

**Paul Wolfowitz Quotes (Part 1)**  
**Former Undersecretary of State of the United States**

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## The Dangerous Threat of Terrorism

I do not believe it is an exaggeration to say that this evil of terrorism that has grown up in the world on a particularly massive scale over the last ten years, threatens some of the same kinds of evil and destruction that fascism and Nazism threatened nearly a century ago.<sup>1</sup>

And a year after the horrific attacks on America, we can affirm this truth: The single greatest threat to peace and freedom in our time comes from terrorism. So this truth we should also affirm: that the future does not belong to the terrorists; the future belongs to those, no matter what their creed, who dream the oldest and noblest dream of all—the dream of peace and freedom. The future belongs to those who labor with courage and commitment to build a better, peaceful and tolerant world.<sup>2</sup>

## Attack on Freedom

“We are a freedom-loving people who want to support freedom the world over. And on September 11<sup>th</sup>, the attack was on that way of thinking, on that way of life. It came from people who do not seek to build a better life, but would destroy those of others.”<sup>3</sup>

We are freedom-loving people who want and support freedom the world over, and on September 11<sup>th</sup>, the attack was on that way of thinking, on that way of life. And it came from people who seek not to build a better life, but to destroy the lives of others.<sup>4</sup>

## The War on Terror: America Advancing Freedom in the World

As President Bush said to Naval Academy midshipmen last May: "Remember that America has always been committed to enlarging the circle of human freedom."

Our mission today is not only to root out and eliminate the terrorists—we must also enlarge the circle of human freedom to include that vast majority of Muslim people who are seeking to enjoy

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Wolfowitz. “Hoover Institution Event” Delivered: Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C, Wednesday, June 5, 2002. : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020605-depsecdef.html>

<sup>2</sup> Paul Wolfowitz., "Building a Better World: One Path from Crisis to Opportunity." *at the Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, Thursday, September 5, 2002.* <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020905-depsecdef.html>

<sup>3</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. “Defense Orientation Conference Association.” Delivered: Dept. of State, Oct. 19, 2001. : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011019-depsecdef.html>

<sup>4</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. “American Jewish Congress.” Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001 . <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>

the benefits of living in a free and prosperous society, but do not yet do so. Turkey and Indonesia are two important models of nations who are becoming part of this world.<sup>5</sup>

The tragedy of September 11<sup>th</sup> demonstrates that we have an enormous stake in encouraging the successful progress of those countries that are now pursuing freedom and self-governance as a model for the rest of the Muslim world. Showing other Muslims that there is an example to follow is critical to achieving future success.<sup>6</sup>

Addressing the full scope of the challenge we face in the fight against terrorism, the President declared: "We have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere."<sup>7</sup>

As the president said to the Congress three months ago, America will lead by defending liberty and justice, because they are right and true, and unchanging to all people everywhere. America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because, the president, we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror. So let me conclude with these words from the Psalms. "Let us pray for the peace of Jerusalem. May those who love you be secure. May there be peace within your walls, and security within your citadels. And I will say peace be within you." May God bless America, may God bless Israel, and may God bless all the peacemakers in the world. Thank you very much. (Applause. Cheers.)<sup>8</sup>

This truth we know: that the single greatest threat to peace and freedom in our time is terrorism. So this truth we also affirm: that the future does not belong to the terrorists. The future belongs to those who dream the oldest and noblest dream of all, the dream of peace and freedom.<sup>9</sup>

Last September, a great evil struck our shores. And we are fighting back. But, given the scope of the evil of the terrorism we now oppose, this fight for a just and peaceful world is not one to be waged only by America, or only by the West. This fight must be fought by all who aspire to peace and freedom throughout the world—for that aspiration is what the terrorists wanted to

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<sup>5</sup> Wolfowitz Paul. "Fletcher Conference." Delivered: Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center. November 14, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011114-depsecdef.html>

<sup>6</sup> Wolfowitz Paul. "Fletcher Conference." Delivered: Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center. November 14, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011114-depsecdef.html>

<sup>7</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Bridging the Dangerous Gap between the West and the Muslim World." delivered: The World Affairs Council, Monterey, CA: May 3, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020503-depsecdef.html>

