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# FOIA MARKER

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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13557  
**Folder ID Number:** 13557-003

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**Folder Title:**  
Episcopal Life Article 2/23/91 [OA 6029]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>

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# THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH CENTER

815 SECOND AVENUE ■ NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017-4594 ■ 212/867-8400  
800/334-7626 ■ 800/321-2231 (NY) ■ FAX 212/949-6781 ■ TELEX 4907957001 EPI U1

Jan. 22, 1991

Deborah Amend  
Media Relations Office  
Room 121  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Deborah,

I am faxing to you this request for a column to run with President George Bush's byline in the national newspaper of the Episcopal Church, the president's church.

On the next page of this message you will find the prototype for this column: the "Forum" columns that appeared in our December issue.

The question, I am hoping to encourage the president on his writers to address is this: "Is there such a thing as a just war today?" The column should be no longer than 800 words.

I fax this message rather than mailing it because I need to hear from you by phone within the next few days whether this request is likely to be entertained. I don't need the column until Feb. 18, but I must know soon whether I need to seek another respondent. Would you please call and let me know what I can expect? Thank you very much.

You can reach me at (212) 867-8400. I look forward to hearing from you.

Faithfully,

Nan M. Cobbey  
Features editor, Episcopal Life

## forum

# Q. Do the Supplemental Liturgical Texts with inclusive language and feminine images of God enrich worship?



## “YES”

By Vienna Coes Anderson

My response to this question is “Yes...but...”

Let me begin with the “yes” part of my response. Inclusive language is a sign that we, the people of God, are concerned with the full participation of everyone in the communal act of praise and thanksgiving to God for the blessings of this life.

We would be very much amiss if we looked at this issue as only a feminist need for recognition. Inclusive language enables all to feel embraced and welcomed, to feel that the words that they proclaim include their own uniqueness and diversity.

Sexist language that uses “mankind” as a symbol of “humankind,” when the word has historically been used to exclude women from positions in all walks of life, is double-talk. When language becomes so convoluted in our understanding as to present two opposing meanings simultaneously, it is time for us to seek a new way of expressing ourselves.

It is imperative for us to do so if we are to be faithful to the gospel calling of loving our neighbors as ourselves, of caring for the least of our sisters and brothers and of following Christ as servants and not as those who lord it over others.

In 1964, as the only woman in a seminary class, I complained to my classmates that they treated me as a second-class Christian. As they vehemently protested that they did not, and I insisted that they did, one of them said, “You must remember, Vienna, that there is a difference between priests and other Christians.” The church has no need of such clericalism, and the gospel condemns all such exclusivity.

When language conveys the inclusive love of God for all creation, then it is faithful to the call to proclaim the divine love throughout the world. Worship in the Episcopal Church is definitely enriched by such faithful witness.

One of the blessings of the introduction

of feminine images of God into worship is that it shatters our temptation to create idols. Insisting that God may only be addressed as Father, and not Mother, is to create, and to worship, that which is less than God. The Creator of all that is, whose love liberated the whole world from sin and death, and whose spirit flows where she will, cannot be described by any title or single image that we might conceive. The full nature of God is unnameable in a human tongue.

The qualifying “but” to this question is that I believe the new supplemental texts do not go far enough in their proposed changes. They are still written from a patriarchal view in which the priest does most of the talking while the people of God are silent. This is especially true in the canons of the eucharist.

Inclusivity in worship has to do with the reality of worship, not with just changing words and images on the page. It must include the participation of people who are empowered to lift up voices as well as hearts.

When I was a child of eleven, I told the rector of the parish one Sunday morning, “You have taught me that to worship God is to love God with all of my heart, mind, body and soul. By that definition, worship in this parish is a lie because all you let me do is mumble ‘Amen.’” A voiceless people is a powerless, and a potentially passive, people.

Created in the image of God, liberated through Christ, empowered by the Holy Spirit, the people of God who live inclusively will create opportunities for all voices to be heard. It is my fervent belief that inclusivity is best communicated when the people and priest engage in a dialogue rather than by one listening to the monologue of the other.

The time has come for us to be concerned about creating languages and rituals that are faithful to the era in which we live: on the edge of the second millennium in a world that is filled with uncertainty and pain, where a diverse people gather to praise God.

In 1984, with the bishop’s blessing, an experimental mission, called The Community of Hagar, was founded in the Diocese of Washington. What was learned in the course of their life together is that people who are given voice in the liturgy are empowered to proclaim and evangelize.

Nine individuals who formed the community in the first year conceived of outreach as gathering \$100 to buy and wrap woolen hats and scarfs for the homeless at Christmas.

One year later, the same nine, after a year of inclusive language and liturgy, created the only program in metropolitan Washington to assist families from out of town who were visiting persons dying of AIDS.

They met individuals at stations, assisted with transportation and grocery shopping and became a friends to strangers in a strange city during the difficult time of sickness and death. The gospel is transforming, especially when individuals name and claim it as their own calling. Inclusive language, action

See YES next page



## “NO”

By Dennis H. Buetner

The answer is: “Yes,” as to inclusive language for human beings; “No,” as to feminine imagery for God, at least as employed in the Supplemental Liturgical Texts of Prayer Book Studies 30, in use pending further General Convention action in 1991.

Inclusive language proponents assert that, just as before the Reformation, the gospel has again become obscured by the church’s liturgical language, in this case its predominantly masculine expression.

References like those in the eucharistic liturgy to God’s creation of “humankind” and to “the holy men and women” of history reflect sensitivity to this concern. By avoiding the generic masculine, the rites clarify that God’s covenantal love is for male and female alike.

The supplemental text’s most noticeable feature is, of course, its feminine imagery for God. While the revisers assert their reliance on “the Bible and the liturgical heritage of the Church,” the relative scarcity of biblical feminine images for God makes inevitable their comparative exaggeration in this liturgy in which they are the focus.

This overstatement is compounded by the rites’ treatment of masculine language and imagery. With the exception of obviously sensitive sections like the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, in the entire eucharistic rite the first person of the Trinity is never addressed as “Father” or referred to by a masculine personal pronoun; Jesus is never called Son of God; and the word “kingdom” never appears. All represent changes from the 1979 Prayer Book. The distant, depersonalized abstraction suggested by these changes seriously distorts the biblical portrait of God.

