



CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER

COO

### Call on Cardinal Hume

- 1. You have kindly agreed to call on Cardinal Basil Hume to discuss with him the various issues connected with the Gulf crisis which are of concern to the Catholic Church and other Christian denominations.
- 2. Officials here have prepared a paper which I hope you will find useful in setting out our views on the major questions posed by the crisis. I also enclose copies of the pastoral letter from the Catholic Bishops of England and Wales which was read in Catholic churches on 2 December and of the statement by the Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland of 7 December, which was signed by Cardinal Hume amongst others.
- 3. Finally, I thought you might be interested to see the rather good article by the Bishop of Oxford which appeared in The Independent on 31 October. It neatly counters some of the arguments put forward by those with doubts about our policy. I also enclose a copy of Sir Arthur Hockaday's article in the Tablet last October, which also addresses the 'just war' question in a helpful way.
- 4. If you would find it helpful to have an FCO official with you during the call or need further briefing, please let me know. I would be interested to hear what Cardinal Hume has to say.
- 5. I am copying this minute to members of the OPD(G), the Lord Privy Seal, the Home Secretary and Sir Robin Butler.

DH-

(DOUGLAS HURD)



### CALL BY MR PATTEN ON CARDINAL HUME

### The Gulf Crisis: A Just War?

- 1. In recent weeks there has been increasing discussion, particularly amongst the Christian denominations, of whether war in the Gulf to recover Kuwait would be justified. Argument has been based on the long established Christian tradition of a "just war". Although there are a number of views as to what exactly constitutes the basis for a just war, there are certain basic criteria which all are agreed must be fulfilled. They are:
  - (1) That the cause should be just.
  - (2) That all peaceful means of resolving a dispute have been exhausted.
  - (3) That the likely consequences of military action are not out of all proportion to the injustice it seeks to correct or prevent, ie proportionality.
- 2. Some commentators add other criteria to the three set out above. The most commonly mentioned are that military action should be properly authorised; that there should be a probability of victory; and that those undertaking military action should do so on the basis of a "right intention".

### The Views of the Churches

3. There is a wide spectrum of views on the crisis within all the major Christian denominations ranging from strong support for the Government's position right through to a completely pacifist line. Cardinal Hume has associated himself with two statements on the crisis. The first was the pastoral letter from the Catholic Bishops of England and Wales which was read out in all Catholic Churches on 2 December. The second was a statement by the Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland on 7 December. The latter was also supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and various other Protestant leaders.



- 4. The two statements are broadly similar and express concern as to whether the criteria for a just war have been met. The Council of Churches' statement says that the churches are not convinced that all reasonable attempts have been made to find a peaceful settlement and that they have "grave difficulties" with the idea that the consequences of a war would be proportionate with the injustice it sought to prevent or correct. The Catholic Bishops expressed the same reservations and, in addition, called for respect for the role of the UN and suggested that a real prospect should exist of achieving the just objectives of a war before it was launched.
- 5. The Government's position is that the criteria for a just war have been met:

### a) Do we have "just cause"?

- The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on 2 August was an unprovoked and naked act of aggression against a sovereign and independent state, which is a member of the United Nations. It violated Iraq's obligations as a signatory of the UN Charter and the Charter of the Arab League which both call for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.
- The UN Security Council, reflecting the will of the international community, has adopted a series of resolutions which express condemnation of Iraq's aggression. They call for complete and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait; the restoration of the legitimate government and the release of all foreign nationals.
- The Iraqis have refused to comply with these mandatory resolutions and have only now begun to release foreign nationals, for their own reasons.
- The international community must enforce respect for its will if necessary. Many nations have committed forces to the Gulf to that end.



# b) Have we made all "reasonable attempts" to secure a peaceful outcome?

- Our earnest hope throughout this crisis has been that a peaceful solution should be found. That is why we have not hastened to use the military option.
- The aims of the international community are set out in the Security Council resolutions. The means have been peaceful pressures on Iraq diplomatic and economic. We have sought to make clear Iraq's diplomatic isolation and to bring home the consequences of its action. The United Nations has imposed stringent economic sanctions, which have been tightly enforced, to increase the pressure on the Iraqi leadership. But the threat of military action is perhaps the most potent means of bringing home to Saddam Hussain that he must reverse what he has done. To be effective it must be credible: forces have been assembled which are strong enough to give effect to the international community's will if necessary.
- By these means we have sought to put growing but peaceful pressure on Iraq to reverse its aggression. Security Council Resolution 678 set a date of 15 January for Iraqi compliance and gave authorisation for the use of all necessary means to enforce its resolutions. This is the latest and firmest of peaceful pressures on Iraq. It is not a deadline for military action. By that date Iraq will have been given over five months to reverse its aggression.
- The test of whether sanctions are effective is not whether they are inflicting damage on Iraq's economy. It is clear that they are. But Saddam Hussain is no respecter of the hardships of his people, as the last ten years of his brutal rule have shown. The proof that sanctions are effective would be Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. That is their purpose. The evidence suggests that, on the contrary, Saddam Hussein is preparing for a long siege and that sanctions alone will not succeed.