<sup>8</sup> Paul Wolfowitz. "Transcript of Remarks at Pro-Israel Rally." Delivered: West Front of United States Capitol, Washington D.C., Monday, April 15, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020415-depsecdef.html>

<sup>9</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Bridging the Dangerous Gap between the West and the Muslim World." delivered: The World Affairs Council, Monterey, CA: May 3, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020503-depsecdef.html>

destroy. And this fight must be fought most emphatically in the Muslim world itself, and by Muslims.<sup>10</sup>

But finally, while we wage the war on terror, we must also be mindful of that larger war, the struggle against enemies of tolerance and freedom the world over. One tool we have in this struggle is our ability to reach out beyond governments to people and to individuals. We must appeal to broad populations, especially those voices struggling to rise above the din of extremism, voices that tell us the Islam of Mohammed is not the religion of bin Laden and the suicide bombers.

I am convinced that the vast majority of the world's Muslims have no use for the extreme doctrines espoused by groups such as al Qaeda and the Taliban. Very much to the contrary—they abhor terrorism; they abhor terrorists who have not only hijacked airplanes, but have hijacked one of the world's great religions. They have absolutely no use for people who deny fundamental rights to half their population or who indoctrinate children with superstition and hatred. In winning this larger struggle, it would be a mistake to think that we are the ones to lead the way. But we must do what we can to encourage moderate Muslim voices. This is a debate about Muslim values that must take place among Muslims. But it makes a difference when we recognize and encourage those who are defending universal values.<sup>11</sup>

## The War on Terror: Self-Defense/ Pre-emption

Today we are fighting a war that is not a war of our own choosing. It is a war of self-defense.<sup>12</sup>

Today we are fighting a war that is not a war of our own choosing. It is a war of self-defense. But we cannot fight it totally on defense. America is too big, too open, too developed, with too many high-value targets here for us to defend ourselves against terrorists solely on our home ground. We have to carry the fight to them on their home ground. As the President said, "We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfill it."<sup>13</sup>

Our approach has to aim at prevention and not merely punishment. We are at war. Self-defense requires prevention and sometimes preemption. It is not possible to defend against every threat, in every place, at every conceivable time. The only defense against terrorism is to take war to the enemy.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Bridging the Dangerous Gap between the West and the Muslim World." delivered: The World Affairs Council, Monterey, CA: May 3, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020503-depsecdef.html>

<sup>11</sup> Paul Wolfowitz., "Building a Better World: One Path from Crisis to Opportunity." at the Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, Thursday, September 5, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020905-depsecdef.html>

<sup>12</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Defense Orientation Conference Association." Delivered: Dept. of State, Oct. 19, 2001. : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011019-depsecdef.html>

<sup>13</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Jewish Congress." Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>

<sup>14</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Munich Conference on European Security Policy, As Delivered." Delivered: Hotel Bayerischer Hof, Munich, Germany: February 2, 2002.

The third principle, we're not going to defeat terrorism by simply hunkering down. We can't possibly defend ourselves or protect against every conceivable, possible threat. We've got to go after the terrorists. Self defense requires preemption and prevention, not just law enforcement and retaliation.<sup>15</sup>

As Secretary Rumsfeld has said, "We will be leaning forward, not back." If people perceive the United States as faint hearted or unwilling to take risks, we open ourselves up to further attacks and we embolden our enemies.<sup>16</sup>

The brave men and women who fight for us today in Afghanistan and serve in other places around the globe are one of our first lines of defense against homeland attack—they are going directly to the source, and rooting out terrorists where they live. As they defend us, they are also helping prevent terrorist attacks before they happen.<sup>17</sup>

## **The War on Terror: A unique, lengthy, far-reaching war**

There is no way to deal with the problem of international terrorism than to go after the individuals who are killing thousands of Americans and threatening and terrorizing much of the world. But we are not just trying to pick off individual snakes. We intend to drain the whole swamp.<sup>18</sup>

But we are not just going to pick off individuals. We intend to drain the entire swamp.<sup>19</sup>

This entire effort, as I said, will be a sustained one. It will probably be a long one and it will involve all of the resources of our country. It will continue until we have successfully rooted out the terrorists. That includes not just the Taliban and the al Qaeda network, but other networks as well. As we've said often, it's important to realize there is no silver bullet that will magically end this problem.