Even more troubling, however, are feminine images for God of uncertain biblical and historical antecedent. In the eucharistic liturgy, for example, God is addressed as the one “who brought all things to birth in creation,” and is asked to “draw me...to your

heart at the heart of the world.” According to the commentary, the latter image “alludes to the intimacy of pregnancy, when infants are carried just below their mothers’ heart.”

The necessary implication is that what is created proceeds, not out of nothing at all, as in traditional Anglicanism (see Romans 4:17, Hebrews 11:3), but out of the Creator. The difference is not merely semantical. No longer are God and the world distinct entities; in Prayer Book Studies 30 they have become one.

In one bold stroke we begin a shift from the worldview of Christianity to that of pantheism. While space does not permit a detailed analysis, in fact, in these liturgies the doctrines of Creation, the Fall, the Atonement and Redemption all manifest the influence of this alternative worldview, often without any relationship to gender inclusivity.

The potential ethical implications are considerable. If God and the world are one, then God includes both good and evil, since both exist in the world with which God is one. Disobedience is then no different from obedience; since ultimately both are of God, there is nothing from which to be redeemed. The death of Jesus is reduced to a gratuitous act: salvation then lies not in a change of direction and a new life, but first in unwarranted optimism, then in despair. That is the brave new world to which, however tentatively, these liturgies point.

It may be possible to craft inclusive language rites that remain faithful to the church’s biblical and liturgical heritage. Prayer Book Studies 30, however, has not done so.

The aberration of Anglican teaching and worship that pervades these rites will inevitably influence the next revision of the prayer book in their direction. They should not continue in use in their present form.

The Rev. Dennis H. Buetner is associate rector of All Saints’ Episcopal Church, Long Beach, Calif.

The Supplemental Liturgical Texts do not enrich our worship. While there are beautiful elements, there is a great deal of awkwardness in the texts in avoiding what can’t be avoided.

Much of the problem is what the texts don’t say. Rather than enrich, they exclude. The almost constant refusal to use personal pronouns for “Lord,” for “the Father” or for “Jesus” is most annoying and more important, it depersonalizes the personhood of members of the Holy Trinity.

The texts diminish the fatherhood of God and our relationship to him as “his children.” They have difficulty in accepting the sonship of Jesus to the Father and the lordship of all the persons of the Trinity. The texts exclude relationships and the sense of God’s personhood that are central to our faith.

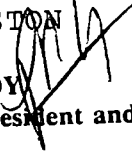
There was an opportunity in the texts to say that the Father nurtures us like a mother, but the author’s bias appears: father, therefore a male, cannot nurture. The proponents of these liturgies usually justify this because some people may have had




THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

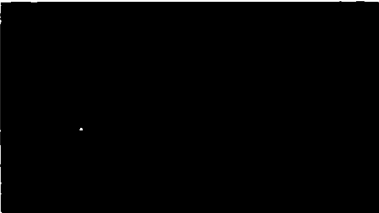
2/25

**TO:** CHRISS WINSTON

**FROM:** PHILLIP D. BRADY   
Assistant to the President and  
Staff Secretary



Attached are the President's  
comments for Episcopal Life.  
Besides this, I think you should  
also take NSC's comment in the  
sentence about nuclear prolifer-  
ation. Once the document is  
updated, please send it to me;  
I'll clear with Bill Sittmann  
and then OK for publication.



the same time a collective effort to turn back the forces of aggression that ultimately threaten us all. Diverse nations have drawn together to stand up not simply for one small country, but for a larger vision of a new world order -- a world in which the rule of law governs the conduct of nations, in which we find the prospect of lasting peace.

Our actions in the Gulf today are undertaken in the service of this larger vision. Just war principles recognize that war is at times ~~is~~ morally necessary <sup>to respond</sup> response to a specific violation of peace and order. Iraq's unprovoked act of aggression on August 2nd constitutes such a violation. The case could not have been more clear: Kuwait was the victim, Iraq the aggressor. After the invasion of Kuwait, the world gave Saddam Hussein five and one-half months -- 166 days -- to end his occupation and withdraw without condition. During that time, we exhausted every diplomatic effort, every means short of war including economic sanctions, while Saddam rejected every overture for peace. War with Saddam is for us a last resort.

As we sought a peaceful solution, Iraq's occupying army systematically pillaged and plundered Kuwait. Saddam sought to add ~~a nuclear weapon~~ <sup>and continued developing his</sup> to his already threatening arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. ~~Members of Saddam's army~~ <sup>Members of Saddam's army</sup> ~~develop nuclear weapons~~ kidnapped, maimed and murdered many of Kuwait's innocent citizens and residents. Challenges to Iraqi authority met with summary execution. A lecturer from Kuwait University reported the killing of a relative who had been standing in a bread line. The man shouted at an Iraqi soldier: "You have ruined our lives, why

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/25/91

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 FEB 22 PM 4:53  
February 22, 1991

*DA*  
with changes

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST *DD (W)*  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS.

CHRISS WINSTON *W*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS  
AND DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: DEB AMEND *DA*  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

MARY SLADEK *MS*  
OFFICE OF MEDIA RELATIONS

SUBJECT: COLUMN ON JUST WAR FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

I. SUMMARY

EPISCOPAL LIFE would like to publish your reflections regarding the just war principles in its "Forum" column.

II. DISCUSSION

EPISCOPAL LIFE has requested your reflections on the just war principles' relevance in today. The EPISCOPAL LIFE, the national newspaper of the Episcopal Church, is distributed to all Episcopal priests and churches and the newspaper does have some home subscribers as well. Readership is approximately 200,000. Your article would appear in the Forum Column, which regularly features views from prominent Episcopalians on various topics of political, social and moral interest.

The attached response has been drafted for your approval. In order to meet their deadline, we would like to have your approval or revisions by Monday, February 25.

Is there such a thing as a just war today?

