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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: David Demarest 

Attached is a revised draft. Almost all changes are those mentioned in our meeting. We can restore your ending, should you wish.

Attachment

DRAFT #1

1/15/91

At XX our time, the allied air forces attacked military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Allied ground forces are not yet engaged.

The war began August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed. Its people brutalized. [Now the war has been joined.]

This military action, taken in accord with the United Nations resolutions, follows months of seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders pursued an Arab solution -- only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East. He went with peace in his heart -- and came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 27 countries with forces in the Gulf area are prepared to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you now, air attacks are underway against a wide variety of targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear weapons potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities (and other facilities harboring

unconventional weapons.) In addition, we will protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal.

Our objectives are clear and consistent. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. (Much of Saddam Hussein's armor will be destroyed.) And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will guarantee to live as a peaceful member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask, why act now? Why not wait. My answer: the world could wait no longer. // Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam Hussein from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own.

While the world waited, Saddam continued his quest to add to his chemical weapons arsenal infinitely more dangerous weapons of mass destruction -- nuclear weapons.

While the world waited -- while the world talked peace and withdrawal -- Saddam Hussein dug in, and moved massive force into Kuwait.

While the world waited -- while Saddam stalled -- more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third

world, Eastern Europe and South America and, indeed, to the economy of our own country.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken the forces against him.

So while the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace -- with open contempt.

I had hoped that when a majority of both Houses of Congress, in historic debate, supported the will of the United Nations, Saddam would finally realize he could not prevail.

Saddam was warned over and over again that he must comply with the twelve resolutions of the U.N. Security Council. Leave Kuwait -- or be driven out. Saddam has refused to heed all of these warnings. Instead he tried to make this dispute a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. Tonight the world is united against Saddam Hussein.

Tonight 27 countries from all around the world have forces in the Gulf area aligned against Saddam Hussein. Each one of those countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded as we did, that only force will make him leave.

Let me assure all Americans: Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed the military commanders involved to do everything in their power to protect the lives of the allied

forces and to guard against the indiscriminate loss of innocent civilian life in Iraq and in Kuwait.

Having said that, I have also ordered that they take whatever steps are necessary to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of support possible for American and Allied men and women serving in the Gulf. I am hopeful that this fighting will not go on long. I am hopeful that casualties will be at an absolute minimum.

I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back. //

This is an historic moment. What is ultimately at stake in this conflict is the shape of the world we live in -- the world we pass on to our children. Twice this century, we fought world wars to secure the very existence of democracy. For the past four decades, ours has been a world divided -- a world on the brink of conflict, an armed and uneasy peace between East and West. Lasting peace and freedom lay always just beyond our reach.

We have, in this past year, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their

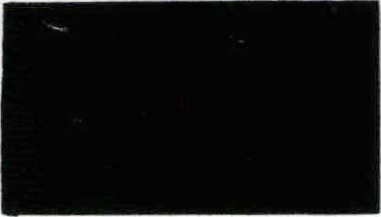
dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: ". . .These are the times that try men's souls. . ." -- and that is so very true today. But even as our allied air forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor. //

Tonight, as our forces fight, I ask all Americans to set aside whatever differences divide us -- to call to mind the bravery, the courage and the dedication of our sons and daughters. And to support with a single voice not just the United States -- but all nations united in pursuit of lasting peace.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

John S & Brent

Please have this reviewed for content
Is there any "objective" missing,

John will give this to one speech
writer to polish.

*Done
1/15*
Brent please give to JAB
and Cheney and V.P. asking them
not to share with their
people in any way.
I would welcome their comments-
SOON

Others paralleled to Baghdad
~~with~~ in a variety of
efforts to restore peace and justice
DRAFT #4
1/15/91

just two hours ago

[At (.... time...) our time] the [allied] air forces, attacked *of the coalition partners began an*
on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue
as I speak. Allied ground forces are not [yet] engaged.

This conflict

[The war] started August 2nd when a brutal dictator invaded a small
and helpless neighbor. Kuwait, a member of the Arab League and
a member of the United Nations was crushed. Its people
brutalized. Now the *response to this* [war has been joined].

This military action, taken in accord with the United Nations
resolutions, follows months of *constant and* seemingly endless diplomatic
activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States
and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became
known as an Arab solution only to conclude that Saddam Hussein
was unwilling to leave Kuwait. This past weekend, in a last
ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to
the Middle East with peace in his heart. He came back from
Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to
leave Kuwait peacefully.

28
Now the *27* countries with forces in the Gulf area, are [prepared] to
see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail. *having exhausted all reason-
able efforts at peace-
ful resolution,
resigned*

military
As I report to you now, air attacks are underway against [a wide
variety of] targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out
Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy
his chemical weapons facilities (and other facilities harboring
unconventional weapons.) [In addition] we will protect the lives

of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal.

The objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will again be free. [Much of Saddam Hussein's armor will be destroyed.] Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will guarantee to live as a peaceful *and cooperative* member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Many will ask, why now? Why not wait longer. My answer: Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months and I concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait.

In addition, Saddam has been using the last 5 months to reinforce his legions, indeed, to move forward with his nuclear program and his chemical weapons program. While the world was talking peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein ^{was} simply ^{digging} {dug} in and moved ^{my} massive force into Kuwait.

Further, the longer he stalled [them], more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, the emerging economies of Eastern Europe and South America and, indeed, to the economy of our own country.

And lastly, as each day has gone by, the unspeakable brutality against the people of Kuwait has continued.

Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying

or Southeast
the United Nations he could weaken the forces against him.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took the *resolute* ~~supporting~~ action that it did, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and *would* ~~that somehow he'd~~ move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions, ~~but~~ he did not do that.

duplicate? Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed the military commanders involved to do everything in their power to protect the lives of the *coalition* ~~allied~~ forces and to guard against the ~~indiscriminate~~ loss of innocent civilian life in Iraq and in Kuwait. Having *directed* ~~said~~ that, I have also ordered that they take *every necessary* ~~whatever~~ steps are necessary to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible protection in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

Prior to the initiation of hostilities Saddam Hussein was warned over and over again that he must leave Kuwait in accord with twelve resolutions of the U.N. Security Council -- or that he would be driven out. Saddam *arrogantly rejected all* ~~has~~ refused to heed the warnings. Instead he tried to make this *simply* ~~dispute~~ a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he was wrong! Tonight the world is united against Saddam Hussein.

28
Tonight 27 countries from all around the world have forces in the

standing shoulder to shoulder

Gulf area ^{these} aligned against Saddam Hussein. Each one of ^{those} countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided.

represented Each concluded as we did, that only force will make him leave --

-- our extensive diplomacy and the diplomacy of many other countries having failed. I am hopeful that this fighting will not go on

long. I am hopeful that casualties will be at an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at a new world order. An order in which a reactivated United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. We have no argument with the people of Iraq. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq - it is the liberation of Kuwait.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "...These are the times that try men's souls....." and that is so very true today ...but even as ^{allied} [our] planes (from---countries) attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united ^{as it is now} in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor.

I could not have ordered our forces into battle unless I had ^{absolutely} become ₁ convinced that Saddam Hussein was determined not to leave Kuwait. No President ^{can} [could] easily commit these sons and daughters to war. They are our finest. Ours is an all volunteer

force, highly motivated, beautifully trained.

deeply
We are grateful to them.

I will bring them home as soon as possible, for we do not seek, nor will we have U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf area.

They are in our prayers.

God bless you all -- and may God bless the innocent citizens in Iraq, the gallant men and women fighting at our side in the Gulf, and may God bless the United States of America.

?? hours ago, American combat forces -- along with members of the multinational force stationed in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf -- went into action against Iraqi occupation forces in Kuwait and military installations inside Iraq.

Tonight, I come before you to report on what has happened -- to explain why I have made the decision to go to war and to explain why it is in the vital interest of America that we succeed in defeating Saddam Hussein and liberating Kuwait.

And in this, the world's most vibrant democracy, I come before you for an equally compelling reason: to ask your support and prayers for the courageous men and women of our armed forces now engaged in mortal combat in the skies, and seas, and sands of the Arabian Peninsula.

All of us hoped, and prayed, and worked to avoid this day. This was a war none of the nations in the international coalition sought. This was a war we all hoped to avert. But now this is a war we must win.

For over five and one half months, the world met Iraq's invasion and brutal occupation of Kuwait with a chorus of condemnation: Twelve binding resolutions in the United Nations Security Council. Twenty-eight nations, almost twice as many as in the Korean War, sent forces to the region -- to serve side-by-side in the Gulf as a clear signal to Saddam of the world's will and determination. And over one hundred nations joined in to isolate the Iraqi aggressor in the hope that political and economic pressure would cause him to quit Kuwait.