But given the power of weapons available to terrorists today, they have given us no choice but to use all our resources to stop them. I don't think anyone doubts that if these terrorists have even more destructive weapons available to them, they will not hesitate to use them.

This campaign will be, in many ways, like the long struggle of the Cold War—on many fronts, and over a sustained period of time. It will require continual pressure from countries around the globe. But eventually this terrorist network will crumble from the inside. It will disintegrate like

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<sup>15</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics." Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, Washington, D.C.: February 19, 2002.

<http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020219-depsecdef.html>

<sup>16</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "National Guard and Reserve Component Caucus Breakfast." Delivered: Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.: Wednesday, March 6, 2002.

<http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020306-depsecdef.html>

<sup>17</sup> Paul Wolfowitz, Standup of U.S. Northern Command. *Petersen AFB, Colorado Springs, CO, Tuesday, October 1, 2002.* <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20021001-depsecdef1.html>

<sup>18</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Defense Orientation Conference Association." Delivered: Dept. of State, Oct. 19, 2001. :

<http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011019-depsecdef.html>

<sup>19</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Jewish Congress." Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>

a house of cards as we saw in the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. It will disintegrate because it will be starved for support.<sup>20</sup>

Terrorists and their evil influence have spread throughout the world like a cancer. Our response must be correspondingly broad, sustained, and unrelenting. As President Bush said in his address to the joint session of Congress, our war on terrorism begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end, the President said, until every terrorist group with global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. [Applause.]<sup>21</sup>

Fourth, this is not just a military war against the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan. The entire effort -- diplomatic, financial, military -- will continue until we have successfully rooted out the terrorists everywhere—not just the Taliban and al Qaeda networks, but other networks as well. This campaign will be waged much like the long struggle of the Cold War -- on many fronts and over a sustained period of time. It will require continuous pressure from countries around the globe. It will require patience and firmness, but eventually the terrorist networks will crumble from the inside. It will disintegrate like a house of cards, as you saw in the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. It will decay because it will be starved for support.<sup>22</sup>

We're not quite sure whether to call this a campaign or a war. Sometimes we use one word, sometimes the other. It's a measure of the fact that this war is a unique war. It's unique in the way in which it began, with the largest attack on this country in our nation's history.<sup>23</sup>

## War on Terror: Not Against Islam/Muslims

It's important for people in the world to understand that this campaign against terrorists is not a campaign against any race or any religion.<sup>24</sup>

Third, we are not at war with Islam. To the contrary, over the past ten years, on five different occasions, the United States has led armed coalitions on behalf of Muslim people to deny hostile regimes the opportunity to oppress their own people or to oppress others. In Kuwait, in Northern Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo, the United States took military action on behalf of Muslim populations who were the victims of aggression or of war-induced famine. We are doing the same thing today.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Defense Orientation Conference Association." Delivered: Dept. of State, Oct. 19, 2001. : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011019-depsecdef.html>

<sup>21</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Jewish Congress." Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001. : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>

<sup>22</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Jewish Congress." Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001. : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>

<sup>23</sup> Paul Wolfowitz, "Gridiron Luncheon." Delivered: Gannett/USA Today Headquarters, McLean, VA: March 9, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020309-depsecdef.html>

<sup>24</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Defense Orientation Conference Association." Delivered: Dept. of State, Oct. 19, 2001. : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011019-depsecdef.html>

<sup>25</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Defense Orientation Conference Association." Delivered: Dept. of State, Oct. 19, 2001. : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011019-depsecdef.html>

It is important for people in the world to understand some things that this campaign is not. It is a campaign against terror, but it is not against any race, religion or ethnic group.<sup>26</sup>

Third, this is not a war against Islam. It's a very important but little commented upon fact that over the last ten years on five different occasions the United States has led armed coalitions on behalf of Muslim people to deny hostile regimes the opportunity to oppress their own people and others. In Kuwait, in Northern Iraq, in Somalia, in Bosnia, and in Kosovo the United States military has come to the aid of Muslim victims of aggression or war-induced famine.<sup>27</sup>

The terrorists who hijacked airplanes on September 11<sup>th</sup> hijacked Afghanistan, a country which is now being liberated, and they attempted to hijack a great religion. Each time faithful Muslims gather in prayer and in peace, you reclaim your faith and reaffirm the great gift that Islam has been to humanity through the centuries.<sup>28</sup>

Six times in the last eleven years, American men and women in uniform have put their lives at risk to defend people from aggression, or from war-induced famine. Every one of those six times, the populations they were defending were predominantly Muslim, whether it was Kuwait, or northern Iraq, or Somalia, or Bosnia, or Kosovo, or most recently, Afghanistan. I guess I could add now, the southern Philippines.