From Plato to Cicero, from Augustine to Aquinas, the moral question of war has had no easy answer. Today, the question emerges with special urgency. Thousands of troops from our nation and 27 others have joined the battle in the Persian Gulf.

Total pacifism, of course, rejects the morality of all war at all times, and we can only respect such a belief deeply and truly held. Such total pacifism may be a legitimate moral choice for some individuals, but it is not a legitimate choice for a government that has a responsibility to defend its citizens and their ideals and freedom. The strong have a duty to protect the weak, and the aggressive ambitions of men and nations who refuse to respect the rights of others must be restrained even to the point of resisting them in battle.

~~As one who has fought in combat and seen the worst that war~~  
I know that was is a terrible tragedy. There is no glory in it -- only grim duty. Yet, there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. We have come to such a time in the Persian Gulf, and I am convinced it is the right and necessary thing to do based on my understanding of the principles of a just war.

The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at the same time a collective effort to turn back the forces of aggression that can threaten any nation and ultimately threaten

us all. Diverse nations have drawn together to stand up not simply for one small country, but for a larger vision of a new world order -- a world in which the rule of law governs the conduct of nations, in which we find the prospect of lasting peace.

A just war must be declared by legitimate authority. OPERATION DESERT STORM's authority draws its strength from unprecedented UN support, the fundamental principle of collective self-defense, 12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate. Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

Our actions in the Gulf today are undertaken in the service of this larger vision. Just war principles recognize that war is, at times, morally necessary to respond to a specific violation of peace and order. Iraq's unprovoked act of aggression on August 2nd constitutes such a violation. The case could not have been more clear: Kuwait was the victim, Iraq the aggressor. After the invasion of Kuwait, the world gave Saddam Hussein five and one-half months -- 166 days -- to end his occupation and withdraw without condition. During that time, we exhausted every diplomatic effort, every means short of war including economic sanctions, while Saddam rejected every overture for peace. For us, this war with Saddam has been a last resort.

As we sought a peaceful solution, Iraq's occupying army systematically pillaged and plundered Kuwait. Saddam sought to add a nuclear weapon to his already threatening arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. Members of Saddam's army kidnapped, maimed, and murdered many of Kuwait's innocent citizens and residents. Challenges to Iraqi authority met with summary execution. A lecturer from Kuwait University reported the killing of a relative who had been standing in a bread line. The man shouted at an Iraqi soldier: "You have ruined our lives, why did you come?" The soldier responded by shooting him dead on the spot. Like that soldier, Saddam's measures have been cruel and extreme.

Every war is fought for a reason. A just war is one fought for the right reasons -- for moral, unselfish reasons. Some ask whether it is moral to use force to stop the rape, pillage and plunder of Kuwait. My answer: it would be immoral not to use force.

Don't like the sentence

Our values also demand that just war be waged in proportion to the threat out of real concern for the welfare of the people in the region. While Saddam deliberately orders <sup>ed</sup> indiscriminate Scud attacks at Israel and Saudi Arabia and to <sup>hide</sup> ~~hide~~ military command centers and equipment in schools, neighborhoods, and near religious shrines and archaeological sites, we <sup>make</sup> ~~make~~ every possible effort to protect civilians. In a just war, the principle of "proportionality" requires that the good we seek to achieve outweigh the destruction war entails. That is why we

needs up dated

continue to act reasonably and humanely and make every effort to keep casualties to a minimum.

By these principles, the war in the Gulf is not, as Saddam says, a Moslem War. It is not a Christian or a Jewish War. It is a just war.

Last September, then Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie noted: "Christianity does not lack realism about the intransigence of conflict. The Scriptures speak of our responsibility for seeking justice and the well-being of creation in the world as it exists." The former Archbishop makes a good point when he links our responsibility for seeking justice to the well-being of the world.

I have met many of the brave young men and women now fighting in the Gulf. I've met with the families here at home, their hearts so full with pride -- and yet so full of longing for their loved ones. I know that no one -- not the American people, and certainly not this President -- welcomes war. No one wants and prays for peace more than I do.

I share with all my fellow members of the Episcopal Church a strong desire for a swift return to peace and progress toward a new world order of justice and well-being for all nations.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 FEB 20 4 8: 50  
February 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Article for Episcopal Life

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter. We have no objection to the proposed article, provided that on page 1, fourth paragraph, fourth and fifth lines, "resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate" is deleted and "its implementation in accordance with our Constitution" is inserted in its place.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

*We did not  
Congressional  
Approval*

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I believe that the strong have a duty to protect the weak, and that the aggressive ambitions of men and nations who refuse to respect the rights of others must be restrained even to the point of resisting them in battle.

I know that war is a terrible tragedy. Yet, there are times when a nation must accept war's grim duty, and take up arms in defense of its ideals. We have come to such a time in the Persian Gulf, and I am convinced it is the right and necessary thing to do based on my understanding of the principles of a just war.

The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at the same time a collective effort to turn back the forces of aggression that can threaten any nation and ultimately threaten us all. Diverse nations have drawn together to stand up not simply for one small country, but for a larger vision of a new world order -- a world in which the rule of law governs the conduct of nations, in which we find a greater prospect of lasting peace.

Our actions in the Gulf today are undertaken in the service of this larger vision. Every war is fought for a reason. A just war is one fought for the right reasons -- for moral, unselfish reasons. Just war principles recognize that war is at times morally necessary to respond to a specific violation of peace and order. Iraq's unprovoked act of aggression on August 2nd constitutes such a violation. The case could not have been more clear: Kuwait was the victim, Iraq the aggressor. After the invasion of Kuwait, the world gave Saddam Hussein five and one-half months -- 166 days -- to end his occupation and withdraw without condition. During that time, we exhausted every diplomatic effort, every means short of war including economic sanctions, while Saddam rejected every overture for peace. For us, this war with Saddam has been a last resort.