As the last, best chance for peace, I sent Secretary of State Baker to Geneva last week to meet with Iraq's Foreign Minister, to convey the world's determination to see this aggression undone. In close to seven hours of talks, the Iraqi Foreign Minister gave absolutely no indication that Iraq would ever withdraw from Kuwait.

And in his talks with the United Nations Secretary General last Sunday, Saddam Hussein gave absolutely no indication that Iraq would ever, under any circumstances, comply with the United Nations and withdraw from Kuwait.

For more than five months, the world waited for Iraq to comply with the will of the United Nations. For over five months, the world waited in vain. And while we waited, Saddam Hussein continued to rape and pillage and swallow Kuwait.

Tonight, we wait no longer. In unison, the civilized nations of the world are acting to defeat a dangerous dictator who thought he could brutalize his peaceful neighbor without anyone trying to stop him. A reckless dictator who thought he -- and not international law or international civilization -- could define the rules of a new world order. // like it

Tonight, I have ordered the men and women of our armed forces into action to liberate Kuwait and restore stability and security in the Persian Gulf.

Having determined that force is necessary, I am equally determined that force will be used decisively. I have seen the face of battle, and it is ugly and terrible.

And as your Commander-in-Chief, I pledge to you that I will use ^{whatever} all means ^{are necessary} at my disposal to remove Iraq from Kuwait, restore security and stability in the Persian Gulf, and bring

home quickly and safely our brave men and women of Operation Desert Shield. In conjunction with our partners in the multinational force, we will work to keep casualties to an absolute minimum and to defeat, swiftly and completely, Saddam Hussein and the forces under his command.

I would not have made this decision -- the most difficult of my entire life -- were it not for the vital interests at stake, were it not for the clear and present danger we and our allies and the world so unmistakeably face.

Let me be blunt with you: Saddam Hussein is a very dangerous dictator, a reckless man whose bloodthirsty ambition knows no limit.

He is armed to the teeth with an arsenal that includes chemical and biological weapons -- weapons he uses coldly and brutally against civilians and soldiers alike -- even against his own people. If he could, if we gave him enough time, he would have nuclear weapons. And he would surely use those to pursue his ruthless ambition.

He threatens the Persian Gulf, site of the world's oil lifelines, and he threatens the Middle East as a whole -- crossroads to Europe, Asia, and Africa and home to some of America's best friends, Israel, Egypt, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia.

And in attacking and brutally raping Kuwait, in defying and consciously disregarding the will of the world as expressed through the United Nations Security Council, he threatens our hopes, our dreams, our aspirations for a new world order and a new era of peace. A world where international laws, not international outlaws, hold sway. A world where peaceful peoples can live free from the fear that naked, unprovoked aggression could wipe them from the face of the earth. A world where small nations need not fear that they will be devoured by

yes ✓

like 2

away with this, who know's what's going to be next?"

Surely, all of us by now can see the truth in her words. If Saddam Hussein succeeds, if we fail now, if we allow our unity to splinter and dissipate -- then without doubt we all will pay later in blood and treasure as a new, darker era is ushered in, as Saddam's appetite for power grows and our will weakens.

Let no one doubt: Saddam would never be content with just his conquest of Kuwait. If he is not defeated now, he'll use force again, only next time he will pick the time and the place and he will have an arsenal that may well include nuclear weapons.

But if we hold together and stop Saddam, if his aggression is undone, if his occupation of Kuwait is ended -- then together we can all bring home a new time, a new world order, a new era of peace.

In the halls of Congress and the public squares of this great land, we have had an open and honest debate. It is testimony to the finest traditions of democracy. I know the choice we have faced is difficult and painful. It has been so for me. I am heartened by the support I have received from the Congress and from the American people. Some may still have their differences.

But now let us stand together as a nation.

I have ordered our forces into combat regrettably and as a last resort because no viable peaceful option remains. I have not called upon our fighting men and women to face the gravest of dangers without deep thought and heartfelt consideration. It is a decision I have not taken lightly. And it is a decision that will always be with me.

But we have exhausted every peaceful means short of appeasement. Only force can conceivably liberate Kuwait.

That is why I have called upon Hollywood Huddleston, and Walter Boomer, and J.P. Kendall, and Jackie Jones, and their courageous colleagues in arms. Tonight, my prayers go out to them and the others like them who risk their lives today so tomorrow and thereafter we here at home can live in peace and freedom.

God Bless them. And God Bless the United States of America.

11/16/91 12²⁰

Just two hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed. Its people brutalized. For more than five long months, Saddam Hussein waged cruel war. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with the United Nations resolutions, follows months of constant and seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution -- only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others travelled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held a historic meeting in Geneva -- only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East, with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. He came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area, having exhausted all reasonable efforts at peaceful resolutions, are

resigned to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam Hussein's armor will be destroyed. We will protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddams' vast military arsenal.

The objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. // Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will guarantee to live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask, why act now? Why not wait. My answer: the world could wait no longer. Sanctions -- though having some effect -- showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He

subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities -- among those maimed and murdered ~~off even~~ innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon.

While the world waited -- while the world talked peace and withdrawal -- Saddam Hussein dug in, and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited -- while Saddam stalled -- more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe -- to the entire world, including our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken the forces against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace -- with open contempt. I concluded that time was on the side of Saddam.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions. He did not do that.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

Saddam Hussein was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations. Leave Kuwait -- or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead he tried to make this simply a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he was wrong! // Tonight, 28 nations -- countries from five continents: Europe and Asia, Africa and the Arab League -- have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. Each one of these countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded, as we did, that only force will make him leave.

I am hopeful that his fighting will not go on long -- and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have, in ~~this~~ ^{the} past, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at this new world order -- an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq -- it is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "... These are the times that try men's souls" and that is so very true today . . . but even as planes of the multi-national forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united

as it is now, in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor. //

No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the finest. Ours is an all volunteer force -- magnificently trained and highly motivated. The troops know why they are there. Listen to what they say, for they have said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could:

Listen to "Hollywood" Huddleston, Marine Lance Corporal. He says, "Let's free these people so we can go home and be free again." He's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said, "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next hundred years. It's better to deal with this guy now than five years from now."

And finally, we all should sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army Lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who know's what's going to be next?"

I have called upon "Hollywood" Huddleston and Walter Boomer and J.P. Kendall and Jackie Jones and all their courageous comrades in arms to do what must be done. We are deeply grateful to them.

We do not seek -- nor will we have -- U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf area. I will bring all our forces home -- as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and may He bless the innocent children in Kuwait and Iraq, the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf -- and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

#

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When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at this new world order -- an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq -- it is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "... These are the times that try men's souls" and that is so very true today . . . but even as planes of the multi-national forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united

as it is now, in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor. //

No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the finest. Ours is an all volunteer force -- magnificently trained and highly motivated. The troops know why they are there. Listen to what they say, for they have said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could:

Listen to "Hollywood" Huddleston, Marine Lance Corporal. He says, "Let's free these people so we can go home and be free again." He's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said, "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next hundred years. It's better to deal with this guy now than five years from now."

And finally, we all should sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army Lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who know's what's going to be next?"

I have called upon "Hollywood" Huddleston and Walter Boomer and J.P. Kendall and Jackie Jones and all their courageous comrades in arms to do what must be done. We are deeply grateful to them.

We do not seek -- nor will we have -- U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf area. I will bring all our forces home -- as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and may He bless the innocent children in Kuwait and Iraq, the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf -- and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

#

1:00 p.m. //
draft // 1-16-91

Just two hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed. Its people brutalized. For more than five long months, Saddam Hussein has waged cruel war. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with the United Nations resolutions, follows months of constant and seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution -- only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others travelled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held a historic meeting in Geneva -- only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East, with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. He came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area, having exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution,

are resigned to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. We will protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal.

The objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. // Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will guarantee to live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask, why act now? Why not wait. My answer: the world could wait no longer. Sanctions -- though having some effect -- showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He

subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities -- and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon.

While the world waited -- while the world talked peace and withdrawal -- Saddam Hussein dug in, and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited -- while Saddam stalled -- more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe -- to the entire world, including our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace -- with open contempt. //

I concluded that time was on the side of Saddam. I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took

its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions. He did not do that.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied servicemen and women. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

Saddam Hussein was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations. Leave Kuwait -- or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead he tried to make this simply a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. // Tonight, 28 nations -- countries from five continents: Europe and Asia, Africa and the Arab League --have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. Each one of these countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded, as we did, that only force will make him leave.

I am hopeful that his fighting will not go on for long -- and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have, in this past year, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law , not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at this new world order -- an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

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I have called upon "Hollywood" and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades in arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and their families.