We didn't do it because they were Muslim. We didn't do it simply to be good guys, although I think that is part of our motivation. I think it is important for the United States, it's part of our national interest to do right in the world. But it was also -- we did it because it was in our national interest. We didn't do it because they were Muslims. We did it because they were human beings. But they happened, in every case, to be Muslims. And I think it's an important fact to bring out, and to keep repeating.

And most importantly, I think, it is important to keep repeating that these values that the terrorists target are not only Western values. They're universal values. That what the terrorists most aspire to do is to take the world's billion Muslims back to a twisted, medieval notion of what the proper order of things is. A world in which women are oppressed, in which religious bigotry and extremism are promoted, a world in which children are indoctrinated to hate is not, I believe, a world that most of the world's Muslims want to live in. And we need to help them, and help ourselves, in fighting them.<sup>29</sup>

"...the terrorists seek to target not just America, but Muslims and Islam by attacking the ideals of tolerance, justice and openness that are the aspirations of millions of Muslims around the world, as well. If the terrorists are successful in destroying these ideals, East and West alike will suffer. As I've been pointing out to audiences since that day, the terrorists target their fellow Muslims, upon whom they aim to impose a new kind of violent tyranny—a tyranny that pretends to be

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<sup>26</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Jewish Congress." Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001 . <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>

<sup>27</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Jewish Congress." Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001 <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>

<sup>28</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Itfaar Dinner." Delivered: The Pentagon, Washington, D., November 30, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011130-depsecdef.html>

<sup>29</sup> **Paul Wolfowitz. "Hoover Institution Event" Delivered: Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C, Wednesday, June 5, 2002. :** : <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020605-depsecdef.html>



based on Islam but which owes more to the totalitarian impulses of the 20th century than to the great religion that the terrorists are attempting to hijack. The hundreds of millions of Muslims who aspire to modernity, freedom and prosperity are just as much on the front lines of the struggle against terrorism as are we.”<sup>30</sup>

## War on Terrorism: War of Ideas

Because to succeed in winning the war against terrorism, we must win the larger struggle—the battle of ideas. This larger war is a struggle against the enemies of tolerance and freedom, against the enemies of modernity and secularism, of pluralism and democracy, and real economic development. So, we must work, not only to understand, but to promote a real understanding of, the many facets of the Muslim world, and of the common values that we all share. History has proven that free markets and open societies do improve lives.<sup>31</sup>

The gap I have spoken of is not an inevitable clash of civilizations, as has been said, but a collision of misunderstanding.<sup>32</sup>

There's a dangerous gap between the West and the Muslim world, and we must work to bridge that gap and we must begin to do so now.

Part of bridging that gap is helping to expose the lies at the heart of the terrorists' methods and convincing their potential followers that theirs is a blind alley leading to defeat and ignominy. Part of exposing that blind alley, though, is to offer a better alternative, the alternatives of liberty and justice, as President Bush has said, fundamental pillars of a just and peaceful world.<sup>33</sup>

## Terrorists and their Motives

Those familiar with the Middle East, and I assume that probably includes most people in this room, know very well that terrorism is not just murder. It is a political and strategic weapon. The terrorists and their sponsors want to drive us out of the Middle East. Make no mistake, they have no interest in peace.

Working with Israel and the moderate Arabs, the United States must continue to do everything we can to promote peace in the Middle East. But peace will not stop this terrorism. Indeed, the terrorists seek to stop peace. If we want peace, we have to eliminate terrorism.