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A just war must be declared by legitimate authority. OPERATION DESERT STORM's authority draws its strength from unprecedented UN support, the fundamental principle of collective self-defense, 12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate. Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

Our values also demand that just war be waged in proportion to the threat, out of real concern for the welfare of the people in the region. Saddam deliberately ordered indiscriminate Scud attacks at Israel and Saudi Arabia, and hid military command centers and equipment in schools, neighborhoods, and near religious shrines and archaeological sites. He has engaged in ecological terrorism, pouring millions of barrels of oil into the Gulf, and later, as part of his scorched earth policy, setting fire to hundreds of Kuwait's oil wells. In sharp contrast to Saddam's cynical attempts to widen the war and its destruction, we have made every possible effort to confine our response to military targets, and to protect civilians. In a just war, the principle of "proportionality" requires that the good we seek to achieve outweigh the destruction war entails.

By these principles, the war in the Gulf is not, as Saddam says, a Moslem War. It is not a Christian or a Jewish War. It is a just war.

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# # #

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

01 FEB 25 10:42

DATE: 02/23/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

91 FEB 22 PM 4:53

February 22, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST <sup>DD (W)</sup>  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS

CHRISS WINSTON <sup>W</sup>  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS  
AND DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: DEB AMEND <sup>DA</sup>  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

MARY SLADEK <sup>MS</sup>  
OFFICE OF MEDIA RELATIONS

SUBJECT: COLUMN ON JUST WAR FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

I. SUMMARY

EPISCOPAL LIFE would like to publish your reflections regarding the just war principles in its "Forum" column.

II. DISCUSSION

EPISCOPAL LIFE has requested your reflections on the just war principles' relevance in today. The EPISCOPAL LIFE, the national newspaper of the Episcopal Church, is distributed to all Episcopal priests and churches and the newspaper does have some home subscribers as well. Readership is approximately 200,000. Your article would appear in the Forum Column, which regularly features views from prominent Episcopalians on various topics of political, social and moral interest.

The attached response has been drafted for your approval. In order to meet their deadline, we would like to have your approval or revisions by Monday, February 25.

Is there such a thing as a just war today?

From Plato to Cicero, from Augustinē to Aquinās, the moral question of war has had no easy answer. Today, the question emerges with special urgency. Thousands of troops from our nation and 27 others have joined the battle in the Persian Gulf.

Total pacifism, of course, rejects the morality of all war at all times, and we can only respect such a belief deeply and truly held. Such total pacifism may be a legitimate moral choice for some individuals, but it is not a legitimate choice for a government that has a responsibility to defend its citizens and their ideals and freedom. The strong have a duty to protect the weak, and the aggressive ambitions of men and nations who refuse to respect the rights of others must be restrained even to the point of resisting them in battle.

As one who has fought in combat and seen the worst that war do, I know that war is a terrible tragedy. There is no glory in it -- only grim duty. Yet, there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. We have come to such a time in the Persian Gulf, and I am convinced it is the right and necessary thing to do based on my understanding of the principles of a just war.

The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at the same time a collective effort to turn back the forces of aggression that can threaten any nation and ultimately threaten

us all. Diverse nations have drawn together to stand up not simply for one small country, but for a larger vision of a new world order -- a world in which the rule of law governs the conduct of nations, in which we find the prospect of lasting peace.

A just war must be declared by legitimate authority. OPERATION DESERT STORM's authority draws its strength from unprecedented UN support, the fundamental principle of collective self-defense, 12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate. Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

Our actions in the Gulf today are undertaken in the service of this larger vision. Just war principles recognize that war is, at times, morally necessary to respond to a specific violation of peace and order. Iraq's unprovoked act of aggression on August 2nd constitutes such a violation. The case could not have been more clear: Kuwait was the victim, Iraq the aggressor. After the invasion of Kuwait, the world gave Saddam Hussein five and one-half months -- 166 days -- to end his occupation and withdraw without condition. During that time, we exhausted every diplomatic effort, every means short of war including economic sanctions, while Saddam rejected every overture for peace. For us, this war with Saddam has been a last resort.

As we sought a peaceful solution, Iraq's occupying army systematically pillaged and plundered Kuwait. Saddam sought to add a nuclear weapon to his already threatening arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. Members of Saddam's army kidnapped, maimed, and murdered many of Kuwait's innocent citizens and residents. Challenges to Iraqi authority met with summary execution. A lecturer from Kuwait University reported the killing of a relative who had been standing in a bread line. The man shouted at an Iraqi soldier: "You have ruined our lives, why did you come?" The soldier responded by shooting him dead on the spot. Like that soldier, Saddam's measures have been cruel and extreme.

Every war is fought for a reason. A just war is one fought for the right reasons -- for moral, unselfish reasons. Some ask whether it is moral to use force to stop the rape, pillage and plunder of Kuwait. My answer: it would be immoral not to use force.

Our values also demand that just war be waged in proportion to the threat out of real concern for the welfare of the people in the region. While Saddam deliberately orders indiscriminate Scud attacks at Israel and Saudi Arabia and to hide military command centers and equipment in schools, neighborhoods, and near religious shrines and archaeological sites, we make every possible effort to protect civilians. In a just war, the principle of "proportionality" requires that the good we seek to achieve outweigh the destruction war entails. That is why we

continue to act reasonably and humanely and make every effort to keep casualties to a minimum.

By these principles, the war in the Gulf is not, as Saddam says, a Moslem War. It is not a Christian or a Jewish War. It is a just war.

Last September, then Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie noted: "Christianity does not lack realism about the intransigence of conflict. The Scriptures speak of our responsibility for seeking justice and the well-being of creation in the world as it exists." The former Archbishop makes a good point when he links our responsibility for seeking justice to the well-being of the world.

I have met many of the brave young men and women now fighting in the Gulf. I've met with the families here at home, their hearts so full with pride -- and yet so full of longing for their loved ones. I know that no one -- not the American people, and certainly not this President -- welcomes war. No one wants and prays for peace more than I do.