We do not seek -- nor will we have -- U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf area. I will bring all our forces home -- as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and may He bless the innocent children in Kuwait and Iraq, the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf -- and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

#

From JHS

DRAFT #1

1/15/91

At XX our time, the allied air forces attacked military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Allied ground forces are not ~~yet~~ engaged. *P.O.*

^{is} The war began August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed. Its people brutalized. *Now we are taking action to end that aggression.* [Now the war has been joined.]

This military action, taken in accord with the United Nations resolutions, follows months of seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders pursued an Arab solution -- only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East. He went with peace in his heart -- and came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 27 countries with forces in the Gulf area are prepared to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you now, air attacks are underway against a wide variety of targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out ^{his} Saddam Hussein's nuclear weapons potential, ~~We will also destroy~~ ~~his~~ chemical weapons facilities (and other facilities harboring)

unconventional weapons.) In addition, we will protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal.

Our objectives are clear and consistent. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. (Much of Saddam Hussein's armor will be destroyed.) And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will *have cause* ~~guarantee~~ to live as a peaceful member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask, why act now? Why not wait. My answer: the world could wait no longer. // Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam Hussein from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own.

While the world waited, Saddam continued his quest to add to his chemical weapons arsenal infinitely more dangerous weapons of mass destruction -- nuclear weapons.

While the world waited -- while the world talked peace and withdrawal -- Saddam Hussein dug in, and moved massive force into Kuwait.

While the world waited -- while Saddam stalled -- more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third

world, Eastern Europe and South America and, indeed, to the economy of our own country.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken the forces against him.

So while the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace -- with open contempt *and thus in fact made ^{clear his} choice for war.*

I had hoped that when a majority of both Houses of Congress, in historic debate, supported the will of the United Nations, Saddam would finally realize he could not prevail.

Saddam was warned over and over again that he must comply with the twelve resolutions of the U.N. Security Council. Leave Kuwait -- or be driven out. Saddam has refused to heed all of these warnings. Instead he tried to make this dispute a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

once again
Well, he failed. Tonight the world is united against Saddam Hussein.

Tonight 27 countries from all around the world have forces in the Gulf area aligned against Saddam Hussein. Each one of those countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded as we did, that only force will make him leave.

Let me assure all Americans: Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed the military commanders involved to do everything in their power to protect the lives of the allied

forces and to guard against the indiscriminate loss of innocent civilian life in Iraq and in Kuwait.

Having said that, I have also ordered that they take whatever steps are necessary to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of support possible for American and Allied men and women serving in the Gulf. I am hopeful that this fighting will not go on long. ^{like all of you, I pray} ~~I am hopeful~~ that casualties will be at an absolute minimum.

I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back. //

This is an historic moment. What is ultimately at stake in this conflict is the shape ^{and stability} of the world we live in -- the world we pass on to our children. Twice this century, we fought world wars to secure the very existence of democracy. For the past four decades, ours has been a world divided -- a world on the brink of conflict, an armed and uneasy peace between East and West. ^{In that past} Lasting peace and freedom lay always just beyond our reach.

We have, in this past year, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their

dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: ". . . These are the times that try men's souls. . ." -- and that is so very true today. But even as our allied air forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor. //

Tonight, as our forces fight, I ask all Americans to set aside whatever differences divide us -- to call to mind the bravery, the courage and the dedication of our sons and daughters. And to support with a single voice not just the United States -- but all nations united in pursuit of lasting peace.

#

DD copy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 14, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST

SUBJECT: AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION 1936-1941

The attached summary of selected polls of U.S. public opinion taken between 1936-1941 makes an interesting comparison to public opinion in the present crisis. The pre-World War II polls summarized here demonstrate that even in the midst of Hitler's assault on all of Europe and indisputable proof of deadly aggression, the American public resisted the notion of American involvement -- right up until the attack on Pearl Harbor.

I bring this to your attention to highlight a similarity between post World War I "anti-involvement syndrome" and the present post-Vietnam variant. This polling data also suggests the scope of your own accomplishment in building such strong public support against Iraq's aggression.

Attachment

SELECTED GALLUP POLLS, 1936-1941

1936

MARCH: GERMANY REOCCUPIES THE RHINELAND
JULY: SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Aug 1936 -- 71% prefer war referendum in order to declare war.
Dec 1936 -- 62% think U.S. can stay out of future war in Europe.

1937

Feb 1937 -- 66% are neutral in regard to Spanish Civil War.
Apr 1937 -- 70% say it was a mistake to enter WWI.

MAY: US CONGRESS PASSES NEUTRALITY ACT

Aug 1937 -- 73% think there will be another world war.
Oct 1937 -- 73% favor war referendum.

1938

MARCH: GERMANY ANNEXES AUSTRIA

Apr 1938 -- 46% believe U.S. will fight Germany again in their lifetime.

SEPTEMBER: MUNICH AGREEMENT

Oct 1938 -- 57% think U.S. can sit out a European war.
-- 68% favor war referendum.
-- 59% approve of Munich agreement.
(-- 57% of all British approve of Neville Chamberlain.)
-- 48% believe U.S. will fight Germany again.
Nov 1938 -- 92% doubt Hitler's claims to no more territorial ambitions.

1939

Jan 1939 -- 56% say there will be no European war in 1939.
-- 57% say that U.S. will be drawn in if war begins.
Mar 1939 -- 58% favor war referendum.

-- 76% favor selling food to UK and France in case of war.

-- 83% oppose sending Navy to help UK and France.

Apr 1939 -- 51% predict European war in 1939.

Aug 1939 -- 87% believe Hitler's claim to Danzig unjustified.

-- 50-50 split on whether Congress should change Neutrality Law to permit sale of war materiel to UK and France.

**SEPTEMBER: GERMANY INVADES POLAND
F.D.R. DECLARES U.S. NEUTRALITY**

Sep 1939 -- 84% oppose fighting Germany.

-- 64% believe Germany would attack US if it first defeats UK, France and Poland.

Oct 1939 -- 62% favor changing Neutrality Act to aid UK, France.

-- 95% oppose declaring war/sending troops against Germany.

-- 61% oppose universal conscription.

-- 71% oppose US involvement even if Germany is defeating UK, France.

-- 54% say US will stay out of Europe's war.

Nov 1939 -- 66% believe people of Germany do not favor Hitler.

Nov 1939 -- 96% oppose declaring war/fighting Germany.

1940

**APRIL: GERMANY INVADES NORWAY AND DENMARK
MAY: BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS, FRANCE**

Apr 1940 -- 93% say Germany not justified in taking Denmark and Norway.

-- 96% oppose war with Germany.

May 1940 -- 51-49% say US will enter European war.

Jul 1940 -- 86% oppose entry into war.

**AUGUST-SEPTEMBER: BATTLE OF BRITAIN
CONGRESS CREATES SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM
U.S. SENDS WAR SUPPLIES TO BRITAIN**

Oct 1940 -- 83% oppose entry into war.

Dec 1940 -- 59% think US will enter war.

-- 60% oppose changing Neutrality Law to permit American ships from carrying war supplies to UK.

-- Was it a mistake for US to fight in WWI? 39% yes; 42% no; 19% no opinion.

-- 88% oppose entry into war.

-- 52% say troops should be sent overseas only after a referendum.

1941

Jan 1941 -- 60% believe we should help England, even if it means risking US involvement in war.

-- 88% oppose entry into war.

-- 54% say Congress should pass lend-lease.

MARCH: CONGRESS PASSES LEND-LEASE

Mar 1941 -- 83% oppose war.

-- 52% would lease added destroyers to UK.

Apr 1941 -- 67% would help England even at risk of war.

-- 79% oppose sending US army to help England.

-- 50-41% oppose using Navy to guard ships carrying war materiel to UK.

-- 82% think US will enter war.

-- 81% oppose entry into war.

May 1941 -- 52-42% approve using Navy to guard ships bound to UK.

JUNE: GERMANY INVADES U.S.S.R.

Jun 1941 -- 56% say US troops should be sent abroad only after referendum.

-- 76% oppose entry into war.

Jul 1941 -- 79% oppose entry into war.

Oct 1941 -- 30% say keeping out of war more important than seeing Germany defeated.

Nov 1941 -- 32% say keeping out of war more important than seeing Germany defeated.

-- 63% oppose a Congressional Res. stating that state of war exists with Germany.

#

POTUS

1:00 draft

11/26

Just two hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed. Its people brutalized. For more than five long months, Saddam Hussein has waged cruel war. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with ~~the~~ United Nations resolutions, follows months of constant and seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution -- only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others travelled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held a historic meeting in Geneva -- only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East, with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. He came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area, having exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution,

are resigned to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. *Our operations are designed to beat* ~~We will~~ protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddams' vast military arsenal.

The objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. // Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will *hopefully* ~~guarantee to~~ live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask, why act now? Why not wait. My answer: the world could wait no longer. Sanctions -- though having some effect -- showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He

subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities -- and among those maimed and murdered, ^{many} innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon.

While the world waited -- while the world talked peace and withdrawal -- Saddam Hussein dug in, and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited -- while Saddam stalled -- more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe -- to the entire world, including our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace -- with open contempt. //

I concluded that time was on the side of Saddam. I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took

its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions. He did not do that.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail ~~as~~ *as possible and with* quickly ~~and with~~ the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied servicemen and women. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

Saddam Hussein was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations. Leave Kuwait -- or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead he tried to make this simply a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. // Tonight, 28 nations -- countries from five continents: Europe and Asia, Africa and the Arab League -- have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. ~~Each one of these countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded, as we did, that~~ *Regrettably, we now believe* only force will make him leave.

I am hopeful that his fighting will not go on for long -- and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have, in this past year, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law , not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at this new world order -- an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

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Tonight, as our forces fight, they are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and may He bless the innocent children in Kuwait and Iraq, the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf -- and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

91 JAN 14 PM 7:42

January 14, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

SUBJECT:

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION 1936-1941

The attached summary of selected polls of U.S. public opinion taken between 1936-1941 makes an interesting comparison to public opinion in the present crisis. The pre-World War II polls summarized here demonstrate that even in the midst of Hitler's assault on all of Europe and indisputable proof of deadly aggression, the American public resisted the notion of American involvement -- right up until the attack on Pearl Harbor.

I bring this to your attention to highlight a similarity between post World War I "anti-involvement syndrome" and the present post-Vietnam variant. This polling data also suggests the scope of your own accomplishment in building such strong public support against Iraq's aggression.

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Oct 1938 -- 57% think U.S. can sit out a European war.

-- 68% favor war referendum.

-- 59% approve of Munich agreement.

(-- 57% of all British approve of Neville Chamberlain.)

-- 48% believe U.S. will fight Germany again.

Nov 1938 -- 92% doubt Hitler's claims to no more territorial ambitions.

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Jan 1939 -- 56% say there will be no European war in 1939.

-- 57% say that U.S. will be drawn in if war begins.

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-- 76% favor selling food to UK and France in case of war.

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-- 61% oppose universal conscription.

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-- 54% say US will stay out of Europe's war.

Nov 1939 -- 66% believe people of Germany do not favor Hitler.

Nov 1939 -- 96% oppose declaring war/fighting Germany.

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**APRIL: GERMANY INVADES NORWAY AND DENMARK
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Apr 1940 -- 93% say Germany not justified in taking Denmark and Norway.

-- 96% oppose war with Germany.

May 1940 -- 51-49% say US will enter European war.

Jul 1940 -- 86% oppose entry into war.

**AUGUST-SEPTEMBER: BATTLE OF BRITAIN
CONGRESS CREATES SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM
U.S. SENDS WAR SUPPLIES TO BRITAIN**

Oct 1940 -- 83% oppose entry into war.

Dec 1940 -- 59% think US will enter war.

-- 60% oppose changing Neutrality Law to permit American ships from carrying war supplies to UK.

-- Was it a mistake for US to fight in WWI? 39% yes; 42% no; 19% no opinion.

-- 88% oppose entry into war.

-- 52% say troops should be sent overseas only after a referendum.

1941

Jan 1941 -- 60% believe we should help England, even if it means risking US involvement in war.

-- 88% oppose entry into war.

-- 54% say Congress should pass lend-lease.

MARCH: CONGRESS PASSES LEND-LEASE

Mar 1941 -- 83% oppose war.

-- 52% would lease added destroyers to UK.

Apr 1941 -- 67% would help England even at risk of war.

-- 79% oppose sending US army to help England.

-- 50-41% oppose using Navy to guard ships carrying war materiel to UK.

-- 82% think US will enter war.

-- 81% oppose entry into war.

May 1941 -- 52-42% approve using Navy to guard ships bound to UK.

JUNE: GERMANY INVADES U.S.S.R.

Jun 1941 -- 56% say US troops should be sent abroad only after referendum.

-- 76% oppose entry into war.

Jul 1941 -- 79% oppose entry into war.

Oct 1941 -- 30% say keeping out of war more important than seeing Germany defeated.

Nov 1941 -- 32% say keeping out of war more important than seeing Germany defeated.

-- 63% oppose a Congressional Res. stating that state of war exists with Germany.

#

345
Draft.

Just two hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed. Its people brutalized. ~~For more than five long~~ ^{ago} months, Saddam Hussein ^{started this} ~~has waged~~ ^{against Kuwait.} cruel war. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions -- and with the consent of the U.S. Congress -- follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution -- only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others travelled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held a historic meeting in Geneva -- only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East, with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. He came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area -- having exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution - - have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force. // We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal.

Our objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. // Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask, why act now? Why not wait. The answer is clear: the world could wait no longer. Sanctions -- though having some effect -- showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our

allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities -- and among those maimed and murdered -- innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon.

While the world waited -- while the world talked peace and withdrawal -- Saddam Hussein dug in, and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited -- while Saddam stalled -- more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe -- to the entire world, including our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace -- with open contempt. //

While the world waited -- while the world prayed for peace -- Saddam prepared for war. //

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions. He did not do that. Instead, he remained intransigent -- certain that time was on his side.

Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations. Leave Kuwait -- or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. // Tonight, 28 nations -- countries from five continents: Europe and Asia, Africa and the Arab League -- have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible -- and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied servicemen and women. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

I am hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long -- and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum. //

This is an historic moment. We have, in this past year, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at this new world order -- an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq -- indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety. //

Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq -- it is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls" Those well-known words are so very true today . . . but even as planes of the multi-national forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail -- but that, out of the horror of combat, will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united. // No nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbor. //

No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the nation's finest. Ours is an all volunteer force -- magnificently trained and highly motivated. The troops know why they are there. Listen to what they say, for they have said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could:

Listen to "Hollywood" Huddleston, Marine Lance Corporal. He says, "Let's free these people so we can go home and be free again." He's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said, "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next hundred years. It's better to deal with this guy now than five years from now."

And finally, we all should sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army Lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who know's what's going to be next?"

I have called upon "Hollywood" and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades in arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and to their families. Let me say to everyone listening or watching tonight: when the troops we've sent in finish their work, I am determined to bring them home -- as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, ~~and may He bless the innocent~~

~~children in Kuwait and Iraq~~ ^{and} the coalition forces at our side in
the Gulf -- and may He continue to bless our nation, the United
States of America.

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DRAFT #4
1/15/91

At (.... time...) our time, the allied air forces attacked military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Allied ground forces are not yet engaged.

~~Hostilities~~
(The war) started August 2nd when a brutal dictator invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait, a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations, was crushed. Its people brutalized. Now the war has been joined.

~~Now~~
This military action, taken in accord with the United Nations resolutions, follows months of seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait ^{in accord with U.N. demands}. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East with peace in his heart. He came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait peacefully.

Now the 27 countries with forces in the Gulf area are ^{determined} ~~prepared~~ to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you now, air attacks are underway against a wide variety of targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities (and other facilities harboring unconventional weapons.) In addition, we will protect the lives

of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal.

The objectives are clear, ^{and consistent} Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will again be free. [Much of Saddam Hussein's armor will be destroyed.] Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will guarantee to live as a peaceful member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Many will ask, why now? Why not wait longer. My answer: Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months and I concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait.

In addition, Saddam has been using the last 5 months to reinforce his legions, indeed, to move forward with his nuclear program and his chemical weapons program. While the world was talking peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein simply dug in and moved massive force into Kuwait.

Further, the longer he stalled, ^{then} more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, the emerging economies of Eastern Europe and South America and, indeed, to the economy of our own country.

And lastly, as each day has gone by, the unspeakable brutality against the people of Kuwait has continued.

Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying

the United Nations he could weaken the forces against him.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took the supporting action that it did, Saddam would *Small* realize he could not prevail and that somehow he'd move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions, but he did not do that.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed the military commanders involved to do everything in their power to protect the lives of the allied forces and to guard against the indiscriminate loss of innocent civilian life in Iraq and in Kuwait. Having said that, I have also ordered that they take whatever steps are necessary to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible protection in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

Prior to the initiation of hostilities Saddam Hussein was warned over and over again that he must leave Kuwait in accord with twelve resolutions of the U.N. Security Council -- or that he would be driven out. Saddam has refused to heed the warnings. Instead he tried to make this dispute a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he was wrong! Tonight the world is united against Saddam Hussein.

