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2004-0416-F

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: National Security Council
Series: H-Files
Subseries: NSD Files

OA/ID Number: 90004
Folder ID Number: 90004-020

Folder Title:
NSD-45 - August 20, 1990 - U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	National Security Directive 45 POTUS to The Vice President, et.al. Re: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (5 pp.)	08/20/1990	(b)(1)	S
02a. Distribution Record	Re: US Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (1 pp.)	8/20/90	(b)(3)	
02b. Distribution Record	Re: US Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (4 pp.)	8/20/90	(b)(3)	
03. Memo	Sandra Charles through Richard N. Haass to Brent Scowcroft Re: National Security Directive on U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (1 pp.)	08/14/1990	(b)(1)	S
04a. Draft Memo	National Security Directive 45 POTUS to The Vice President, et.al. Re: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
04b. Draft Memo	National Security Directive 45 POTUS to The Vice President, et.al. Re: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Page 1 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-45 - August 20, 1990 - U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Pinksheet Number: DJC1347

OA/ID Number: 90004-017

Date Closed: 9/9/2009

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2004-0416-F

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
05a. Memo	Sandra Charles through Richard N. Haass to Brent Scowcroft Re: National Security Directive on U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (1 pp.)	08/14/1990	(b)(1)	S
05b. Draft Memo	National Security Directive 45 POTUS to The Vice President, et.al. Re: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
05c. Memo	Sandra Charles through Richard N. Haass to Brent Scowcroft Re: National Security Directive on U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (1 pp.)	08/14/1990	(b)(1)	S
05d. Draft Memo	National Security Directive 45 POTUS to The Vice President, et.al. Re: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Page 2 of 2

Collection:

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No. nsd0045

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By DTL NARA, Date 07/07/2017

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 20, 1990

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 45

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF
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THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL
AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion
of Kuwait (C)

U.S. Interests

U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf are vital to the national security. These interests include access to oil and the security and stability of key friendly states in the region. The United States will defend its vital interests in the area, through the use of U.S. military force if necessary and appropriate, against any power with interests inimical to our own. The United States also will support the individual and collective self-defense of friendly countries in the area to enable them to play a more active role in their own defense. The United States will encourage the effective expressions of support and the participation of our allies and other friendly states to promote our mutual interests in the Persian Gulf region. (C)

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On Thursday, August 2, 1990 the government of Iraq, without provocation or warning, invaded and occupied the State of Kuwait, thereby placing these vital U.S. interests at risk. Four principles will guide U.S. policy during this crisis: (S)

- the immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait; (S)
- the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government to replace the puppet regime installed by Iraq; (S)
- a commitment to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf; and, (S)
- the protection of the lives of American citizens abroad. (S)

To meet these principles and to bring the crisis to an immediate, peaceful, and just end, I hereby direct that the following diplomatic, economic, energy and military measures be undertaken. (S)

Diplomatic

The United States will continue to support the precepts of UNSC resolution 660 and 662 condemning Iraq's invasion and subsequent annexation of Kuwait and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The Secretary of State should continue to work bilaterally with our allies and friends, and in concert with the international community through the United Nations and other fora, to find a peaceful solution to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and to restore Kuwait's legitimate government. (S)

Economic

Consistent with my authority under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, the National Emergencies Act, the United Nations Participation Act, and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, the Executive Orders signed on August 2 and August 9, 1990 freezing Kuwaiti and Iraqi assets in this country and prohibiting transactions with Iraq and Kuwait remain in force. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, should continue to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of these Orders. Furthermore, the United States will continue to support UNSC Resolution 661 imposing mandatory economic sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We will emphasize individual and collective compliance with these

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sanctions, but are prepared, if necessary, to enforce them in the exercise of our inherent right of individual and collective self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter. (S)

