rivalry in football, says Coach Bob Sutton. "It's like when you play a brother or a real close

Rank
"Super's
cat"

friend. You want to beat them because you're really playing against yourself." ("I've never heard any trash talking" in the Army-Navy game, says fullback Ty Amey.)

The game traditionally is the final regular season contest of the college year. "Most of the seniors, this is their last football game ever, and that leads to an unbelievable commitment by those players to pour everything out" says Sutton. Unlike most games, which ebb and flow depending on the score, "Army-Navy just elevates every quarter, and it has nothing to do with what's on the scoreboard." The cadets and midshipmen stand throughout the game; when Army digs in for a goal-line stand, the cadets chant, charmingly, "Fix bayonets!"

Army-Navy is usually played in Philadelphia, but there may be no more spectacular place to watch a college football game than at West Point's Michie Stadium, dedicated in 1924 to Army's first football hero, who was killed in 1898 in the Spanish-American War. On October Saturdays, the trees are ablaze with a splendor to still any Hudson Valley poet's heart; three cannon on the shore of Lusk Reservoir boom whenever Army scores. And the assembled 40,000 fans go light on the home team, even when it falls behind by several touchdowns, because, after all, they, unlike many of the gridders on the other side of the ball, went to class yesterday, and will go again on Monday.

West Point and the other academies are the only Division I football programs to pay their players (like the rest of its cadets) over the table, although \$600 or so a month probably couldn't pay a University of Miami linebacker's monthly cell-phone bill. The squad is much larger than other teams--180-plus--and while Army might never beat Tennessee, a randomly selected team of 11 West Point cadets would destroy a randomly selected team from Tennessee or any other civilian school.

The problems Coach Sutton faces are different from those that bedevil his Division I counterparts. For instance, the typical plebe loses 15-20 pounds during Beast summer, which pretty much rules out freshmen starting on the offensive line. (Plebes do not, however, call their teammates "sir" in the huddle.)

A former Air Force assistant coach has observed that "At every other school in America, the hardest part of any football player's day is football practice. At the military academies, the easiest part of a football player's day is football practice." Still, some cadets call the players "get-overs," a variant of "shirker." They are excused from most of the parades; they get bigger portions at mealtime; they avoid certain scut tasks. To which former tight end Bryce Bowman replies, "Okay, we'll switch: you go out and

get your head knocked around for three hours by 300-pounders, and I'll deliver laundry."

I ask Coach Sutton if football is like war, expecting the it's just-a-game reverse, but he takes the hand-off and plunges in with a qualified yes. "All the elements that are involved in battle are present here on a smaller level. They need to function as a unit under stress. You've got to be trained, to have great poise, and maintain your composure in chaos. Nothing goes as planned, because you don't have control over your opponent." (George Marshall, a VMI man, is said--perhaps apocryphally--to have once given an order with the instruction, "I have a secret and dangerous mission. Send me a West Point football player.")

Army's record (3-8 last fall) lags behind the won-loss record of the U.S. military, but then again there are no Grenadas on the schedule. There are regular games against the likes of Notre Dame and Syracuse. While Army competes in the Patriot League in most other sports, the football team is a new member of the motley Conference USA, a collection of mostly Southern schools (Tulane, Cincinnati, Memphis, Louisville, Houston, Southern Mississippi, and East Carolina) which are about as rivalrous with Army as Colorado School of Mines is with Bowdoin. But times have changed. "Conference affiliation is mandatory for a Division I school that is serious about competing at that level," says Superintendent Christman. The league has a TV deal with Fox Sports Net and tie-ins with the Liberty Bowl and the oddly named Humanitarian Bowl, which presumably frowns on personal fouls. Army football can rake in close to \$12 million, supplying the lion's share of the Academy's \$15 million athletic budget.

(The basketball team, overshadowed by Army football, is best known for producing a tough Polish point guard named Mike Krzyzewski, class of '69, who played for a mercurial locker-kicking, chair-throwing wildman named Bobby Knight. Krzyzewski coached Army to NIT appearances in 1977 and '78 before building perennial champions at Duke. Although the height restriction on cadets has been removed, seven footers with soft touches--hell, seven footers who can tie their shoes--aren't clamoring to get in.)

AND WHEN I DIE...

When I asked Director of Admissions Colonel Michael L. Jones his favorite spot at West Point, he replied softly, My roommate's grave. Randy Carlson. He was killed in Lebanon." Haltingly, he continued, "Randy went to The Citadel for a year before he came here, and he is the reason I graduated. He dragged me through math for two years; without him, I never would have made it. During the

really hard times plebe year we would go to the cemetery because it was a really quiet place where no upperclassmen were around. We could do our homework, we could read Scripture, we could talk. We had a favorite tree.