Tonight 27 countries from all around the world have forces in the

Gulf area aligned against Saddam Hussein. Each one of those countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded as we did, that only force will make him leave -- our extensive diplomacy and the diplomacy of many other countries having failed. I am hopeful that this fighting will not go on long. I am hopeful that casualties will be at an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at a new world order. An order in which a reactivated United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. We have no argument with the people of Iraq. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: " ...These are the times that try men's souls....." and that is so very true today ...but even as our planes (from---countries) attack Iraq , I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor.

I could not have ordered our forces into battle unless I had become convinced that Saddam Hussein was determined not to leave Kuwait. No President could easily commit these sons and daughters to war. They are our finest. Ours is an all volunteer

force, highly motivated, beautifully trained.

We are grateful to them.

I will bring them home as soon as possible for we do not seek, nor will we have U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf area.

They are in our prayers.

God bless you all -- and may God bless the innocent citizens in Iraq, the gallant men and women fighting at our side in the Gulf, and may God bless the United States of America.

DRAFT #5
1/16/91

Just two hours ago, the air forces of the coalition partners began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continues I speak. Allied ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when a brutal dictator invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait, a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations was crushed. Its people brutalized. Now the response to this has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with the United Nations resolutions, follows months of constant and seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others paraded to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East, with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. He came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait peacefully.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area, having exhausted all reasonable efforts at peaceful resolution, are resigned to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you now, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities (and other facilities harboring unconventional weapons.) We will protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. *[Our targets are military targets not civilian]*

The objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will again be free. [Much of Saddam Hussein's armor will be destroyed.] Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will guarantee to live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Many will ask, why now? Why not wait longer. My answer: Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months and I concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait.

In addition, Saddam has been using the last 5 months to reinforce his legions, indeed, to move forward with his nuclear program and his chemical weapons program. While the world was talking peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein was simply digging in and moving massive force into Kuwait.

Further, the longer he stalled, the more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, the emerging economies of Eastern Europe and South America and, indeed, to the

economy of our own country.

And lastly, as each day has gone by, the unspeakable brutality against the people of Kuwait has continued.

Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken or outlast the forces against him. *I had concluded time was on the side of Saddam.*

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took the resolute action that it did, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions. He did not do that.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed the military commanders involved to do everything in their power to (duplicatons?) protect the lives of the coalition forces and to guard against the indiscriminate loss of innocent civilian life in Iraq and in Kuwait. Having directed that, I have also ordered that they take every necessary step to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible (what does this mean??) protection in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

Prior to the initiation of hostilities Saddam Hussein was warned over and over again that he must leave Kuwait in accord with twelve resolutions of the U.N. Security Council -- or that he would be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all

warnings. Instead he tried to make this simply a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he was wrong! Tonight the world is united against Saddam Hussein.

Tonight 28 countries from all around the world have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. Each one of these countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded as we did, that -- our extensive diplomacy and the diplomacy of many other countries having been rejected by Saddam Hussein --only force will make him leave. I am hopeful that this fighting will not go on long. I am hopeful that casualties will be at an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at a new world order. An order in which a credible United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq -- it is the liberating of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: " ...These are the times that try men's souls....." and that is so very true today ...but even as planes of the multi-national forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of

combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united as it is now in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor.

I could not have ordered our forces into battle unless I had become absolutely convinced that Saddam Hussein was determined not to leave Kuwait. No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the finest. Ours is an all volunteer force. It is magnificently trained and highly motivated. The troops know why they are there. Listen to what they say, for they have said it better than any statesman ever could:

Listen to "Hollywood Huddleston," Marine Lance Corporal. He says, "Let's free those people so we can go home and be free again." He's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said, "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J. P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next hundred years. It's better to deal with this guy now than five years from now."

And finally, we all should sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an

Army Lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who know's what's going to be next?"

I have called upon Hollywood Huddleston and Walter Boomer and J.P. Kendall and Jackie Jones and their courageous colleagues in arms to do what must be done. We are deeply grateful to them.

I will bring all our forces home as soon as possible, for we do not seek nor will we have U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf area.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and may He bless the innocent children in Iraq ^{in Kuwait} the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may He continue to bless the United States of America.

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

force, highly motivated, beautifully trained.

We are grateful to them.

I will bring them home as soon as possible for we do not seek,
nor will we have ^{long term} U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf
area.

They are in our prayers.

God bless you all -- and may God bless the innocent citizens in
Iraq, the gallant men and women fighting at our side in the Gulf,
and may God bless the United States of America.

I had hoped peace ^{could} be achieved through diplomatic and political means. Unfortunately peace will now be achieved by force.

Bush Library Photocopy
Miscellaneous Handwriting

DRAFT #4
1/15/91

At (.... time...) our time, the allied air forces attacked military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Allied ground forces are not yet engaged.

The tragedy began
(The war started) August 2nd when a brutal dictator invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait, a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations was crushed. Its people brutalized. (Now the war has been joined.)

This military action, ^{enforces} (taken in accord with) the United Nations resolutions, follows months of seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East with peace in his heart. He came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait peacefully.

Now the 27 countries with forces in the Gulf area are prepared to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you now, air attacks are underway against a wide variety of targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities (and other facilities harboring unconventional weapons.) In addition, we will protect the lives

Miscellaneous Handwriting
of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. *Our targets are military targets not civilian population*

The objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will again be free. [Much of Saddam Hussein's armor will be destroyed.] Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will guarantee to live as a peaceful member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Many will ask, why now? Why not wait longer. My answer:

Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months and I concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait. *I have been patient and*

so have our armed forces.

In addition, Saddam has been using the last 5 months to reinforce his legions, indeed, to move forward with his nuclear program and his chemical weapons program. While the world was talking peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein simply dug in and moved massive force into Kuwait.

Further, the longer he stalled them, more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, the emerging economies of Eastern Europe and South America and, indeed, to the economy of our own country.

And lastly, as each day has gone by, the unspeakable brutality against the people of Kuwait has continued.

Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying

the United Nations he could weaken the forces against him.

I concluded time was on the side of Saddam. By waiting the isolation would be weakened and the risk of losing more American lives became
I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic

debate, took the supporting action that it did, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and that somehow he'd move out of

Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions, but he did not do that.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed the military commanders involved to do everything in their power to protect the lives of the allied forces and to guard against the indiscriminate loss of innocent civilian life in Iraq and in Kuwait. Having said that, I have also ordered that they take

whatever steps are necessary to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible protection in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

Prior to the initiation of hostilities Saddam Hussein was warned over and over again that he must leave Kuwait in accord with twelve resolutions of the U.N. Security Council -- or that he would be driven out. Saddam has refused to heed the warnings. Instead he tried to make this dispute a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he was wrong! Tonight the world is united against Saddam Hussein.

Tonight 27 countries from all around the world have forces in the

Bush Library Photocopy
Miscellaneous Handwriting

We are along with our allies and using all necessary means to get Saddam out of Kuwait
Gulf area aligned against Saddam Hussein. Each one of those countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded as we did, that only force will make him leave -- our extensive diplomacy and the diplomacy of many other countries having failed. I am hopeful that this fighting will not go on long. I am hopeful that casualties will be at an absolute minimum.

Statement on Terrorism ->

This is an historic moment. When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at a new world order. An order in which a reactivated United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. We have no argument with the people of Iraq. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "...These are the times that try men's souls....." and that is so very true today...but even as our planes (from--countries) attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor.

I know the human tragedy and loss of life in battle. I did learn there
I could not have ordered our forces into battle unless I had become convinced that Saddam Hussein was determined not to leave Kuwait. No President could easily commit these sons and daughters to war. They are our finest. Ours is an all volunteer

force, highly motivated, beautifully trained.

We are grateful to them.

I will bring them home as soon as possible for we do not seek, nor will we have U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf area.

They are in our prayers.

God bless you all -- and may God bless the innocent citizens in Iraq, the gallant men and women fighting at our side in the Gulf, and may God bless the United States of America.

Notes 11 Am
copy

DRAFT #5
1/16/91

Just two hours ago, the air forces of the coalition partners began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continues I speak. Allied ground forces are not engaged.

→ This conflict started August 2nd when ^[the dictator of Iraq] a brutal dictator invaded a
→ small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait [^] a member of the Arab League
→ and a member of the United Nations [^] was crushed. Its people
brutalized. [→] Now the response to this has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with the United Nations resolutions, follows months of constant and seemingly endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others paraded to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East, with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. He came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait peacefully.

BOLD → Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area, having exhausted all reasonable efforts at peaceful resolution, are resigned to see Saddam driven from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

?
As I report to you now, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities (and other facilities harboring unconventional weapons.) We will protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. [Our targets are not civilians, they are military targets.]