Energy

The United States now imports nearly half the oil it consumes and, as a result of the current crisis, could face a major threat to its economy. Much of the world is even more dependent on imported oil and more vulnerable to Iraqi threats. To minimize any impact that oil flow reductions from Iraq and Kuwait will have on the world's economies, it will be our policy to ask oil-producing nations to do what they can to increase production to offset these losses. I also direct the Secretaries of State and Energy to explore with the member countries of the International Energy Agency (IEA) a coordinated drawdown of strategic petroleum reserves, and implementation of complementary measures. I will continue to ask the American public to exercise restraint in their own consumption of oil products. The Secretary of Energy should work with various sectors of the U.S. economy to encourage energy conservation and fuel switching to non-oil sources, where appropriate and economic. Finally, I will continue to appeal to oil companies to show restraint in their pricing of crude oil and products. The Secretary of Energy, as appropriate, should work with oil companies in this regard. (S)

Military

To protect U.S. interests in the Gulf and in response to requests from the King of Saudi Arabia and the Amir of Kuwait, I have ordered U.S. military forces deployed to the region for two purposes: to deter and, if necessary, defend Saudi Arabia and other friendly states in the Gulf region from further Iraqi aggression; and to enforce the mandatory Chapter 7 sanctions under Article 51 of the UN Charter and UNSC Resolutions 660 and 661. U.S. forces will work together with those of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries to preserve their national integrity and to deter further Iraqi aggression. Through their presence, as well as through training and exercises, these multinational forces will enhance the overall capability of Saudi Arabia and other regional states to defend themselves. (S)

I also approve U.S. participation, in conjunction with the forces of other friendly governments, in two separate multinational forces that would provide for the defense of Saudi Arabia and enforce the UN mandated sanctions. These two groups will be called the Multinational Force for Saudi Arabia (MNFSA) and the Multinational Force to enforce sanctions (MNFES) against Iraq and Kuwait. The United States should coordinate closely with the Saudis, the Kuwaitis and others on the composition and organization of these forces. (S)

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- **The MNFSA:** The MNFSA is to deter aggression by Iraq against Saudi Arabia and other friendly Arab states in the Gulf, to ensure the territorial integrity and political independence of Saudi Arabia and other members of the GCC, and to conduct exercises and training to enhance the proficiency of Saudi forces in the defense of the Kingdom. (S)

Adequate legal basis exists under the UN Charter and UNSC resolutions for the implementation of multinational efforts. I do not believe it is necessary now for the United States to seek additional UN endorsement for the MNFSA. If I subsequently determined that further UN endorsement is required, we should ensure that any UN-led effort is acceptable to U.S. military commanders and an adequate command structure is established and operating beforehand. (S)

In concert with the other UNSC Permanent members, I authorize U.S. participation in discussions of the UN Military Staff Committee on the MNF operation for Saudi Arabia. If such talks are initiated, they should be of lower priority than talks concerning the MNFES. (S)

Soviet participation in the MNFSA is warranted only if the Saudis request it. If so, we should work with the Saudis to insure that the Soviet mission is acceptable to us and that Soviet forces are deployed at a distance from U.S. operations in these countries. Soviet assistance in providing lift support to others providing forces inside Saudi Arabia should be encouraged. (S)

- **The MNFES:** The MNF to enforce economic sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait is designed to bring about the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, and to restore Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Participating countries would seek to prevent the export of all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait, regardless of port of embarkation or transshipment point, and prevent the shipment to Iraq or Kuwait, regardless of declared port of destination or transshipment point, of any commodities or supplies whose provision to Iraq or Kuwait is contrary to UNSC Resolutions 660 and 661. These efforts should complement individual and collective compliance measures already in force. (S)

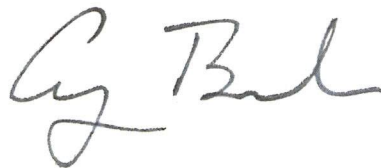
In accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter and UNSC resolutions 660 and 661, I hereby direct that all imports and exports, except medicines and food for humanitarian purposes (i.e., natural disasters) bound to and from Iraq and Kuwait be intercepted immediately. I direct the

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Secretary of Defense to immediately organize and coordinate a multinational force as requested by the Government of Kuwait. U.S. forces, in coordination with other cooperating national forces, should take necessary action to intercept vessels on a case-by-case basis until sufficient U.S. and other forces are available for more comprehensive enforcement. I also approve the submission to Congress of a separate letter informing it of the character and basis for our intercept operations in keeping with my commitment to congressional consultations on matters of national importance. The GCC states and potential contributors to the MNFES should be notified of the implementation of the intercept operation. I also agree to Soviet participation in the MNFES. (S)