I share with all my fellow members of the Episcopal Church a strong desire for a swift return to peace and progress toward a new world order of justice and well-being for all nations.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 02/23/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<del>SCOWCROFT</del>	<del><input type="checkbox"/></del>	<del><input checked="" type="checkbox"/></del>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

*Includes Gates changes*

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

91 FEB 22 PM 4:53

February 22, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST *DD (w)*  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS

CHRISS WINSTON *W*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS  
AND DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: DEB AMEND *DA*  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

MARY SLADEK *MS*  
OFFICE OF MEDIA RELATIONS

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The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at the same time a collective effort to turn back the forces of aggression that can threaten any nation and ultimately threaten

2.  
Again, why discuss pacifism. This is not appropriate. It does not ring right.

see change

I believe that

that

There is glory in inhibition and self-sacrifice

us all. Diverse nations have drawn together to stand up not simply for one small country, but for a larger vision of a new world order -- a world in which the rule of law governs the conduct of nations, in which we find <sup>a greater</sup> ~~the~~ prospect of lasting peace.

A just war must be declared by legitimate authority. OPERATION DESERT STORM's authority draws its strength from unprecedented UN support, the fundamental principle of collective self-defense, 12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate. Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

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✓  
MOVE  
to  
p. 3

*point made*

*Iraq's troops systematically sought to destroy Kuwait's oil infrastructure.*

3

As we sought a peaceful solution, Iraq's occupying army systematically pillaged and plundered Kuwait. Saddam sought to add a nuclear weapon to his already threatening arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. Members of Saddam's army kidnapped, maimed, and murdered many of Kuwait's innocent citizens and residents. Challenges to Iraqi authority met with summary execution. A lecturer from Kuwait University reported the killing of a relative who had been standing in a bread line. The man shouted at an Iraqi soldier: "You have ruined our lives, why did you come?" The soldier responded by shooting him dead on the spot. Like that soldier, Saddam's measures have been <sup>and continue to be</sup> cruel and extreme.

Every war is fought for a reason. A just war is one fought for the right reasons -- for moral, unselfish reasons. Some ask whether it is moral to use force to stop the rape, pillage and plunder of Kuwait. My answer: it would be immoral not to use force.

*insert from page 2*

Our values also demand that just war be waged in proportion to the threat out of real concern for the welfare of the people in the region. While Saddam deliberately orders indiscriminate Scud attacks at Israel and Saudi Arabia and ~~to~~ <sup>hide</sup> military command centers and equipment in schools, neighborhoods, and near religious shrines and archaeological sites, we make every possible effort to protect civilians. In a just war, the principle of "proportionality" requires that the good we seek to achieve outweigh the destruction war entails. That is why we

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**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

91 FEB 15 P1:19

DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>bookleg</i> SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>gray</i> GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than COB, Tuesday, February 19, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

Is there ~~such a thing as~~ a just war today?

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*insert  
C: Kiwan*  
~~Like so many pacifists, I believe war is terrible. There is no glory in war -- only grim duty. Yet, I believe just as strongly that there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. This, I believe, is such a time -- and my deep conviction is based on my understanding of the principles of just war.~~

~~Since pacifism rejects the morality of ~~all~~ war at all times, <sup>so</sup> ~~certainly~~ for the pacifists among us, just war principles are meaningless. Still, pacifism and those principles share a firm commitment to the extension of universal values like human rights and justice.~~

→ A just war must be declared by legitimate authority.

OPERATION DESERT STORM's authority draws its strength from unprecedented UN support, the <sup>fundamental</sup> principle of collective self-defense, <sup>and</sup> ~~12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate.~~ Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at

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the same time a collective effort to turn back the forces of aggression that ultimately threaten us all. Diverse nations have drawn together to stand up not simply for one small country, but for a larger vision of a new world order -- a world in which the rule of law governs the conduct of nations, in which we find the prospect of lasting peace.

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As we sought a peaceful solution, Iraq's occupying army systematically pillaged and plundered Kuwait. Saddam sought to add a nuclear weapon to his already threatening arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. Members of Saddam's army kidnapped, maimed, and murdered many of Kuwait's innocent citizens and residents. Challenges to Iraqi authority met with summary execution. A lecturer from Kuwait University reported the killing of a relative who had been standing in a bread line. The man shouted at an Iraqi soldier: "You have ruined our lives, why

Immoral not to use force.

did you come?" The soldier responded by shooting him dead on the spot. Like that soldier, Saddam's measures have been cruel and extreme.

*Every war is fought for a reason.*

A just war is one fought ~~not only~~ for the right reasons -- for moral, unselfish reasons. -- ~~but in the right spirit.~~ *Some ask whether it is moral to use force to stop the rape, pillage and plunder of Kuwait. My answer: it would be*

*Our values demand that just war be waged in the right spirit*  
*out of real concern for the welfare of the people*  
*also* -- ~~that we conduct war~~ in proportion to the threat. While Saddam *in the region*

deliberately orders indiscriminate Scud ~~bombing~~ *attacks at* of Israel and Saudi Arabia and ~~hides~~ *to* military command centers in schools, neighborhoods, and near ~~ancient shrines~~ *religious and archaeological sites* and equipment.

we make every possible effort to protect civilians. In a just war, the principle of "proportionality" requires that the good we seek to achieve outweigh the destruction war entails. That is why we continue to act reasonably *and* ~~humanely~~ and make every effort to keep casualties to a minimum.

By these principles, the war in the Gulf is not, as Saddam says, a ~~Jihad or Moslem Holy War~~. It is not a Christian or a Jewish War. It is a just war.

Last September, then Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie noted: "Christianity does not lack realism about the intransigence of conflict. The scriptures speak of our responsibility for seeking justice and the well-being of creation in the world as it exists." The former Archbishop makes a good point when he links our responsibility for seeking justice to the well-being of the world.

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I share with all members of the Episcopal Church a strong desire for a swift return to peace~~x~~ and progress toward a new world order of justice and well-being for all nations.

# # #

*my fellow*

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 FEB 22 P8:00



DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

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## RESPONSE:

TO: CHRIS WINSTON

February 22, 1991

The NSC concurs with changes, as noted.

*Brent Scowcroft*  
Brent Scowcroft

cc: Phillip Brady

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

*provided Winston office 6:30 2/19*

Is there ~~such a thing as~~ a just war today?  
SEP 15 11:29 10

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~~Like so many pacifists,~~ I believe war is terrible. There is no glory in war -- only grim duty. Yet I believe just as strongly that there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. This, I believe, is such a time -- and my deep conviction is based on my understanding of the principles of just war.