- Meanwhile the oppression and suffering of the Kuwaiti people continues. The destruction of the fabric and infrastructure of the state of Kuwait is well attested. Saddam is seeking to obliterate Kuwait's identity following formal annexation in August. Each day that we delay increases the suffering and damage and allows the Iraqis to continue to build up their forces and prepare their defences, making the cost of the liberation of Kuwait higher the longer we delay.
- President Bush is to meet the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Tariq Aziz and Secretary Baker will travel to Baghdad to meet Saddam Hussain. Their intention is clear. It is to speak plainly so that Iraq's leaders understand exactly what is required of them and the consequences if they continue to defy the Security Council. Saddam Hussein will also be told that if Iraq does comply, he need have no fear of attack. The European Community will repeat this message to Tariq Aziz through the Italian Presidency. As President Bush has said we are going "the extra mile" for peace.
- c) Will the consequences of a war be out of all proportion to the evil it seeks to address?
- The consequences of a conflict are extremely difficult to assess.

  No one wants war or doubts the cost if conflict were to break out.
- But the consequences of not dealing with Iraq's aggression effectively are enormous. The rape of Kuwait will continue. The will of the international community will have been defied and the resolve of some may erode with time. Iraq could be left with the fruits of its aggression. The law of the jungle would be seen to pay. No small state would feel safe. There is no guarantee that Kuwait is the limit of Saddam's ambition. He is a ruthless adventurer, already responsible for two major conflicts.
- The consequences of war for the future of the Middle East are also hard to calculate. But there will never be stability in the region if Saddam Hussein is allowed to succeed. Israel could never have the security which is essential to a solution of the Arab/Israel problem; nor can the other Arab states feel safe while they have an over-armed tyrant on their doorsteps.



- If Iraq is not dealt with now, we will face the Iraqi threat for years to come. Saddam Hussain is continuing to develop horrific weapons of mass destruction chemical, biological and nuclear.

  Instability in the Middle East will grow.
- If a new world order based on respect for the rule of law is to mean anything, then the international community must be prepared to take action to enforce its collective will.
- 6. The release of hostages has raised hopes for a peaceful solution. But the hostages should never have been taken. Iraq still has to comply with the rest of the Security Council resolutions. Talk of "negotiation" is misplaced. There is nothing to negotiate with Iraq <a href="mailto:before">before</a> it complies with UN resolutions. As Resolution 660 makes clear, once Iraq has withdrawn from Kuwait then talks to resolve the differences between the two countries should take place.

MESSAGE FROM THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF ENGLAND AND WALES READ OUT IN ALL CHURCHES ON SUNDAY 2 DECEMBER

At our recent meeting in London we have considered together many issues arising from the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. This grave act of aggression has brought crisis and anxiety to peoples and nations the world over. We were particularly conscious of those personally caught up in this dangerous situation and offer them the support of our prayers. In this we have in mind not only the armed forces and their families, but also those innocent persons held hostage in a manner that is indefensible and inhuman.

We have been greatly encouraged by the achievements of the United Nations in securing an international response to this unjust act. It is our belief that efforts to achieve a just solution without recourse to military action, especially by economic and diplomatic means, must be given every opportunity to succeed. In this the paramount role of the United Nations should be recognised, respected and supported.

But if, despite such persevering efforts, all this should fail to bring an end to this in justice and cruelty those in authority must still weigh carefully whether or not to go to war. They must be satisfied that there is a real prospect not only for achieving the just objectives sought by the use of military force, but also of not causing in the process physical and political damage out of all proportion to the injustice such action seeks to correct or prevent. Such terrible and difficult decisions have to be taken by those bearing political and military responsibilities. They too need the full support of our prayers.