Since the UN Charter provides the legal basis for the conduct of this operation, I do not believe it is necessary now to obtain additional UN endorsement for the MNFES. Subject to the consent of the UNSC Permanent members, I agree to allow U.S. participation in discussions of the MNFES operation for enforcing sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait by the UN Military Staff Committee. (S)

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9020963
RECEIVED: 14 AUG 90 11

TO: AGENCIES

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 20 AUG 90
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
NSD
SANCTIONS

KUWAIT
ECONOMICS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: NSD 45 US POLICY IN RESPONSE TO IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT

ACTION: PRES SGD NSD 45

DUE DATE: 17 AUG 90

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: CHARLES

LOGREF:

FILES: IFD O

NSCP: NSD0045

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003

Z 90081413 FWD TO PRES FOR SIG
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TO: SCOWCROFT

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DOC DATE: 14 AUG 90
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KEYWORDS: IRAQ
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PERSONS:

SUBJECT: NSD RE US POLICY IN REPOSE TO IRAQUI INVASION OF KUWAIT

ACTION: FWD TO PRES FOR SIG

DUE DATE: 17 AUG 90

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PAGE 01 OF 02 PAGES

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02a. Distribution Record	Re: US Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait (1 pp.)	8/20/90	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-45 - August 20, 1990 - U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Date Closed: 9/9/2009 **OA/ID Number:** 90004-017

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2004-0416-F

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Appeal Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

AR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Case #:

MR Disposition:

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- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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BRADY, N DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY VIA EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ROOM 3408, MAIN TREASURY 15TH & PENNSYLVANIA AVE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20220	8-21	3:15	na COPY: <u>3</u>
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LTC, USAF
Asst Dep Admin Asst
to the C/JCS

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Bob Gates			
Brent Scowcroft	<u>2</u>		
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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Proposed National Security Directive on U.S.
Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Purpose

To provide policy guidance in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and to direct that specific diplomatic, economic, energy and military measures be undertaken in support of that policy.

Background

As a result of the August 2, 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, you have set forth policy guidance on the U.S. response to the crisis in NSC meetings and public statements, and directed several diplomatic, economic, energy and military actions be undertaken in support of that policy. To insure that your policy guidance is clearly understood and implemented, we have prepared a proposed National Security Directive (Tab A) for your signature.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the National Security Directive at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A National Security Directive

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By DS NARA, Date 07/09/2009

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 14, 1990

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: RICHARD N. HAASS (RH)

FROM: SANDRA CHARLES

SUBJECT: National Security Directive on U.S. Policy in
Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

SIGNED

rh
revised
per our
conversation
sc
Brent: I am having
copies of the proposal
NSD couriered to
Jim Baker +
Dele
Cheney

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to the President forwarding a proposed National Security Directive (NSD) on U.S. policy toward the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The NSD outlines U.S. interests and objectives, and provides guidance on diplomatic, military and economic measures that should be undertaken by appropriate USG Departments. It also will clarify some of the confusion that exists on implementing the President's decision on a quarantine. (RH)

CIA, OSD and CJCS comments have been incorporated in the draft NSD. ~~All of State's changes were made except their recommendation that we substitute "interdiction" for "quarantine", despite their awareness that the President decided on the quarantine option over the interdiction one.~~

Concurrences by: Dan Levin, Erle Melby, Nancy Menden, and George Van Eron
BTM/for

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President
Tab A National Security Directive

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF
MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL
AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion
of Kuwait (P)

U.S. Interests

U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf are vital to the national security. These interests include access to oil and the security and stability of key friendly states in the region. The United States will defend its vital interests in the area, through the use of U.S. military force, if necessary and appropriate in the exercise of our inherent right of self-defense, against any power with interests inimical to our own. The United States also will support the individual and collective self-defense of friendly countries in the area to enable them to play a more active role in their own defense. The United States will encourage the effective support and participation of our allies and other friendly states to promote our mutual interests in the Persian Gulf region. (P)

