

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2004-0416-F

FOIA Number:
2004-0416-F

FOIA MARKER

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Collection/Office of Origin: National Security Council
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Subseries: NSD Files

OA/ID Number: 90004 *36*
Folder ID Number: 90004-026

Folder Title:
NSD-54 - January 15, 1991 - Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	15	1	2	2

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RETURNED ON 1/16/91

No. NSD 54

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DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

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

By DZ NARA, Date 09/29/2009

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20052

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1991

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 54

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

LP/LM 2014-004

SCS 4/23/15

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
DIRECTOR, 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

SUBJECT: Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf (U)

1. Access to Persian Gulf oil and the security of key friendly states in the area are vital to U.S. national security. Consistent with NSD 26 of October 2, 1989, and NSD 45 of August 20, 1990, and as a matter of long-standing policy, the United States remains committed to defending its vital interests in the region, if necessary through the use of military force, against any power with interests inimical to our own. Iraq, by virtue of its unprovoked invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, and its subsequent brutal occupation, is clearly a power with interests inimical to our own. Economic sanctions mandated by UN Security Council Resolution 661 have had a measurable impact upon Iraq's economy but have not accomplished the intended objective of ending Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. There is no persuasive evidence that they will do so in a timely manner. Moreover, prolonging the current situation would be detrimental to the United States in that it would increase the costs of eventual military action, threaten the political cohesion of the coalition of countries arrayed against Iraq, allow for continued brutalization of the Kuwaiti people and destruction of their country, and cause added damage to the U.S. and world economies. This directive sets forth guidelines for the defense of vital U.S. interests in the face of unacceptable Iraqi aggression and its consequences. (S)

2. Pursuant to my responsibilities and authority under the Constitution as President and Commander in Chief, and under the laws and treaties of the United States, and pursuant to H. J. Res. 77 (1991), and in accordance with the rights and obligations of the United States under international law, including UN Security Council Resolutions 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667,

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Declassify on: OADR

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2

669, 670, 674, 677, and 678, and consistent with the inherent right of collective self-defense affirmed in Article 51 of the of the United Nations Charter, I hereby authorize military actions designed to bring about Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. These actions are to be conducted against Iraq and Iraqi forces in Kuwait by U.S. air, sea and land conventional military forces, in coordination with the forces of our coalition partners, at a date and time I shall determine and communicate through National Command Authority channels. This authorization is for the following purposes:

- a. to effect the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait;
- b. to restore Kuwait's legitimate government;
- c. to protect the lives of American citizens abroad; and
- d. to promote the security and the stability of the Persian Gulf. ~~(TS)~~

3. To achieve the above purposes, U.S. and coalition forces should seek to:

- a. defend Saudi Arabia and the other GCC states against attack;
- b. preclude Iraqi launch of ballistic missiles against neighboring states and friendly forces;
- c. destroy Iraq's chemical, biological, and nuclear capabilities;
- d. destroy Iraq's command, control, and communications capabilities;
- e. eliminate the Republican Guards as an effective fighting force; and
- f. conduct operations designed to drive Iraq's forces from Kuwait, break the will of Iraqi forces, discourage Iraqi use of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, encourage defection of Iraqi forces, and weaken Iraqi popular support for the current government. ~~(TS)~~

4. While acting to achieve the purposes in paragraph 2 above and carry out the missions in paragraph 3 above, every reasonable effort should be taken to:

- a. minimize U.S. and coalition casualties and

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- b. reduce collateral damage incident to military attacks, taking special precautions to minimize civilian casualties and damage to non-military economic infrastructure, energy-related facilities, and religious sites. (TS)
5. The United States shall seek the maximum participation of its coalition partners in all aspects of operations conducted in either Kuwait or Iraq. (S)
6. The United States will encourage Iraq's neighbors Syria and Turkey to increase their forces along their borders with Iraq so as to draw off Iraqi forces from, and resources devoted to, the Kuwait theatre of operations. (S)
7. The United States will discourage the government of Israel from participating in any military action. In particular, we will seek to discourage any preemptive actions by Israel. Should Israel be threatened with imminent attack or be attacked by Iraq, the United States will respond with force against Iraq and will discourage Israeli participation in hostilities. (TS)
8. The United States will discourage any participation in hostilities by Jordan. Similarly, the United States will discourage any Jordanian facilitation of, or support for, Iraqi military efforts. The United States will also discourage violation of Jordanian territory or airspace. (TS)
9. The United States recognizes the territorial integrity of Iraq and will not support efforts to change current boundaries. (S)
10. Should Iraq resort to using chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons, be found supporting terrorist acts against U.S. or coalition partners anywhere in the world, or destroy Kuwait's oil fields, it shall become an explicit objective of the United States to replace the current leadership of Iraq. I also want to preserve the option of authorizing additional punitive actions against Iraq. (TS)
11. All appropriate U.S. government departments and agencies are to prepare and present to me for decision those measures necessary for stabilizing to the extent possible energy supplies and prices during hostilities. (S)
12. Military operations will come to an end only when I have determined that the objectives set forth in paragraph 2 above have been met. (S)