"Randy and I were later stationed here when he was in the French Department and I was in admissions. He left in May of '82. The last night before he left we had him over for supper; he never married so he was like a second father for our kids. Then he and I walked down to the cemetery and Randy told me that night that if anything ever happened to him he showed me where he wanted to be buried. Three months later I had to bury him there. So when I need to get away from life, that's where I go: I go to talk to Randy and just sit there."

Every cadet is required to learn "The Corps," an anthem written a century ago by West Point chaplain Bishop Herbert Simpson.

The long gray line of us stretches
Through the years of a century told,
And the last man feels to his marrow
The grip of your far-off hold.
Grip hands with us now, though we see not,
Grip hands with us, strengthen our hearts
As the long line stiffens and straightens
With the thrill that your presence imparts.
Grip hands--though it be from the shadows--
While we swear, as you did of yore,
Or living, or dying, to honor
The Corps, and the Corps, and the Corps!

Old men cry at the singing of "The Corps." Someday graying members of the Class of 1999 will too. They will recall marches across the Plain, surviving "discrete dynamical systems" beating Navy, tossing hats in the air after a mind-numbing speech by a cabinet official or Vice President. And they will think of the white crosses in the cemetery, of classmates returned to dust well before their allotted three score and ten years, dying in Serbia or Africa or some other place on the map that can never mean to a member of The Corps what this gray gothic redoubt in the Hudson Highlands does.

West Point 10996

West Point promotes itself to solicit candidates as any school does, and it soon may have help from an old standby: television.

Fans of TV's "golden age"--those gilded nights when living rooms across the land were invaded by the likes of Efrem Zimbalist, Jr.--may recall "The West Point Story." Whatever the artistic shortcomings of that 1950s series, it

served as a valuable recruiting tool, and it is a measure of the Academy's determination to sell itself to American teendom that Hollywood producer Beth Sullivan gained the full cooperation of everyone from the Superintendent on down when she filmed a pilot episode last summer for a proposed new series to be titled "West Point, USMA."

Sullivan produced the treacly CBS drama "Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman" in which Jane Seymour battled prejudice, sexism, and degrading environmental practices on the frontier. Word is--surprise!--that the villain of her "West Point, USMA" is a cranky old grad who can't accept the presence of women at his alma mater. Commandant Abizaïd says, "My fear is that it will turn into 'West Point 10996'" a teenaged soap opera on the Hudson, in which models will embody duty, honor, country, pulchritude. Superintendent Christman, by contrast, insists that "West Point, USMA" will be "a value-laden show" Sullivan is still peddling her pilot, with Academy assistance: General Christman actually accompanied her to a meeting in California with CBS brass where she pitched her wares. At press time, the show had not been picked up.

PHOTOS (COLOR): West Point Cemetery

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): James McNeill Whistler

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): Abner Doubleday

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): Robert E. Lee

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): Douglas MacArthur

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): Omar Bradley

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): Norman Schwarzkopf

PHOTO (COLOR): Lucian Truscott IV, enfant terrible of the Class of 1969. His first novel was banned at West Point; 20 years later, he does book signings there.

PHOTO (COLOR): Cadet crawls under wire during a field training exercise.

PHOTO (COLOR): Second class cadet Bryce Bowman

PHOTO (COLOR): Ben Cerver--athlete, Christian, a young man with wanderlust, whose post-Army dream is "to go to a little high school, teach English lit., and coach wrestling, just like my father."

PHOTO (COLOR): Staff chaplain Scott McChrystal is an ordained minister with the Assemblies of God. He was a platoon leader in Vietnam and a tactical officer at The

Citadel before he heard The Word.

PHOTO (COLOR): Major Kellie Simon is a calculus instructor with a no-nonsense class demeanor.

PHOTO (COLOR): First Captain Robert Shaw

PHOTO (COLOR): First class cadet Joanna Pietrantonio has a sister who also attended West Point.

PHOTO (COLOR): Kate Scott has West Point bloodlines on both sides of her family, all the way back to Mexican War General Winfield Scott.

PHOTO (COLOR): "I have a secret and dangerous mission. Send me a West Point football player."

By Bill Kauffman

TAE associate editor Bill Kauffman is the author of four books, most recently *With Good Intentions? Reflections on the Myth of Progress in America*.

Copyright of American Enterprise is the property of and text may not be copied without the express written permission of except for the imprint of the video screen content or via the print options of the this software. Text is intended solely for the use of the individual user.



NEED MORE?

Complement this content with the entire 32-volume *Encyclopædia Britannica*, available to our premium service members. Sign up for a **FREE trial!** Information on site licenses is also available.