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On Thursday, August 2, 1990 the government of Iraq, without provocation or warning, invaded and occupied the State of Kuwait, thereby placing these vital U.S. interests at risk. Four principles will guide U.S. policy during this crisis: (S)

- the immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait; (S)
- the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government to replace the puppet regime installed by Iraq; (S)
- a commitment to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf; and, (S)
- the protection of the lives of American citizens abroad. (S)

To meet these principles and to bring the crisis to an immediate, peaceful, and just end, I hereby direct that the following diplomatic, economic, energy and military measures be undertaken. (S)

Diplomatic

The United States will continue to support the precepts of UNSC resolution 660 and 662 condemning Iraq's invasion and subsequent annexation of Kuwait and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The Secretary of State should continue to work bilaterally with our allies and friends, and in concert with the international community through the United Nations and other fora, to find a peaceful solution to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and to restore Kuwait's legitimate government. (S)

Economic

Consistent with my authority under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, the National Emergencies Act, the United Nations Participation Act, and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, the Executive Orders signed on August 2 and August 9, 1990 freezing Kuwaiti and Iraqi assets in this country and prohibiting transactions with Iraq and Kuwait remain in force. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, should continue to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of these Orders. Furthermore, the United States will continue to support UNSC Resolution 661 imposing mandatory economic sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We will emphasize individual and collective compliance with these

sanctions, but are prepared, if necessary, to enforce them in the exercise of our inherent right of individual and collective self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter. (S)

Energy

The United States now imports nearly half the oil it consumes and, as a result of the current crisis, could face a major threat to its economy. Much of the world is even more dependent on imported oil and more vulnerable to Iraqi threats. To minimize any impact that oil flow reductions from Iraq and Kuwait will have on the world's economies, it will be our policy to ask oil-producing nations to do what they can to increase production to offset these losses. I also direct the Secretaries of State and Energy to explore with the member countries of the International Energy Agency (IEA) a coordinated drawdown of strategic petroleum reserves, and implementation of complementary measures. I will continue to ask the American public to exercise restraint in their own consumption of oil products. The Secretary of Energy should work with various sectors of the U.S. economy to encourage energy conservation and fuel switching to non-oil sources, where appropriate and economic. Finally, I will continue to appeal to oil companies to show restraint in their pricing of crude oil and products. The Secretary of Energy, as appropriate, should work with oil companies in this regard. (S)

Military

To protect U.S. interests in the Gulf and in response to requests from the King of Saudi Arabia and the Amir of Kuwait, I have ordered U.S. military forces deployed to the region for two purposes: to deter and, if necessary, defend Saudi Arabia and other friendly states in the Gulf region from further Iraqi aggression; and to enforce the mandatory Chapter 7 sanctions under Article 51 of the UN Charter and UNSC Resolutions 660 and 661. U.S. forces will work together with those of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries to preserve their national integrity and to deter further Iraqi aggression. Through their presence, as well as through training and exercises, these multinational forces will enhance the overall capability of Saudi Arabia and other regional states to defend themselves. (S)

I also approve U.S. participation, in conjunction with the forces of other friendly governments, in two separate multinational forces that would provide for the defense of Saudi Arabia and enforce the UN mandated sanctions. These two groups will be called the Multinational Force for Saudi Arabia (MNFSA) and the Multinational Force to enforce sanctions (MNFES) against Iraq and Kuwait. The United States should coordinate closely with the Saudis, the Kuwaitis and others on the composition and organization of these forces. (S)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF
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THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
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THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL
AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion
of Kuwait (C)

U.S. Interests

U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf are vital to the national security. These interests include access to oil and the security and stability of key friendly states in the region. The United States will defend its vital interests in the area, through the use of U.S. military force, if necessary and appropriate, ~~in the exercise of our inherent right of self-defense~~, against any power with interests inimical to our own. The United States also will support the individual and collective self-defense of friendly countries in the area to enable them to play a more active role in their own defense. The United States will encourage the effective support and participation of our allies and other friendly states to promote our mutual interests in the Persian Gulf region. (S)

*the
expressions of support*

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THE WHITE HOUSE

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
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THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