→ The objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate Government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will ^{once} again be free. [Much of Saddam Hussein's armor will be destroyed.] Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, Iraq will guarantee to live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Q → Some may ask, why act now? Why not wait. My answer: the world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses ^{ses} an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon. While the world waited -- while the world talked peace and withdrawal -- Saddam Hussein, dug in, ^{and} ~~had~~ moved massive force into Kuwait.

While the world waited -- while Saddam stalled -- more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the third world, Eastern Europe and South America and, indeed, to the economy of our country.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken the forces against him.

So while the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace -- with open contempt. I concluded that time was on the side of Saddam.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took the resolute action that it did, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation Resolutions. He did not do that.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed the military commanders involved to take every necessary step to prevail quickly and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and Allied soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen. I have told the American people before that this will not be another Viet Nam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

Prior to the initiation of hostilities Saddam Hussein was warned

over and over again that he must leave Kuwait in accord with twelve resolutions of the U.N. Security Council -- or that he would be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead he tried to make this simply a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he was wrong! Tonight the world is united against Saddam Hussein.

Tonight 28 countries from all around the world have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. Each one of these countries had hoped that the use of force could be avoided. Each concluded as we did, that -- our extensive diplomacy and the diplomacy of many other countries having been rejected by Saddam Hussein --only force will make him leave. I am hopeful that this fighting will not go on long. I am hopeful that casualties will be at an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have, in this past year, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at a new world order. An order in which a credible United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq -- it is the liberating of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi

people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: " ...These are the times that try men's souls....." and that is so very true today ...but even as planes of the multi-national forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united as it is now in its belief that one nation must not brutally assault its neighbor.

I could not have ordered our forces into battle unless I had become absolutely convinced that Saddam Hussein was determined not to leave Kuwait. No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the finest. Ours is an all volunteer force. It is magnificently trained and highly motivated. The troops know why they are there. Listen to what they say, for they have said it better than any statesman ever could:

Listen to "Hollywood Huddleston," Marine Lance Corporal. He says, "Let's free those people so we can go home and be free again." He's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said, "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to

go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J. P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne:
"We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next hundred years. It's better to deal with this guy now than five years from now."

And finally, we all should sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army Lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who know's what's going to be next?"

I have called upon Hollywood Huddleston and Walter Boomer and J.P. Kendall and Jackie Jones and their courageous colleagues in arms to do what must be done. We are deeply grateful to them.

I will bring all our forces home as soon as possible, for we do not seek nor will we have U.S. troops permanently stationed in the Gulf area.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and may He bless the innocent children in Iraq, the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may He continue to bless the United States of America.

McGroarty
January 15, 1991
4:40 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: XXXXXX
XXXXXX

Xx hours ago, the coalition against Iraq took action [[against Iraqi occupation forces in Kuwait, and military installations inside Iraq]]. // Tonight, I come to you to report on the situation -- to lay out the reasons for this action -- and to restate our objectives. //

The reasons trace back to a single act and its bloody aftermath: the aggression of August 2nd -- Iraq's unprovoked and unwarranted invasion of Kuwait -- and the systematic assault on that nation and its people. // From that moment, our objectives as a nation and as a member of the international community have not changed: we seek Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait; the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government; and the establishment of stability and security in the Gulf region. //

The world met Iraq's invasion with a chorus of condemnation: Twelve resolutions in the United Nations. 28 nations -- countries from 5 continents: Europe and Asia, Africa and the Arab League -- sent forces to the region, to serve side by side in the Gulf as a clear signal of international solidarity and commitment. More than six weeks ago, in recognition of the ultimate limits of diplomacy, the UN Security Council approved the use of all means necessary to implement the U.N.'s Resolutions. // And on January 12, majorities in both houses of

the U.S. Congress authorized the use of force should Saddam fail to comply with the will of the world community. //

For more than five long months, the world waited for Iraq to comply. To those who ask: Why act now? I say: the world could wait no longer. //

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. //

While the world waited, Saddam tightened his grip on Kuwait, and continued his quest to acquire an arsenal of infinitely more dangerous weapons of mass destruction -- nuclear weapons. //

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace / with open contempt. //

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. In every case, Saddam Hussein -- a tyrant whose chosen tools are force and terror -- took this striving for peace as a sign of weakness. //

The reasons why the coalition chose to act -- and act now -- are compelling.

As I have said many times before, we have no quarrel with the people of Iraq. Responsibility for the current conflict rests with one man, and one man alone: Saddam Hussein -- and the forces who follow his dictates. //

We know the lessons of history -- lessons written in our lifetimes in blood, suffering and sacrifice -- that aggression .

feeds on appeasement. / We know that Saddam Hussein's ambitions do not end with Kuwait. What we have seen is only the beginning.

Beyond that, vital interests are at stake -- for America, and for the world. It should be clear to all that the dominance by a hostile power of such a significant source of the world's energy supply constitutes a direct and indisputable threat not simply to America's national security -- but to the economic well-being of the world. And we know that in the hands of Saddam Hussein, oil is not a resource -- it is a weapon. //

But what is ultimately at stake in this conflict is the shape of the world we live in -- the world we pass on to our children. Twice this century, we fought world wars to secure the very existence of democracy. For the past four decades, ours has been a world divided -- a world on the brink of conflict, an armed and uneasy peace between East and West. Lasting peace and freedom lay always just beyond our reach. //

We have, in this past year, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. //

It is this vision -- that has guided America's conduct in the world from the days of Woodrow Wilson to Ronald Reagan. It is this vision that is now threatened by the actions of Saddam Hussein. //

None of us -- not the American people, not our allies in the coalition, and certainly not this President -- wants war. // As a young man -- like millions of Americans -- I was there: I've seen the face of battle -- I know what it's like to lose a friend, to see a comrade fall. //

Let me speak for a moment -- let me level with the American people -- about what we can expect.

Many times during this crisis, I promised that I would never send American servicemen and women in harm's way with anything less than total support. Now, having determined that force is necessary -- I am equally determined that force will be decisive. // Our goal is to achieve our objectives as quickly as possible -- to keep our own casualties to an absolute minimum -- and, when the work is done, to bring every American serviceman and woman home -- as soon as possible. //

Tonight, as our forces fight, I ask all Americans to set aside whatever differences divide us -- to call to mind the bravery, the courage and the dedication of our sons and daughters. And to support with a single voice not just the United States -- but all nations united in pursuit of lasting peace.

#

DATE 1/7/91

TO The White House (202)395-7214

ATTENTION Patty Presock

FROM Stephanie Wills

FAX NUMBER (704) 669-4220

We are sending a total of 1 pages, including this cover sheet. If you did not receive all pages, please call (704) 669-5550.

Billy Graham Evangelistic Association
Montreat, NC 28757

There were several quotes which Mr. Graham mentioned to the President (and which he won't plan to use himself now!):

1. Thomas Payne "These are the times that try men's souls"
-- you said you had verified that.
2. James Russell Lowell "Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide..." (The Present Crisis)
-- you said you had verified that whole quote
3. I think the couple of sentences you may be missing, which sounded like a paraphrase are:

"For you, this is the moment to decide.
-- and the choice someday goes on forever"

That was actually quoted from a book What Jesus Had To Say About Money by Frank Laubach (Zondervan published it)
-- as I understand it, Laubach quoted #2 above, and applied it with #3. I can't find the book in our library here (Mr. Graham has it with him), but the quote appears on page 58 of the edition he has with him.

4. Mr. Graham also quoted the Scripture verse in Isaiah 41:10 (NIV)
"So do not fear, for I am with you; do not be dismayed, for I am your God. I will strengthen you and help you; I will uphold you with my righteous right hand."

Mr. Graham couldn't recall quoting anything else, but he did recall the four I've listed above. I think #3 is what you were after--at least, I hope so!

haass/Jan 12

Outline of Presidential Speech
to be delivered from the Oval Office

1. Opening: What has been decided/overview of remarks to come

--At such and such a time, and consistent with my authority under the Constitution as President and C-in-C, and consistent with the inherent right of collective self-defense affirmed in Article 51 of the UN Charter, I ordered the armed forces of the United States to liberate Kuwait by force. U.S. forces were joined by the armed forces of international coalition, pursuant to UNSCR 678. Now, as I speak, hostilities are underway.

--The purpose of my remarks is to explain what we are doing, why are we doing this, what we seek.

2. Objectives: What do we seek?

--Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait

--the restoration of Kuwait's independence/government

--establish conditions for the peace and stability of the Gulf

--do not seek advantage for ourselves, permanent presence, etc

3. What is behind decision? Why do we care? What is worth going to war for? Let me try to explain.

--First, let me say that I came to decision reluctantly...no one wants war...least of all me...great responsibility...also, I've been there, know what it's like, the grim reality, not glamor, etc (something personal)

--I also came to this decision only after extensive consultation with the Congress, with allies, with experts, with advisors (possibly some statistic re number of meetings with Congressmen)

--But in the end, I had no choice and no doubt:

--stakes worth it; not about some distant unfamiliar country or several cents a gallon for gasoline

--about principles of post-Cold War world, about whether we will have a new world order in which nations act with restraint and respect for the rule of law, or whether aggression is shown to work

--about potential of UN and whether it will be the force for peace that its founders dreamed of

--about control of a critical region and world's energy resources and through them control of world economy.