At this time our primary calling is for prayer that the aggression of Iraq may be overcome without the tragedy of war. This is a duty which we share with all the churches and with all others who have faith in God. The season of Advent, in which we prepare for the coming of the Prince of Peace, must this year be for us all a time of constant prayer for a peaceful and just solution to this very dangerous situation. We urge you to renewed efforts in this regard. We ask you, our people and priests, to make special provision for such prayer in your churches and in your homes.

### OF CHURCHES FOR BRITAIN & IRELAND

ISE, 38-41 LOWER MARSH, LONDON BET THE

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7 DECEMBER 1990

### PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON THE GULF CRISIS

As the joint Presidents of the Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland, we call upon all the Churches to pray that the aggression of Iray will be overcome without the tragedy of war.

Following the recent resolution of the United Nations Security Council authorizing military action if Iraq has not withdrawn from Kuwait by mid-January, we welcome the signs of renewed diplomatic activity between the governments of the United States and Iraq, and we call upon all the Churches in our Council to continue to pray that the path towards a peaceful and just resolution of the crisis will remain open.

A number of statements on the Gulf Crisis have issued from various quarters in the Churches of Britain and Ireland in recent weeks. They illustrate the widespread and deep concern felt by so many Christians at the prospect of a war which could entail death and destruction on an appalling scale, with consequences for the welfare of the human family far beyond the Middle East, especially for the poorest peoples of the world.

Although there are sincere differences of conviction among Christians regarding the legitimacy of armed conflict, and some would rule out the use of force as a matter of principle, there is profound and wide agreement among most Christians in Britain and Ireland that war cannot be a moral option unless all reasonable attempts at a peaceful solution have been exhausted. Even then the likely consequences of war must not be out of all proportion to the injustice which it seeks to correct or prevent. We are not convinced that in the case of the Gulf the first of these conditions has so far been met, and in view of the possible physical and political consequences of a Gulf war, the fulfilment of the second condition poses grave difficulties. We are united in hoping that those who carry the awesome responsibilities for decision will be guided by these moral principles.

As the season of Christmas approaches our minds are drawn even more closely to that region of the world where our Saviour Jesus Christ came in such humility and poverty, and was worshipped by those who brought gifts from the East. We extend our sympathy to the suffering people of Kuwait, to the hostages and their families, and to all whose lives have been disrupted by Iraq's breaches of international law. We call upon the Christians of Britain and Ireland to hold in their thoughts and prayers all the peoples of the Middle East, of all faiths, who yearn for security, freedom, justice and peace. Especially, we greet the Churches of the Middle East in the love of Christ, assuring our brothers and sisters of our continuing concern for them, and our desire to enter with them into deeper relationships of understanding, support and common witness to the gospel of God's reconciling love.

### SIGNED BY:

THE REAL PROPERTY.

The Most Revd Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury

Cardinal Basil Hume, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster

The Revd Dafydd H. Owen, General Secretary, Presbyterian Church in Wales

Christine Davis, Religious Society of Friends, Scotland

The Most Revd Father Olu A. Abiola, President, Council of African and Afro-Caribbean Churches

The Rt Revd John R. W. Neill, Bishop of Tuam, Ireland

PRESIDENTS, COUNCIL OF CHURCHES FOR BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DECEMBER 7 1990

\*\*\* E N D S \*\*\*

# **Richard Harries**, Bishop of Oxford, takes issue with those who say no Western first strike in the Gulf could morally be justified

relatively quiet about the moralout of Kuwait. just war to get Saddam Hussein and could not be a case for a voices saying that there is not turbed, however, by a number of port for the action so far taken. been a broad consensus of supity of military action in the Gulf This is partly because there has THE CHURCHES have been The peace has now been dis-

wicked and cruel men, whose world, in which we are all sinful tragic necessity in a fallen war, if morally inescapable, is a underlying assumption is that imply moral self-righteousness. arrogance reveals to us what the such petitions as: "We pray for Niebuhr, whose prayers contain American theologian Reinhold more strongly than the great No one has captured this sense But this is not its intent. The when it has conceived and The phrase "a just war" may

brought forth its final fruit." The main criteria that have to

means of resolving the dispute must be just cause; all peacefu unleash more evil that would expectation that the war will not be properly authorised; there there must be a reasonable launched are: the action must be met before an offensive is have been exhausted; The path to a just war terests. Yet the presence of selfern powers are only in the Mid-dle East to protect their own innations to prevent any country out the possibility of a war being interest does not by itself rule thinking that it can simply just. It is in the interest of all bear responsibility for the Crowe is that Western nations mined to see justice done now. it should make us more detertifies a present failure to do so; ure to act in the past hardly jus-Rowan Williams and Philip The other point made by