*Why talk of pacifism at all?*

*pacifists*  
[Since ~~pacifism~~ rejects the morality of all war at all times, ~~certainly for the pacifists among us,~~ just war principles are meaningless.] Still, pacifism and those principles share a firm commitment to the extension of universal values like human rights and justice.

A just war must be declared by legitimate authority. OPERATION DESERT STORM's authority draws its strength from unprecedented UN support, the principle of collective self-defense, 12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate. Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

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Our actions in the Gulf today are undertaken in the service of this larger vision. Just war principles recognize that war is at times a morally necessary response to a specific violation of peace and order. Iraq's unprovoked act of aggression on August 2nd constitutes such a violation. The case could not have been more clear: Kuwait was the victim, Iraq the aggressor. After the invasion of Kuwait, the world gave Saddam Hussein five and one-half months -- 166 days -- to end his occupation and withdraw without condition. During that time, we exhausted every diplomatic effort, every means short of war including economic sanctions, while Saddam rejected every overture for peace. War with Saddam is for us a last resort.

As we sought a peaceful solution, Iraq's occupying army systematically pillaged and plundered Kuwait. Saddam sought to add a nuclear weapon to his already threatening arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. Members of Saddam's army kidnapped, maimed and murdered many of Kuwait's innocent citizens and residents. Challenges to Iraqi authority met with summary execution. A lecturer from Kuwait University reported the killing of a relative who had been standing in a bread line. The man shouted at an Iraqi soldier: "You have ruined our lives, why

Is there such a thing as a just war today?

From Plato to Cicero, <sup>From</sup> to Augustine <sup>to</sup> and Aquinas, this moral question has had no easy answer. Today, the question emerges with special urgency. Thousands of troops from our nation and ~~28~~ <sup>27</sup> others have joined the battle in the Persian Gulf.

~~Like so many pacifists,~~ I believe war is terrible. There is no glory in ~~war~~ <sup>it</sup> -- only grim duty. Yet I believe just as strongly that there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. This, I believe, is such a time -- and my deep conviction is based on my understanding of the principles of just war.

~~Since~~ <sup>Total</sup> pacifism <sup>is worse,</sup> rejects the morality of all war at all times, and we can only respect such a belief, deeply and truly held. Such total pacifism is a noble moral choice for an individual, but it is not meaningless. Still, pacifism and those principles share a firm commitment to the extension of universal values like human rights to defend its citizens and their ideals and freedom and justice.

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did you come?" The soldier responded by shooting him dead on the spot. Like that soldier, Saddam's measures have been cruel and extreme.

A just war is one fought not only for the right reasons -- for moral, unselfish reasons -- but in the right spirit.

Our values demand that just war be waged in the right spirit -- that we conduct war in proportion to the threat. While Saddam deliberately orders indiscriminate Scud bombing of Israel and Saudi Arabia and hides military command centers in schools, neighborhoods and near ancient shrines, we make every possible effort to protect civilians. In a just war, the principle of "proportionality" requires that the good we seek to achieve outweigh the destruction war entails. That is why we continue to act reasonably, humanely, and make every effort to keep casualties to a minimum.

By these principles, the war in the Gulf is not, as Saddam says, a Jihad or Moslem Holy War. It is not a Christian or a Jewish War. It is a just war.

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I have met many of the brave young men and women now fighting in the Gulf. I've met with the families here at home,

their hearts so full with pride -- and yet so full of longing for their loved ones. I know that no one -- not the American people, and certainly not this President -- welcomes war. No one wants and prays for peace more than I do.

I share with all members of the Episcopal Church a strong desire for a swift return to peace, and progress toward a new world order of justice and well-being for all nations.

# # #

91 FEB 19 P 6:15 **WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:  
 Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than COB, Tuesday, February 19, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:  
*Please see comments 2/19/91*

**PHILLIP D. BRADY**  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Staff Secretary  
 Ext. 2702

Tone  
A little too  
defensive - remember  
the majority by far  
of Episcopalians  
support the  
policy.

Can we delete  
"today"?

Is there such a thing as a just war today?

I have been in combat and  
seen it firsthand.

From Plato to Cicero, to Augustine and Aquinas, this moral question has had no easy answer. Today, the question emerges with special urgency. Thousands of troops from our nation and 28 others have joined the battle in the Persian Gulf.

~~As one who has seen combat~~  
~~Like so many pacifists, I believe war is a~~ terrible. There is no glory in war -- only grim duty. Yet I believe just as strongly that there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. This, I believe, is such a time -- and my deep conviction is based on my understanding of the principles of just war.

thing. I know.

~~in its present form~~  
Since pacifism rejects the morality of all war at all times, certainly for the pacifists among us, just war principles are meaningless. Still, pacifism and those principles share a firm commitment to the extension of universal values like human rights and justice.

~~First~~ A just war must be <sup>is clear.</sup> declared by legitimate authority. <sup>consistent with international law.</sup> The <sup>legal</sup> authority <sup>comes</sup> for OPERATION DESERT STORM's ~~authority~~ draws its strength from <sup>fundamental</sup> unprecedented UN support, the principle of collective self-defense, 12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate. Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

~~There must be a just cause.~~ <sup>of course,</sup> also be a just cause. One The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at

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now about  
Pope  
quote  
from  
2/18 ?

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I <sup>know I</sup> share with all members of the Episcopal Church a strong desire for a swift return to peace, <sup>as well as</sup> and progress toward a new world order of justice and well-being for all nations.

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

91 FEB 19 5:50

DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than COB, Tuesday, February 19, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*See comments. Thanks,  
 Holly Williamson  
 2-19-91*

**PHILLIP D. BRADY**  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Staff Secretary  
 Ext. 2702

Is there such a thing as a just war today?

From Plato to Cicero, to Augustine and Aquinas, this moral question has had no easy answer. Today, the question emerges with special urgency. Thousands of troops from our nation and 28 others have joined the battle in the Persian Gulf.