--not simply one of these rationales, but all of them

4. But why act now?

--conclusion that sanctions, however effective, could not alone accomplish aim of getting Iraqis out; not perfect/goods getting in and out; Iraq a totalitarian society where no dissent allowed;

--conclusion that Iraq no intention to leave/comply with UN, rejecting over 5 1/2 months, nearly half a year, not simply the diplomatic efforts of US, but those of Arab League, USSR, EC, and UN (some detail re efforts, possibly rejection of the 15 dates, letter)

--conclusion that Saddam using time to dig in, preparing weapons of mass destruction, intent only on weakening coalition

--conclusion that time inflicting pain on the American economy and the economies of fledgling democracies (Havel quote)

--conclusion that unacceptable to allow Saddam to continue to commit unspeakable brutality/barbarity against Kuwait, bringing the Middle Ages to the Middle East. (detail AI report)

5. Was this war avoidable/is it necessary?

--Could we have avoided this step, this war? Only by compromising principles, undermining the forces of good and decency, of selling out Kuwaitis...in short, only by appeasing aggression. And history shows that appeasement builds not a real peace, but a hollow one, and a temporary one.

--We could have avoided this war now, but would have sown the seeds for a far more horrible war later, for sure as night

follows day an Iraq in possession of 20% world's oil and enormous arsenal, an Iraq that had concluded that intimidation and violence worked, an Iraq that uses innocents as hostages, an Iraq that has launched two wars in a decade and used poison gas against its own people and its neighbors, would not have been satisfied with Kuwait. Saddam would have threatened his Arab neighbors and Israel, and would have done so not just with aircraft and tanks but with CW, BW and nuclear weapons.

6. We are not alone

--As has been the case since the outset, this not a case of Iraq vs. the US, but Iraq vs. the world

--coalition partners with us (detail re troops, countries)

--12 UNSC resolutions

7. What to expect?

--We will prevail, we have great strength

--Cannot yet predict timetable

--Must recognize that war will require sacrifice

--But we will not fight with one hand tied behind our back/learned lessons of Vietnam

--We will try to act in a manner that minimizes US and coalition casualties

--We will also try to act in a manner that minimizes innocent loss of life

8. Closing:

--to the people of Iraq, I say I regret that this war has been made necessary by Saddam alone. America has no quarrel with the people of Iraq, and look forward to a day when can have a normal relationship.

--to our coalition partners, I say that together we will prevail and lay the foundation stones of new world order in which the words of the prophet Isaiah (swords into plowshares), shall become closer to reality

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 14, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: David Demarest *DD*

Attached is a draft (5-7 minutes) that can be used as the basis of an Oval Office announcement following the commencement of hostilities in the Gulf. This does not replace the longer draft prime-time address, which I sent to you this past weekend, but rather would precede such an address by up to 14 hours depending upon the time hostilities actually commenced.

Marlin and I have discussed possible scenarios -- I believe he has drafted a memo outlining them for the Governor. This comports with our discussion.

Attachment

cc: Gov. Sununu
Gen. Scowcroft

McGroarty
January 14, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: XXXXXX
XXXXXX

Xx hours ago, American troops -- along with members of the multi-national forces stationed in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf -- took action against Iraqi occupation forces in Kuwait, and military installations inside Iraq. //

Tonight, I come to you to report on the situation -- to lay out the reasons for this action; our aims, and our objectives.

The reasons trace back to a single act and its bloody aftermath: Iraq's unprovoked and unwarranted invasion of Kuwait -- and its systematic assault on that nation and its people. //

The world has met Iraq's invasion with a chorus of condemnation: Twelve resolutions in the United Nations. 28 nations -- not just the United States, but countries from 5 continents: Europe and Asia, Africa and the Arab League -- sent forces to the region, to serve side by side in the Gulf, as a clear signal of international solidarity and commitment. Finally, in recognition of the ultimate limits of diplomacy, the UN Security Council approved the use of all means necessary to end Iraq's illegal occupation. //

Today, after more than five months of close and continuous consultations with our allies, and with the Congress -- I determined that circumstances would permit no further delay -- that the time had come to use all means necessary to drive Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. ///

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. In every case, Saddam Hussein -- a tyrant whose chosen tools are force and terror -- took this striving for peace as a sign of weakness. //

For more than five long months, the world waited to comply with the will of the United Nations. For five long months, the world waited -- in vain. Tonight, the waiting is over. The world is acting -- in unison -- against a dictator unmoved by human decency. Against an aggression that cannot stand. //

We know the lessons of history -- lessons written in our lifetimes in blood, suffering and sacrifice -- that aggression feeds on appeasement. / We know that Saddam Hussein's ambitions do not end with Kuwait. What we have seen is only the beginning.

So, what is ultimately at stake in this conflict is the shape of the world we live in -- the world our children will call their own. This has been a century of grand hopes -- and great wars. Of freedom and progress -- force and repression. A century where the human spirit has shown itself capable of a unsurpassed dignity -- and unimagined depravity. //

Twice this century, we fought world wars to secure the very existence of democracy. For the past four decades, ours has been a world divided -- a world balanced, always, on the brink of conflict, an armed and uneasy peace between East and West. Lasting peace and freedom lay always just beyond our reach.

We have, in this past year, made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. A world that welcomes millions of men and women within a widening circle of freedom. //

It is this vision -- the vision that has guided America's conduct in the world from the days of Woodrow Wilson to Ronald Reagan -- that is **now threatened by the actions of Saddam Hussein.** // We will not allow **one man** to deny the dream so many millions share -- of a world's best prospect for peace. //

None of us -- not the American people, and certainly not this President -- welcomes war. // As President of a people that cherish peace, I held out hope the past five months for a way to end this crisis without further conflict. That hope of peace proved the ultimate victim of a dictator bent on war. //

Now, having determined that force is necessary -- I am equally determined that force will be decisive. //

Many times during this crisis, I promised that I would never send American servicemen and women in harm's way with **anything less than total support.** As Commander in Chief -- as one of many millions of Americans who has seen first-hand the face of battle -- I will use all means at my disposal to achieve our objective as quickly as possible -- to keep our own casualties to an

absolute minimum -- and to ensure the swift and complete defeat of Saddam Hussein and the forces under his command. //

As we meet, our forces fight. // There is no joy in the victory of war -- but there would be untold tragedy in defeat. The operation is unfinished -- but the outcome is not in doubt. In the action now underway, there will be no hesitation -- no half-way solution. We will settle for nothing short of success - - and we shall not stop until all of our objectives are achieved.

Tonight, I ask all Americans to set aside whatever differences divide us -- to call to mind the bravery, the courage and the dedication of our sons and daughters. And to support with a single voice not just the United States -- but all nations united in defense of shared ideals and interests that remain mankind's best hope for peace.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 11, 1991

Memorandum for the President

From: - David Demarest *DD*

Subject: Prime time address if hostilities ensue

Mr. President,

Over the past several months I have been noting your comments regarding the Persian Gulf in speeches, press conferences, and private meetings. I have quietly constructed a draft prime time address to be used should hostilities ensue in the Gulf.

This is probably not the format that an initial announcement of military action would take given the most likely timing of such an occurrence. That announcement would conceivably be a shorter, less rhetorical statement to the press or from the Oval during the day.

I did this because an address of this nature should not be thrown together at the last minute -- it's too important for a quick turnaround. If you would like me to do any kind of redraft prior to the 15th please let me know.

I have given an 'eyes only' copy of this to two people: Governor Sununu and Brent.

Love Once to every man a nation
comes the moment to decide.

Paine These are the times
that try men's souls

Demarest

Draft one
1/10/91

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS ON IRAQ AND KUWAIT

When I sent our troops to Saudi Arabia to stop Iraq's aggression, I knew America's sons and daughters were at the doorstep of harm's way. That's why I wanted to be with our brave men and women this past Thanksgiving -- before I made a decision to order them into battle. I wanted to break bread with them, laugh with them, listen to their stories, pray with them -- I wanted to look them in the eye.

I don't think what I saw will surprise you. I saw tremendous pride -- in themselves and in their mission. I saw anxiety and I saw some fear. But I also saw remarkable hope, optimism, and faith -- faith in our country, and faith in God.

They wanted straight talk. I gave it to them. They wanted to know why we were there. I told them. They wanted to know when they were going fight. That I couldn't tell them, then. I did tell them that we would exhaust every opportunity for peace before resorting to war. And we have.