# The churches should unite in keeping the governments on their present course

neighbour and take it over. march across the borders of a Rowan Williams and Philip

immunity of Pol Pot. But a failgua, Israel's continued occupadouble standards. They point to Crowe also draw attention to tion of the West Bank and the the American action in Nicarathe Chinese invasion of Tibet, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, tragic mess in the Middle East, because the Arab peoples were providing massive supplies of supported Iraq against Iran, boundaries drawn by the Britmanipulated and their nationa have a responsibility to resist culpability in the past we stil arms. However, whatever our Western interests. Moreover, we ish and other powers to serve

United States and other West-

tests. They argue that the cause it fails this and other gued, in an open letter to the wan Williams (Professor of Recently, Philip Crowe (Princifought with a right intention must be a probability of victory. otherwise be averted; there

in the Gulf could be just be-House of Bishops, that no war Theology, at Oxford) have ar-Theological College) and Ropal of Salisbury and Wells In addition, the war must be

> world over to total anarchy. force would be to paralyse all son for refusing to use military aggression in the present. To human action and hand take historic sinfulness as a rea-

damage to the whole area.

sure to force President Saddam must first have been exhausted means of achieving a resolution war criteria is that all peaceful could ensue if he failed to do so military forces is a reminder of to withdraw. The presence of sanctions and diplomatic pres-The present policy is to use the terrible consequences that The most relevant of the just-

morally must continue to do so with it, has been widely comrestraint which has so far gone military option remains and sides of the Atlantic. But the mended by church bodies both This policy, together with the

> without a disproportionate cost, whether one could be achieved tary victory is possible and of achieving a resolution has whether every peaceful means ing and long-term political both in terms of human suffercan then decide whether a milibeen tried and failed. Only they ments concerned can decide In the end, only the govern-

adamant that Saddam Hussein ments on their present course should unite in keeping governshort of war. Time is running possibility of achieving this jective while exploring every ing at once resolute on the obluture aggression. It means beand be rendered harmless for must withdraw from Kuwait, This involves being absolutely Meanwile, the churches

ford, is the author of 'Christianity and War in a Nuclear Age Richard Harries, Bishop of Ox-(Mowbrays).

out but it has not yet done so.

# War and justice

### Arthur Hockaday

The Christian tradition of just war has application, which is much debated, to the present situation in the Gulf. The view expressed here is that of a former second permanent under-secretary in the Ministry of Defence who is chairman of the British group of the International Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament.

I shall not rehearse in this article the reasons why I hold a broadly just war rather than a pacifist position. The arguments on both sides are well known to readers of The Tablet. They reflect the tensions within the teaching of Scripture and of the Church between an ethic of justice and an ethic of mercy, and between the call to live as though Christ's role on earth had already begun and an acceptance that, so long as the Kingdom of God has not come on earth, the world must be governed under God's authority but within the terms of its own politics and jurisprudence.

The just war tradition starts from the presumption that war is an evil: Aquinas (ST, 2a 2ae, 40,1) addresses himself expressly to the question whether to go to war is always sinful. The tradition seeks to explore whether there are circumstances in which it may be permissible to go to war, and if so what they are; and to define the limits within which it may be permissible to mage a war upon which it is legitimate to embark. The tradition should perhaps be construed as an enquiry into whether a war may be "justifiable" rather than "just" in the senses that we would normally attach to the latter term.

It is sometimes suggested that any war fought with modern technology is bound to inflict damage on a scale that renders the categories of the schoolmen irrelevant. But his objection is likely to be founded on the propositions that the destruction inflicted by any modern war cannot but be both indiscriminate between combatants and non-combatants and disproportionate to any good that it may achieve or any evil that it may avert. These propositions are themselves derived from just war criteria, and it is by no means self-evident that the just war tradition is irrelevant or outmoded.

Given the possibility that a number of Western and Middle Eastern nations, including our own, may before long find themselves at war with Iraq, this article seeks to explore how far the just war criteria might be relevant to such a war. I shall examine in turn the criteria of lawful authority, just cause, last resort, reasonable prospect of success, righteous intention, discrimination between combatants and non-combatants, and proportion between the damage inflicted and the good thereby achieved or evil thereby averted. In doing so I shall concentrate on the applicability of the criteria rather than attempt to prescribe answers for hypothe-

tical circumstances. The context of the discussion will be an operation led by the United States to eject the Iraqis from Kuwait and, in Secretary of State James Baker's words, "reverse Iraq's capacity for ageression".