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U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf are vital to the national security. These interests include access to oil and the security and stability of key friendly states in the region. The United States will defend its vital interests in the area, through the use of U.S. military force if necessary and appropriate in the exercise of our inherent right of self-defense, against any power with interests inimical to our own. The United States also will support the individual and collective self-defense of friendly countries in the area to enable them to play a more active role in their own defense. The United States will encourage the effective support and participation of our allies and other friendly states to promote our mutual interests in the Persian Gulf region. (S)

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On Thursday, August 2, 1990 the government of Iraq, without provocation or warning, invaded and occupied the State of Kuwait, thereby placing these vital U.S. interests at risk. Four principles will guide U.S. policy during this crisis: (S)

- the immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait; (S)
- the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government to replace the puppet regime installed by Iraq; (S)
- a commitment to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf; and, (S)
- the protection of the lives of American citizens abroad. (S)

To meet these principles and to bring the crisis to an immediate, peaceful, and just end, I hereby direct that the following diplomatic, economic, energy and military measures be undertaken. (S)

Diplomatic

The United States will continue to support the precepts of UNSC resolution 660 and 662 condemning Iraq's invasion and subsequent annexation of Kuwait, and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The Secretary of State should continue to work bilaterally with our allies and friends, and in concert with the international community through the United Nations and other fora, to find a peaceful solution to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and to restore Kuwait's legitimate government. (S)

Economic

Consistent with my authority under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, the National Emergencies Act, the United Nations Participation Act, and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, the Executive Orders signed on August 2 and August 9, 1990, freezing Kuwaiti and Iraqi assets in this country and prohibiting transactions with Iraq and Kuwait, remain in force. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, should continue to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of these Orders. Furthermore, the United States will continue to support UNSC Resolution 661 imposing mandatory economic sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We will emphasize individual and collective compliance with these

- **The MNF for Saudi Arabia:** The MNF for Saudi Arabia is to deter aggression by Iraq against Saudi Arabia and other friendly Arab states in the Gulf, to ensure the territorial integrity and political independence of Saudi Arabia and other members of the GCC, and to conduct exercises and training to enhance the proficiency of Saudi forces in the defense of the Kingdom. (S)

Adequate legal basis exists under the UN Charter and UNSC resolutions for the implementation of multinational efforts. I do not believe it is necessary now for the United States to seek additional UN endorsement for the MNF for Saudi Arabia. If I subsequently determined that further UN endorsement is required, we should ensure that any UN-led effort is acceptable to U.S. military commanders and an adequate command structure is established and operating beforehand. (S) ✓

In concert with the other UNSC Permanent members, I authorize U.S. participation in discussions of the UN Military Staff Committee on the MNF operation for Saudi Arabia. If such talks are initiated, they should be of lower priority than talks concerning the MQF. (S)

Soviet participation in the MNF for Saudi Arabia is warranted only if the Saudis request it. If so, we should work with the Saudis to insure that the Soviet mission is acceptable to us and that Soviet forces are deployed at a distance from U.S. operations in these countries. Soviet assistance in providing lift support to others providing forces inside Saudi Arabia should be encouraged. (S)

- **The MQF:** The MQF to enforce economic sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait is designed to bring about the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, and to restore Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Participating countries would seek to prevent the export of all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait, regardless of port of embarkation or transshipment point, and prevent the shipment to Iraq or Kuwait, regardless of declared port of destination or transshipment point, of any commodities or supplies whose provision to Iraq or Kuwait is contrary to UNSC Resolutions 660 and 661. These efforts should complement individual and collective compliance measures already in force. (S)

In accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter and UNSC resolutions 660 and 661, I hereby direct that a quarantine on all imports and exports, except medicines and food for humanitarian purposes (i.e., natural disasters) bound to and

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20963

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 14, 1990

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: RICHARD N. HAASS

FROM: SANDRA CHARLES

SUBJECT: National Security Directive on U.S. Policy in
Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to the President forwarding a proposed National Security Directive (NSD) on U.S. policy toward the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The NSD outlines U.S. interests and objectives, and provides guidance on diplomatic, military and economic measures that should be undertaken by appropriate USG Departments. It also will clarify some of the confusion that exists on implementing the President's decision on a quarantine.