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<sup>30</sup> Paul Wolfowitz., "Building a Better World: One Path from Crisis to Opportunity." *at the Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, Thursday, September 5, 2002.* <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020905-depsecdef.html>

<sup>31</sup> Wolfowitz, Paulz. "The Gathering Storm: The Threat of Global Terror and Asia/Pacific Security." Delivered: the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Asia Security Conference: The Shangri-La Dialogue , Singapore , Saturday, June 1, 2002 . <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020601-depsecdef.html>

<sup>32</sup> Wolfowitz, Paulz. "The Gathering Storm: The Threat of Global Terror and Asia/Pacific Security." Delivered: the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Asia Security Conference: The Shangri-La Dialogue , Singapore , Saturday, June 1, 2002 . <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020601-depsecdef.html>

<sup>33</sup> Paul Wolfowitz., "Building a Better World: One Path from Crisis to Opportunity." *at the Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, Thursday, September 5, 2002.* <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020905-depsecdef.html>



They want to bend our foreign policy to their will. We cannot let them. We will not yield to blackmail. We will win. [Applause.]<sup>34</sup>

## Palestinian Suicide Bombers

But the people of Palestine and their leaders must also recognize another fact: That suicide bombers are the single greatest obstacle to ending their suffering and to realizing the Palestinian state, that the whole world is prepared to recognize.<sup>35</sup>

To those who champion the cause of an independent Palestine, we say this: Stopping terror is the most important thing you can do to serve the Palestinian cause. (Applause.) Those who blow themselves up to deliberately destroy innocent life are not suicide bombers -- they are killers. (Applause. Cheers.) As President Bush has said, they are not martyrs -- they are murderers. (Applause. Cheers.) Those who fill the minds of children with hate, who use the bodies of children as weapons, who exploit the deaths of the young to further their own power have as their goal the destruction of peace and freedom.<sup>36</sup>

The people of America have always had much in common with the people of Israel. Like the people of Israel, we value human life and liberty. We deplore the deliberate killing of innocents. And I believe in my heart the majority of Palestinians do as well.

But since September 11th, we Americans have one thing more in common with Israelis. On that day America was attacked by suicide bombers. At that moment every American understood what it was like to live in Jerusalem, or Netanya or Haifa. And since September 11th Americans now know why we must fight and win the war on terrorism. (Applause. Cheers.)<sup>37</sup>

No people craves peace more than the Israelis. (Applause. Cheers.)<sup>38</sup>

As the scenes of suffering and carnage we have witnessed in the Middle East so clearly attest: one of the greatest obstacles to that solution is terrorism. Those who have lived with such violence and hatred question whether they can trust a peace with those who sponsor suicide bombers or make a peace that seems to reward such behavior. Terrorism is part of the problem—a big part of the problem—not the solution.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Jewish Congress." Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001 . <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>

<sup>35</sup> Paul Wolfowitz. "Transcript of Remarks at Pro-Israel Rally." Delivered: West Front of United States Capitol, Washington D.C., Monday, April 15, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020415-depsecdef.html>

<sup>36</sup> Paul Wolfowitz. "Transcript of Remarks at Pro-Israel Rally." Delivered: West Front of United States Capitol, Washington D.C., Monday, April 15, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020415-depsecdef.html>

<sup>37</sup> Paul Wolfowitz. "Transcript of Remarks at Pro-Israel Rally." Delivered: West Front of United States Capitol, Washington D.C., Monday, April 15, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020415-depsecdef.html>

<sup>38</sup> Paul Wolfowitz. "Transcript of Remarks at Pro-Israel Rally." Delivered: West Front of United States Capitol, Washington D.C., Monday, April 15, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020415-depsecdef.html>

<sup>39</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Bridging the Dangerous Gap between the West and the Muslim World." delivered: The World Affairs Council , Monterey, CA: May 3, 2002 . <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020503-depsecdef.html>

## **We Can't be Soft on Terrorism**

For too many years, the international community treated terrorism as an ugly fact of international life, one with tragic and occasionally terrible consequences, but something we could manage to live with. Often terrorism was treated simply as a problem of law enforcement. The goal was to catch terrorists, try them, and punish them, hoping that doing so would deter others—but it didn't. People spoke frequently of retaliation—but they rarely acted. And when they did act, it was more often against the lower-level perpetrators of terrorist acts than against those who were ultimately responsible.<sup>40</sup>