*As one who has fought in combat and seen the worst that war can do, I know that like so many pacifists, I believe war is terrible. There is no glory in war -- only grim duty. Yet I believe just as strongly that there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. We have come to this, I believe, in the Persian Gulf -- and I am convinced it is the right and necessary thing to do. My deep conviction is based on my understanding of the principles of just war.*

Since pacifism rejects the morality of ~~all~~ war at all times, *pacifists can only remain passive when justice is violated and the weak are threatened by a tyrannical aggressor. Just war in the moral framework of meaningfulness. Still, pacifism and these principles share a firm commitment to the extension of universal values like human rights. Those who believe that the strong have a duty to protect the weak and that the aggressive ambitions of men and nations who refuse to respect the rights and justice of others must be restrained even to the point of resisting them in battle.*

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The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at

*Put just cause first.*

the same time a collective effort to turn back the forces of aggression that ultimately threaten us all. Diverse nations have drawn together to stand up not simply for one small country, but for a larger vision of a new world order -- a world in which the rule of law governs the conduct of nations, in which we find the prospect of lasting peace.

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I have met many of the brave young men and women now fighting in the Gulf. I've met with the families here at home,

✓  
Confusing  
Take another  
look at the  
just war  
outline.  
The 3  
properties  
are mixed  
up here  
1. right spirit  
2. proportional  
use of force  
3. discrimination

also demands  
the need  
to protect  
war is out  
of our  
concern  
for the welfare  
of the  
people in  
the region.

their hearts so full with pride -- and yet so full of longing for their loved ones. I know that no one -- not the American people, and certainly not this President -- welcomes war. No one wants and prays for peace more than I do.

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# # #

*All comments were from Dan Heimbach,  
MOCA staff. Jhp.*

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

31 FEB 15 12:08

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 1185

ACTION OFFICER: HAASS DUE: 2:00PM, 19 FEB

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates         | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For Cicconi                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo for Sittmann |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo <u>SCOWCROFT</u> | to <u>WINSTON W/ INFO BRADY</u>                    |

**CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\***

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 6900

Concur FYI

- Barth
- Basora
- Beers
- Broome
- Burns
- Canas
- Charles
- Coulson
- Davis
- Deal
- Dorminey
- Dyke
- Frasure
- Fry
- Gordon
- Gompert
- Haass
- Hayden

Concur FYI

- Hutchings
- Jackson
- Johnson
- Kanter
- Kitchen
- Kuehne
- Lampley
- Lundsager
- Melby
- Menan
- Merchant
- Miller
- Needles
- O'Leary
- Paal
- Pacelli
- Pavitt
- Pilling

Concur FYI

- Poneman
- Popadiuk
- Pryce
- Rademaker
- Rice
- Rostow
- Tilley
- Tobey
- Van Eron
- Watson
- Welch
- Whitley
- Wilson
- Working
- Zelikow

*W/ a few changes  
Pretty thin piece*

- INFORMATION  Sittmann  Hill  Exec Sec Desk  
 Scowcroft (advance)  Gates (advance)  Secretariat

COMMENTS

Logged By AC

Return to Secretariat  
379 OEOB

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than COB, Tuesday, February 19, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

**PHILLIP D. BRADY**  
 Assistant to the President  
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 Ext. 2702

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Since <sup>pacifists</sup> ~~pacifism~~ rejects the morality of all war at all times, ~~certainly for the pacifists among us,~~ just war principles are meaningless. Still, pacifism and those principles share a firm commitment to the extension of universal values like human rights and justice.

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# # #

91 FEB 19 P7:00

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# # #

91 FEB 19 P6:38  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
February 19, 1991



MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Article for Episcopal Life

We have reviewed the attached draft article for Episcopal Life and have noted a few suggested edits.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

Document No. 213489 SS

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**  
 Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than COB, Tuesday, February 19, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

**PHILLIP D. BRADY**  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Staff Secretary  
 Ext. 2702

Is there ~~supposed~~ <sup>any</sup> thing as a just war today?

From Plato to Cicero, to Augustine and Aquinas, <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ moral question <sup>of war</sup> has had no easy answer. Today, the question emerges with special urgency. Thousands of troops from our nation and 28 others have joined the battle in the Persian Gulf.

~~[Like so many pacifists, I believe]~~ war is terrible. There is no glory in war -- only grim duty. Yet ~~[I believe just as strongly that]~~ there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. This, I believe, is such a time -- and my deep conviction is based on my understanding of the principles of just war.

Since pacifism rejects the morality of <sup>g</sup> ~~all~~ war at all times, ~~certainly~~ for the pacifists among us, just war principles are meaningless. Still, pacifism and those principles share a firm commitment to the extension of universal values like human rights and justice.

A just war must be declared by legitimate authority. OPERATION DESERT STORM's authority draws its strength from unprecedented UN support, the principle of collective self-defense, 12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate. Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at

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As we sought a peaceful solution, Iraq's occupying army systematically pillaged and plundered Kuwait. Saddam sought to add a nuclear weapon to his already threatening arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. Members of Saddam's army kidnapped, maimed and murdered many of Kuwait's innocent citizens and residents. Challenges to Iraqi authority met with summary execution. A lecturer from Kuwait University reported the killing of a relative who had been standing in a bread line. The man shouted at an Iraqi soldier: "You have ruined our lives, why

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

91 FEB 19 11:00

DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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RESPONSE: *OK S.R.*

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

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9 FEB 19 11 12:10

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# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
91 FEB 20 AM 11:43  
February 19, 1991



MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Article for Episcopal Life

We have reviewed the attached draft article for Episcopal Life and have noted a few suggested edits.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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**RESPONSE:**

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 Ext. 2702

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# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

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91 FEB 20 AM 11:43

DATE: 2/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/19/91 COB

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

*No comment*

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Staff Secretary  
 Ext. 2702

Is there ~~such a thing as~~ a just war today?  
9 FEB 19 11 12:10

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: FEB 13/94: 20

TO: *Chris / Christina*

FROM: **JOHN S. GARDNER**  
**Special Assistant to the President**  
**and Assistant Staff Secretary**

Information

Action

Let's Discuss

*Attached please find my comments  
on the Episcopal Church article.*

*Thanks, J.G.*

The most recent figure here died in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.  
How about Dietrich Bonhoeffer (pastor of the Confessing Church  
who was killed by the Nazis)?