CIA, OSD and CJCS comments have been incorporated in the draft NSD. All of State's changes were made except their recommendation that we substitute "interdiction" for "quarantine", despite their awareness that the President decided on the quarantine option over the interdiction one.

Concurrences by: Dan Levin, Eric Melby, Nancy Menon, and
George Van Eron

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President
Tab A National Security Directive

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2012-0219-MR
Eg 7/26/13

~~SECRET~~

20963

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Proposed National Security Directive on U.S.
Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Purpose

To provide policy guidance to the Vice President and USG Agencies and Departments in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and to direct that specific diplomatic, economic, energy and military measures be undertaken in support of that policy.

Background

As a result of the August 2, 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, you have set forth policy guidance on the U.S. response to the crisis in NSC meetings and public statements, and directed several diplomatic, economic, energy and military actions be undertaken in support of that policy. To insure that your policy guidance is clearly understood and implemented, we have prepared a proposed National Security Directive (Tab A) for your signature.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the National Security Directive at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A National Security Directive

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By DT2 NARA, Date 09/09/2009

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF
MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL
AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT: U.S. Policy in Response to the Iraqi Invasion
of Kuwait (7)

U.S. Interests

U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf are vital to the national security. These interests include access to oil and the security and stability of key friendly states in the region. The United States will defend its vital interests in the area, through the use of U.S. military force, if necessary and appropriate in the exercise of our inherent right of self-defense, against any power with interests inimical to our own. The United States also will support the individual and collective self-defense of friendly countries in the area to enable them to play a more active role in their own defense. The United States will encourage the effective support and participation of our allies and other friendly states to promote our mutual interests in the Persian Gulf region. (7)

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2012-0219-MR

E8 7/26/13

On Thursday, August 2, 1990 the government of Iraq, without provocation or warning, invaded and occupied the State of Kuwait, thereby placing these vital U.S. interests at risk. Four principles will guide U.S. policy during this crisis: (S)

- the immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait; (S)
- the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government to replace the puppet regime installed by Iraq; (S)
- a commitment to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf; and, (S)
- the protection of the lives of American citizens abroad. (S)

To meet these principles and to bring the crisis to an immediate, peaceful, and just end, I hereby direct that the following diplomatic, economic, energy and military measures be undertaken. (S)

Diplomatic

The United States will continue to support the precepts of UNSC resolution 660 and 662 condemning Iraq's invasion and subsequent annexation of Kuwait and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The Secretary of State should continue to work bilaterally with our allies and friends, and in concert with the international community through the United Nations and other fora, to find a peaceful solution to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and to restore Kuwait's legitimate government. (S)

Economic

Consistent with my authority under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, the National Emergencies Act, the United Nations Participation Act, and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, the Executive Orders signed on August 2 and August 9, 1990 freezing Kuwaiti and Iraqi assets in this country and prohibiting transactions with Iraq and Kuwait remain in force. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, should continue to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of these Orders.

Furthermore, the United States will continue to support UNSC Resolution 661 imposing mandatory economic sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We will emphasize individual and collective compliance with these

sanctions, but are prepared, if necessary, to enforce them in the exercise of our inherent right of individual and collective self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter. (S)

Energy

The United States now imports nearly half the oil it consumes and, as a result of the current crisis, could face a major threat to its economy. Much of the world is even more dependent on imported oil and more vulnerable to Iraqi threats. To minimize any impact that oil flow reductions from Iraq and Kuwait will have on the world's economies, it will be our policy to ask oil-producing nations to do what they can to increase production to offset these losses. I also direct the Secretaries of State and Energy to explore with the member countries of the International Energy Agency (IEA) a coordinated drawdown of strategic petroleum reserves, and implementation of complementary measures. I will continue to ask the American public to exercise restraint in their own consumption of oil products. The Secretary of Energy should work with various sectors of the U.S. economy to encourage energy conservation and fuel switching to non-oil sources, where appropriate and economic. Finally, I will continue to appeal to oil companies to show restraint in their pricing of crude oil and products. The Secretary of Energy, as appropriate, should work with oil companies in this regard. (S)