War is a dirty, bloody business -- I know because I've seen it -- I've been there. In the name of religion, it can be man at his most profane. In the name of peace it can be man at his most violent. In the name of civilization it can be man at his most savage. We're not kidding ourselves about the glory of war.

Our men and women in the Saudi desert are under no illusions, and neither am I. No one is in a rush to send young Americans into battle. I know -- war is brutal and unforgiving.

I've always known that the decision to go to war is the most fateful decision any President can make. Every President hopes it is a decision never made.

Tonight [today, yesterday] I have made such a decision. Under the authorization of the United Nations, Units of the [AF, Army, Marines] and the armed forces of [26] other nations have [action TBD].

Their mission is clear and precise, as it has been every day since August 7th -- the day the extraordinary international coalition joined together to stop Iraq's aggression.

First, their mission is to drive Iraq out of Kuwait. Second, we will restore Kuwait's legitimate government. Finally, we will ensure the security and stability of the Gulf region, and eliminate the threat of future aggression.

I believe most Americans understand why our troops were called upon to perform this mission, and why they are standing shoulder to shoulder with forces of so many other nations in the sands of the Persian Gulf. The reasons are simple and straightforward.

We Americans don't like bullies. We don't like the idea of a country brutalizing its weaker neighbor. Now that the Cold War is over, we can see Iraq's invasion of Kuwait as the first assault on the new world order. This new world order is founded

upon the rule of law, not the law of the jungle. It is committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes between nations, with a profound respect for human rights. Appeasing Iraq is absolutely senseless, if we really believe that we can create a better world for our children to inherit.

The United Nations, invigorated with a new sense of purpose, is in full agreement. The U.N. Security Council has endorsed twelve resolutions to condemn Iraq's unprovoked invasion and occupation of Kuwait, to implement tough economic sanctions to stop all trade in and out of Iraq, and to authorize the use of force to restore the Kuwait's legitimate government and re-establish the stability of the Persian Gulf region.

Saddam Hussein has tried every way he knows how to make this a fight between Iraq and the United States. He has failed. Forces of twenty-six other nations -- XXX thousands of troops, tanks and planes are in Saudi Arabia side by side with our forces. Many countries are also sharing the financial burden of this commitment.

Of course, the United States has always borne a disproportionate share, not only of costs but of leadership as well. And that's how it should be. The United States is unique. Only the United States of America can bear this responsibility. Not Europe, not the Soviet Union, not Japan. We are the one nation on this earth that can stand between the forces of aggression and the forces of peace. Among the nations of the

world **only** the United States of America has both the moral standing **and** the means to back it up.

However, this does not alter the fact that it is not the United States against Iraq, **it is Iraq against the world**. There has never been a clearer demonstration of a world united against appeasement and aggression.

Americans also don't like to be blackmailed. It angers me when I hear talk about 'blood for oil', as if this was about Americans paying a nickel or a dime more at the gas pump. You and I both know that's not what America is about.

Let me remind those who hold that cynical view that when oil prices doubled, and redoubled in the 1970's we didn't go to war - even though our economy suffered severe damage. Instead we began to focus on energy conservation, we developed alternative energy sources, we tried to increase our domestic energy production. To be sure, there's a lot more we need to do to ensure that we cannot be held hostage to unreliable suppliers of energy. But back in those days of oil price shocks we tightened our belts and took our economic lumps, and it was tough on all Americans -- damn tough: Remember the elderly whose heating bills tripled? Whole industries lost their competitive edge. Thousands of workers lost their jobs when economic growth slowed to a crawl. Still, through it all, America kept her powder dry.

Today, however, we are facing a brutal dictator who seeks to seize control of a huge proportion of the world's oil supply by force. **That is simply unacceptable**. Already the skyrocketing

oil prices are choking the most fragile economies -- economies in those newly emerging democracies around the world -- where freedom is just now beginning to take hold. For many of them, and for us, energy security is national security. And once again it is the world demanding an end to Saddam Hussein's outrageous attempt at economic blackmail.

The irony here is that the beneficiaries of Saddam Hussein's appetite for economic and military domination of the Middle East are not the Iraqi people. Iraq with its own oil resources should be a wealthy country. But it's not. For Saddam Hussein, oil is not a resource, it's a weapon. That's because the cash from Iraqi oil sales has gone straight into the Iraqi military machine -- now the sixth largest in the world -- and most ominously into Saddam's crash program to develop nuclear weapons.

To protect his military, to shield his efforts to build these horrible weapons of mass destruction, Saddam Hussein brought the cold-hearted horror of hostage-taking to a shameful and callous depth. You know, Americans more than any other of the world's citizens, perhaps, have been victimized by terrorism. When Iraq used human beings as pawns, forcing innocent civilians to be shields for potential military targets, and cynically manipulating their anguished families through the media -- all of this violated even the most basic norms of civilized behavior. But because of America's resolve and that of so many of our coalition partners, Saddam's hostage-taking didn't pay off, and

now there are no foreign nationals held against their will in Iraq or Kuwait.

Unfortunately that has not signalled an end to the brutality in Kuwait. Nor can it redress the brutality already inflicted on the Kuwaiti people. The report of Amnesty International documents in tragic detail the horror: babies pulled from incubators, left dead on hospital floors; children executed in front of their parents; men, women, and children by the hundreds subjected to unspeakable forms of torture. Homes and neighborhoods torched. Anything of value shipped back to Baghdad. And it is still going on. A defenseless, sovereign nation systematically sacked and swallowed whole. Iraq has committed the rape of Kuwait.

Some have suggested, 'give the sanctions more time to work. In time Saddam Hussein will come to his senses and withdraw'. To them I say, it's been five long months since Iraqi tanks rolled across the Kuwaiti border, and Saddam has done nothing but dig in deeper. To them I say, think about the children of Kuwait and the terror being visited upon them and the terror being visited upon their parents and their homeland. To those who counsel further patience, I say, think also about those new democracies now struggling mightily under the weight of rising oil prices.

Finally, not once has there been any sign of conciliation coming forth from Bagdad. There has been none, none whatsoever. The conclusion is obvious: sanctions alone will not drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait.

Some others have suggested a different course, they say 'give Iraq the islands of [Bubyay?] or some of Kuwait's oil fields, some concession to allow Saddam Hussein to save face'. In other words, appease him -- reward his aggression. Let there be no doubt about the consequence of such a course: appeasement would mean the end to our hope for a new world order; it would mean the end of the peacekeeping function of the United Nations, and it would signal the end the American leadership and credibility around the world.

Still, some will ask, maybe the mother of one of our kids in the Gulf, is it worth it? Is it worth one American life? How many casualties are acceptable? Let me tell you, those are the toughest questions of all. It's a painful, wrenching search to find an adequate answer. All I can say is that it is a decision only the President can make. And once it's made, it is my responsibility to do everything in my power to guarantee every one of those kids over there the best chance to come home safely. I promise you tonight that I have fulfilled that trust. (PAUSE)

This century has been marked by violence of proportions never before seen by mankind. Every decade has been marked by the carnage of civil war -- from the frozen steppes of Russia to the sweltering rice fields of China, across the great plains and jungles of Africa to the once peaceful villages of Central America. Each with its own imprint -- each with its own justification, all with a tremendous toll in human suffering. We've witnessed small and great conflagrations between sovereign

nations as well: the slaughter in the muddy fields of World War I, the blitzkrieg and the holocaust, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Korea, and Viet Nam. And in the last twenty years we've witnessed a new kind of war -- a war against the most innocent among us -- a war called terrorism.

But perhaps in this last decade of this violent century, perhaps we can see the outline of a new century -- blessed by peace. Millions born into tyranny now live in freedom. The Cold War has ended. Superpower competition is giving way to superpower cooperation. The United Nations is beginning to fulfill the visions of its founders as a catalyst for peace.

This is a profound moment in history. We cannot allow ourselves to become numb to brutality and terror. We cannot allow ourselves to turn our eyes away because of the horror we have already seen. We have come too far, suffered too long, sacrificed too much along the way for us to surrender our hopes for a better world.

I can assure the American people and her friends around the world as Winston Churchill did on Christmas eve in 1941, when he said that "no greed for the land or wealth of any other people, no vulgar ambition, no morbid lust for material gain at the expense of others, [has] led us to the field....[that our] children shall not be robbed of....their right to live in a free and decent world."

This President and the American people, the principled nations who have joined in this unprecedented coalition standing

against aggression, and most of all the brave soldiers, sailors, airmen, coastguardsmen, and marines in the Persian Gulf -- we stand together against aggression. Our mission is clear, and with God's help we will complete it.

I ask you tonight for your support. I ask you tonight for your prayers. Good night and God bless the United States of America.

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