91 FEB 15 PM 12:10  
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~~Like so many pacifists, I believe war is terrible.~~ <sup>I fully appreciate that [this implies G.B. is a pacifist.]</sup> There is no glory in war -- only grim duty. Yet I believe just as strongly that there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. This, I believe, is such a time -- and my deep conviction is based on my understanding of the principles of just war.

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Why appear to criticize unnecessarily? A better transition would describe more of the ideas behind just war theory, or perhaps the paragraph with the Kuenig quote would fit here.

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Careful: I think the Saudi religious authorities did issue some sort of approval status for the war. Why not just use language from NRB speech?

religious shrines and archaeological sites  
[be sure NSC checks this]

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I share with all members of the Episcopal Church a strong desire for a swift return to peace, and progress toward a new world order of justice and well-being for all nations.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 22, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST *DD (w)*  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS

CHRISS WINSTON *W*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS  
AND DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: DEB AMEND *DA*  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

MARY SLADEK *MS*  
OFFICE OF MEDIA RELATIONS

SUBJECT: COLUMN ON JUST WAR FOR EPISCOPAL LIFE

I. SUMMARY

EPISCOPAL LIFE would like to publish your reflections regarding the just war principles in its "Forum" column.

II. DISCUSSION

EPISCOPAL LIFE has requested your reflections on the just war principles' relevance in today. The EPISCOPAL LIFE, the national newspaper of the Episcopal Church, is distributed to all Episcopal priests and churches and the newspaper does have some home subscribers as well. Readership is approximately 200,000. Your article would appear in the Forum Column, which regularly features views from prominent Episcopalians on various topics of political, social and moral interest.

The attached response has been drafted for your approval. In order to meet their deadline, we would like to have your approval or revisions by Monday, February 25.

Is there such a thing as a just war today?

From Plato to Cicero, from Augustine to Aquinas, the moral question of war has had no easy answer. Today, the question emerges with special urgency. Thousands of troops from our nation and 27 others have joined the battle in the Persian Gulf.

Total pacifism, of course, rejects the morality of all war at all times, and we can only respect such a belief deeply and truly held. Such total pacifism may be a legitimate moral choice for some individuals, but it is not a legitimate choice for a government that has a responsibility to defend its citizens and their ideals and freedom. The strong have a duty to protect the weak, and the aggressive ambitions of men and nations who refuse to respect the rights of others must be restrained even to the point of resisting them in battle.

As one who has fought in combat and seen the worst that war can do, I know that war is a terrible tragedy. There is no glory in it -- only grim duty. Yet, there are times when a nation must take up arms in defense of its ideals. We have come to such a time in the Persian Gulf, and I am convinced it is the right and necessary thing to do based on my understanding of the principles of a just war.

The just cause in the Gulf War is the liberation of Kuwait. And yet something more is at stake. Our defense of Kuwait is at the same time a collective effort to turn back the forces of aggression that can threaten any nation and ultimately threaten

us all. Diverse nations have drawn together to stand up not simply for one small country, but for a larger vision of a new world order -- a world in which the rule of law governs the conduct of nations, in which we find the prospect of lasting peace.

A just war must be declared by legitimate authority. OPERATION DESERT STORM's authority draws its strength from unprecedented UN support, the fundamental principle of collective self-defense, 12 Security Council resolutions, and resolutions by the U.S. House and Senate. Right now in the Gulf, this legitimacy is demonstrated by 28 nations from six continents -- all resolute that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

Our actions in the Gulf today are undertaken in the service of this larger vision. Just war principles recognize that war is, at times, morally necessary to respond to a specific violation of peace and order. Iraq's unprovoked act of aggression on August 2nd constitutes such a violation. The case could not have been more clear: Kuwait was the victim, Iraq the aggressor. After the invasion of Kuwait, the world gave Saddam Hussein five and one-half months -- 166 days -- to end his occupation and withdraw without condition. During that time, we exhausted every diplomatic effort, every means short of war including economic sanctions, while Saddam rejected every overture for peace. For us, this war with Saddam has been a last resort.

As we sought a peaceful solution, Iraq's occupying army systematically pillaged and plundered Kuwait. Saddam sought to add a nuclear weapon to his already threatening arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. Members of Saddam's army kidnapped, maimed, and murdered many of Kuwait's innocent citizens and residents. Challenges to Iraqi authority met with summary execution. A lecturer from Kuwait University reported the killing of a relative who had been standing in a bread line. The man shouted at an Iraqi soldier: "You have ruined our lives, why did you come?" The soldier responded by shooting him dead on the spot. Like that soldier, Saddam's measures have been cruel and extreme.

Every war is fought for a reason. A just war is one fought for the right reasons -- for moral, unselfish reasons. Some ask whether it is moral to use force to stop the rape, pillage and plunder of Kuwait. My answer: it would be immoral not to use force.

Our values also demand that just war be waged in proportion to the threat out of real concern for the welfare of the people in the region. While Saddam deliberately orders indiscriminate Scud attacks at Israel and Saudi Arabia and to hide military command centers and equipment in schools, neighborhoods, and near religious shrines and archaeological sites, we make every possible effort to protect civilians. In a just war, the principle of "proportionality" requires that the good we seek to achieve outweighs the destruction war entails. That is why we

continue to act reasonably and humanely and make every effort to keep casualties to a minimum.

By these principles, the war in the Gulf is not, as Saddam says, a Moslem War. It is not a Christian or a Jewish War. It is a just war.

Last September, then Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie noted: "Christianity does not lack realism about the intransigence of conflict. The Scriptures speak of our responsibility for seeking justice and the well-being of creation in the world as it exists." The former Archbishop makes a good point when he links our responsibility for seeking justice to the well-being of the world.

I have met many of the brave young men and women now fighting in the Gulf. I've met with the families here at home, their hearts so full with pride -- and yet so full of longing for their loved ones. I know that no one -- not the American people, and certainly not this President -- welcomes war. No one wants and prays for peace more than I do.

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