Lawful authority is not relevant in the sense that Aquinas had in mind when he required the authority of the sovereign and said that a private person has no business to declare war. We are thinking about governments, not private individuals or even groups that may be described from different viewpoints as freedom fighters or terrorists. But the criterion becomes relevant in terms of the authority of the United Nations. There are two questions here. The first is whether the authority of the United Nations is necessary before recourse to war can be legitimate: the

'The intention must be righteous... those who wage a just war must intend peace.'

second is how much of such authority exists in the present conjuncture.

The UN charter confirms the right of self-defence "until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security", and permits the Security Council itself to employ armed force. Nevertheless, while we can unreservedly welcome the remarkable and unprecedented consensus in the Security Council for the actions so far undertaken, and hope for its continuance, the question remains whether, if other criteria for firm action to maintain international peace and security are satisfied, yet the Security Council for some reason does not take action, individual nations or groups of nations may legitimately do so with or without United Nations backing.

An assessment of the degree of authority already conferred turns essentially on how far the resolutions of the Security Council, condemning Iraqi aggression and calling for withdrawal from Kuwait, the restoration of its legitimate government and freedom of the hostages, may be held in themselves to amply endorsement of at least the minimum military action required to enforce them. Explicit approval has been given for such measures as are necessary to enforce the economic sanc-

tions imposed. The American and British governments have indicated that, should further action appear to be called it specific United Nations approval would welcome but is not in their view necessit. This judgement could be challenged to the members of the Security Council and political expediency might dicate reference back for further authority. Whatever the merits of the question, however, is seems clear that the traditional criterion of the security for the seems clear that the traditional criterion of the security for the seems clear that the traditional criterion of the security of the seems clear that the traditional criterion of the security of the seems clear that the reditional criterion of the security of the seems clear that the reditional criterion of the security of the seems clear that the reditional criterion of the security of the se

lawful authority is very relevant.

Aquinas defined just cause in the interest that those who are to be attacked design or account, of some wrong that the wind one. He quoted an observation of Augultine that just wars are usually so described because they avenge wrongs, as when state has failed to make amends for wrong committed by its own eliberation what it has wrongly seized in littly of this criterion needs no beling over respect of the seizure of Küwalt, this judgement of the United Nation there upon, and the outrages reported to involve the committed by Iraqi troops. "As Walter Stein said in a letter to said."

Tablet (15 September), last resort will criterion of crucial importance. Althousome Kuwaiti and Saudi officials have be reported as pressing for early milita action, the bulk of political and publi opinion both within those nations that hay deployed forces in Saudi Arabia, and moe widely throughout the world at referent the United National World at referent to be satisfied a left the measure of solid left the me deployed forces in Saudi Arabia, and me American and British authorities stressed that the first priority must be to maintain the economic pressures upon Iraq. And the Iraqis have been compelled both to impose petrol rationing and to offer oil for sale at \$21 a barrel to rais revenue. But there may be a complication in that the relatively cool season, within which the military commanders would certainly wish to encompass any military operations that might be approved, lasts only through February and does not recommence until November. It may there fore be necessary not later than, say the system of the same of th

Which leads to the criterion of resistable prospect of success. Under this, so diers should not be committed to battle, or "enemy" combatants of non-combatants put at risk, unless there is a reasonable prospect that by doing so the just cause can be vindicated and the righteous intention put into effect. It will be an extremely important criterion for decisions so launching operations against a powerful military machine. The numerical strength of the Iraqi forces, especially in tanks, suggests that to dislodge them from Kuwait.

An ass hent eir fighting quality is rult but will be crucial: history he's shown that numbers and fire-power are not necessarily the decisive factors. Most experts agree at least that the Americans and their allies should have little difficulty in achieving air superiority. The requirement of a reasonable prospect of success reinforces the criterion of last resort in discouraging any premature recourse to military action, though the limits of the cool season may be relevant here also.