## **Weapons of Mass Destruction**

We know that both terrorists and state-supporters of terrorism are actively looking to build or buy nuclear and chemical and biological weapons, as the President described it, "barbarism emboldened by technology." From such barbarians, we should anticipate the likelihood of future nuclear, chemical and biological attacks, and build our homeland defenses accordingly.<sup>41</sup>

Since September 11th, we have acquired a visceral understanding of what terrorists can do with commercial aircraft, something that seemed remote and hypothetical before. We cannot afford to wait until we have a visceral understanding of what terrorists can do with weapons of mass destruction, before we act to prevent it.<sup>42</sup>

## **Afghanistan**

In Afghanistan, a country we think of in somewhat medieval terms, our Special Forces have taken a page from the past, from the history of the horse cavalry with soldiers armed with swords and rifles, maneuvering on horseback.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Munich Conference on European Security Policy, As Delivered." Delivered: Hotel Bayerischer Hof, Munich, Germany: February 2, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020202-depsecdef2.html>

<sup>41</sup> Wolfowitz Paul. "Fletcher Conference." Delivered: Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center: November 14, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011114-depsecdef.html>

<sup>42</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Munich Conference on European Security Policy, As Delivered." Delivered: Hotel Bayerischer Hof, Munich, Germany: February 2, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020202-depsecdef2.html>

<sup>43</sup> Wolfowitz Paul. "Fletcher Conference." Delivered: Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center: November 14, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011114-depsecdef.html>

## America

The collective will of the American people united in the war on terror will be the decisive factor in this war, just as it was during the Second World War. Still, along with the incredible moral resources of our nation, it's good to know that we do have one heck of war machine.<sup>44</sup>

## Evil

As we gather here tonight, the campaign to bring peace to the people of Afghanistan continues. It continues without pause even though this is a holy month, because, as the President reminded us at an Iftaar last week at the White House, "evil has no holy days."<sup>45</sup>

## With Us or Against Us

Facing that danger, countries must make a choice. Those that stand for peace, security and the rule of law—the great majority of countries in the world—stand united with us in this struggle between good and evil. Those countries that choose to tolerate terrorism and refuse to take action—or worse, those countries that continue to support it—will face consequences.<sup>46</sup>

## Moderate Muslims

To win the war against terror we have to reach out to the hundreds of millions of moderate and tolerant people in the Muslim world, including the Arab world. They are on the front line of the struggle against terrorism. By helping them to stand up against the terrorists without fear, we help ourselves. Equally important, we help to lay the foundations for a better world after the battle against terror has been won.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Wolfowitz Paul. "Fletcher Conference." Delivered: Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center. November 14, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011114-depsecdef.html>

<sup>45</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Iftaar Dinner." Delivered: The Pentagon, Washington, D.; November 30, 2001. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011130-depsecdef.html>

<sup>46</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Munich Conference on European Security Policy, As Delivered." Delivered: Hotel Bayerischer Hof, Munich, Germany: February 2, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020202-depsecdef2.html>

<sup>47</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "Munich Conference on European Security Policy, As Delivered." Delivered: Hotel Bayerischer Hof, Munich, Germany: February 2, 2002. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020202-depsecdef2.html>

## **Prepare for Surprise**

Although September 11<sup>th</sup> has taken its place alongside December 7th as a date that will live in infamy, the larger lesson we may draw from these attacks, remains unchanged and clear: we must be prepared for surprise—from wherever it may appear and however it may threaten.<sup>48</sup>

## **The Terrorists will have won if...**

I was wondering whether I should start the speech tonight with a joke given what a grim time it is. Then I thought, well it is a time for laughter. If the terrorists make us stop laughing, that's just one more victory, so let's not let them do it.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Paul Wolfowitz, Standup of U.S. Northern Command. *Petersen AFB, Colorado Springs, CO, Tuesday, October 1, 2002*. <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20021001-depsecdef1.html>

<sup>49</sup> Wolfowitz, Paul. "American Jewish Congress." Delivered: Westin Fairfax Hotel, Washington, DC: October 22, 2001 . <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2001/s20011022-depsecdef.html>