Military

To protect U.S. interests in the Gulf and in response to requests from the King of Saudi Arabia and the Amir of Kuwait, I have ordered U.S. military forces deployed to the region for two purposes: to deter and, if necessary, defend Saudi Arabia and other friendly states in the Gulf region from further Iraqi aggression; and to enforce the mandatory Chapter 7 sanctions under Article 51 of the UN Charter and UNSC Resolutions 660 and 661. U.S. forces will work together with those of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries to preserve their national integrity and to deter further Iraqi aggression. Through their presence, as well as through training and exercises, these multinational forces will enhance the overall capability of Saudi Arabia and other regional states to defend themselves. (S)

I also approve U.S. participation, in conjunction with the forces of other friendly governments, in two separate multinational forces that would provide for the defense of Saudi Arabia and enforce the UN mandated sanctions. These two groups will be called the Multinational Force (MNF) for Saudi Arabia and the Multinational Quarantine Force (MQF) to enforce sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait. The United States should coordinate closely with the Saudis, the Kuwaitis and others on the composition and organization of these forces. (S)

- **The MNF for Saudi Arabia:** The MNF for Saudi Arabia is to deter aggression by Iraq against Saudi Arabia and other friendly Arab states in the Gulf, to ensure the territorial integrity and political independence of Saudi Arabia and other members of the GCC, and to conduct exercises and training to enhance the proficiency of Saudi forces in the defense of the Kingdom. (S)

Adequate legal basis exists under the UN Charter and UNSC resolutions for the implementation of multinational efforts. I do not believe it is necessary now for the United States to seek additional UN endorsement for the MNF for Saudi Arabia. If I subsequently determined that further UN endorsement is required, we should ensure that any UN-led effort is acceptable to U.S. military commanders and an adequate command structure is established and operating beforehand. (S)

In concert with the other UNSC Permanent members, I authorize U.S. participation in discussions of the UN Military Staff Committee on the MNF operation for Saudi Arabia. If such talks are initiated, they should be of lower priority than talks concerning the MQF. (S)

Soviet participation in the MNF for Saudi Arabia is warranted only if the Saudis request it. If so, we should work with the Saudis to insure that the Soviet mission is acceptable to us and that Soviet forces are deployed at a distance from U.S. operations in these countries. Soviet assistance in providing lift support to others providing forces inside Saudi Arabia should be encouraged. (S)

- **The MQF:** The MQF to enforce economic sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait is designed to bring about the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, and to restore Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Participating countries would seek to prevent the export of all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait, regardless of port of embarkation or transshipment point, and prevent the shipment to Iraq or Kuwait, regardless of declared port of destination or transshipment point, of any commodities or supplies whose provision to Iraq or Kuwait is contrary to UNSC Resolutions 660 and 661. These efforts should complement individual and collective compliance measures already in force. (S)

In accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter and UNSC resolutions 660 and 661, I hereby direct that a quarantine on all imports and exports, except medicines and food for humanitarian purposes (i.e., natural disasters) bound to and

from Iraq and Kuwait be implemented immediately. I direct the Secretary of Defense to immediately organize and coordinate a multinational force as requested by the Government of Kuwait. U.S. forces, in coordination with other cooperating national forces, should take necessary action to implement the quarantine on a case-by-case basis until sufficient U.S. and other forces are available for more comprehensive enforcement. I also approve the submission to Congress of a separate letter informing it of the character and basis for our quarantine operations in keeping with my commitment to congressional consultations on matters of national importance. The GCC states and potential contributors to the MQF should be notified of the implementation of the quarantine following receipt of the Kuwaiti request. I also agree to Soviet participation in the MQF. (S)

Since the UN Charter provides the legal basis for the conduct of this operation, I do not believe it is necessary now to obtain additional UN endorsement for the MQF. Subject to the consent of the UNSC Permanent members, I agree to allow U.S. participation in discussions of the MQF operation for enforcing sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait by the UN Military Staff Committee. (S)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 14, 1990

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Concurrences by: Dan Levin, Eric Melby, Nancy Menon, and
George Van Eron

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President

Tab A National Security Directive

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RECOMMENDATION

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Attachments

Tab A National Security Directive

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By DJ2 NARA, Date 07/07/2007

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
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