The criterion of righteous intention was defined by Aquinas as an intention either to promote good or to avert evil. He made clear that lawful authority and just cause would not suffice to legitimise a war unless the intention was righteous, and that those who wage a just war must intend peace. He cited Augustine to the effect that a desire to hurt people, a cruel thirst for revenge. an implacable and unrelenting spirit, ferocity in renewing a conflict, and a lust to dominate are all rightly condemned in

In day-to-day life most actions are taken from a mixture of motives and a mixture of intentions. If a decision were taken to deploy military force against Iraq, some of the dispositions condemned by Augustine might not be entirely suppressed. It is also true that the trigger for the Iraqi aggression was a dispute over oil and that a large proportion of the West's oil supplies are drawn from the Middle East; and we may doubt whether Aquinas would have regarded the maintenance of a threeautomobile lifestyle as a good, the promotion of which would satisfy his criteria. But, as President Bush said recently, "This is not about oil, it is about naked aggression". The criterion would be satisfied if, whatever other intentions might exist in a subsidiary role, the primary intention was clearly to promote the objectives of the United Nations resolutions, to avert the evil of further aggression, and to move on from an Iraqi withdrawal to a serious attempt to resolve not only the quarrel between Iraq and Kuwait but also the wider problems of the Middle East.

The criterion of discrimination is not so simple today as in medieval or even eighteenth-century times. Many modern weapon systems, however strictly they may be directed against military targets, inevitably inflict "collateral damage" (to use a repugnant shorthand); and in a modern society it is more difficult to define who are non-combatants and how far they are innocent" - how do we rate an unarmed ivilian mob howling for the head of vhoever may be the current enemy? And Valter Stein rightly pointed out in his etter of 15 September that the principle of ion-combatant immunity relates to a lockade as well as to a military offensive. f we assume that a military operation to ecover Kuwait would take the form prisarily of air strikes against the Iraqi air orce and its airfields, and of the forward eployment of ground forces against the agi formations occupying Kuwait, much f the fighting would be in areas much fore sparsely populated than, say, the orth German Plain, and the "collateral

damage" correspondingly less. An operation to clear Kuwait City street by street would be a different matter but would at least be directly addressed to the primary objective of expelling the Iraqis from Kuwait. Bombing Baghdad or other Iraqi cities would not, and would be open to serious moral objection quite apart from the military arguments against dissipating resources upon the mirage of a "surgical strike"

Aquinas set out only three requirements for a war to be just - lawful authority, just cause and righteous intention. Since his time the just war tradition has been broadened, to embrace at least the six criteria so far discussed in this article. It is correspondingly more difficult for all of them to be satisfied, or to be satisfied to the same degree, at the same time; and the seventh criterion, that of proportion, becomes correspondingly more important. Aquinas elsewhere (Scriptum in Tertium Petri Lombardi Sententiarum Librum, 30,1,2) admitted an element of proportionality into a discussion of how far we are obliged to extend charity to our enemies and refrain from doing them harm.

In the just war tradition the criterion of proportion may be applied broadly to the relation between the direct effects of war and its objectives (that is to say, between evil committed and the good achieved or the evil averted by committing it), and more particularly with reference to the criterion of discrimination. To go far

beyond a general statement of the criteria would be to address hypothetical questions in which the variables are very difficult to estimate. Nevertheless, while we do not know whether any nuclear weapons have been deployed with the allied forces, it is very difficult to envisage any circumstances (even an extensive use of chemical weapons by the Iraqis) in which even a "limited" use of "small" nuclear weapons could be justified. Fortunately the political arguments (such as the implications of use of nuclear weapons by a Western power against a non-European adversary for the second time) point the same way.

In this article I have not advocated recourse to military action, or looked forward to the prospect with any pleasure. Against the background of aggression and atrocity, however, and of the United Nations resolutions, I have sought to confront the possibility that the demands of an ethic, of justice may create a prima facie case for, a decision to use military force. I have discussed the application of the just war, criteria to the factors inherent in any such decision. I believe that those criteria are applicable and should be applied; that lawful authority, last resort and proportion will warrant particular attention; and that; while it does not follow that any one, particular set of decisions and actions encompassing war would sufficiently meet the criteria taken as a whole it should in most foreseeable circumstances be possible to decide and act in ways that would do so.

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## A NEW WAY TO HELP THE HOMELESS

This year, as Christmas approaches, CHAS is offering a new opportunity to help those in housing need, and also solve some of those more difficult Christman present problems. in return for a donation to CHAS - to help them in their work with homeless and

badly housed families - you can order a Christmas Token of the same value to give to friends or family, instead of a Christmas gift. The Tokens are presented in a Seasonal Card, and can be ordered in multiples of

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