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1991

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 54

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
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
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6/5/97

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George Bush Handwriting

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George Bush

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON 91 JAN 15 AM 8:35

ACTION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 

SIGNED

SUBJECT: NSD on the Gulf

Purpose:

To provide guidance, principally to the Departments of Defense and State, on U.S. policy in the event of a Gulf war.

Background:

Policy guidance is required to govern the use of force in the event hostilities begin in the Gulf. The attached NSD, after setting forth the rationale for and the political and legal authorities, articulates U.S. political and military objectives and guidelines for military operations. The NSD has been reviewed in draft by the Deputies Committee and the key principals.

As you will see, the NSD is not an execute order; nor does it set a date or time for initiating military action. Such a decision on your part would require a separate communication via NCA channels.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the National Security Directive at Tab A.

Attachment:

Tab A National Security Directive

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White House Guidelines

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

By DJL NARA, Date 09/09/2009

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NSD-54

15 JANUARY 1991

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White House Guidelines

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

By DTL NARA, Date 09/09/2009

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No. NSD 54

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

By DJZ NARA, Date 09/09/2009

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9120056
RECEIVED: 17 JAN 91 19

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: WATKINS, J

DOC DATE: 17 JAN 91
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
PERSIAN GULF
ENERGY

KUWAIT
NSD

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: DOE RESPONSE TO NSD-54 RE ENERGY MEASURES

ACTION: NOTED BY SCOWCROFT

DUE DATE: 21 JAN 91

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: NONE

LOGREF: 9120052

FILES: IFD O

NSCP: NSD0054

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

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FOR INFO

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By DJZ NARA, Date 03/09/2009

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RECORD ID: 9120056

DOC ACTION OFFICER

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By DSZ NARA, Date 09/09/2009

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DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY
Washington, DC 20585

20056

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

January 17, 1991

APNSA Has Seen

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM SITTMANN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: NSD 54

Per the President's request, please find attached
Secretary Watkins' response to NSD 54.

Robert F. Mathias
Executive Assistant
to the Secretary

Attachment

When separated from enclosures, handle this document as

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(Insert proper classification)

DJ2 09/09/2009

Document Transmitted Herewith Contains
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02a. Memo	James D. Watkins to POTUS Re: Energy Measures (1 pp.)	01/17/1991	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-54 - January 15, 1991 - Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf

Date Closed: 9/9/2009

OA/ID Number: 90004-026

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2004-0416-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(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]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02b. Attachment	Attachment 1 Re: Energy Measures (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-54 - January 15, 1991 - Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf

Date Closed: 9/9/2009

OA/ID Number: 90004-026

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2004-0416-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

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AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02c. Attachment	Attachment 2 Re: Energy prices (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-54 - January 15, 1991 - Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf

Date Closed: 9/9/2009 **OA/ID Number:** 90004-026

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2004-0416-F

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

AR Case #:

AR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

Appeal Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

Disposition Date:

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MR Disposition Date:

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9120052
RECEIVED: 16 JAN 91 14

TO: AGENCIES

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 15 JAN 91
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
KUWAIT

PERSIAN GULF
NSD

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: NSD-54 RESPONDING TO IRAQI AGGRESSION IN GULF

ACTION: PRES SGD NSD 54

DUE DATE: 19 JAN 91

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

FILES: IFD O

NSCP: NSD0054

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
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White House Guidelines

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

By 072 NARA, Date 09/09/2009

COMMENTS: PER EXECUTIVE SECRETARY; ACCESS TO THIS NSD IS RESTRICTED. ACCESS
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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9120052

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 PRESIDENT
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

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X 91011614 PRES SGD NSD 54

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White House Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By 052 NARA, Date 09/09/2009

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No. NSD 54

COPY #6 (Energy)
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By 352 NARA, Date 07/09/2007

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20052

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1991

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 54

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

LP/LM 2014-004

SLC 4/23/15

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
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THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf (U)

1. Access to Persian Gulf oil and the security of key friendly states in the area are vital to U.S. national security. Consistent with NSD 26 of October 2, 1989, and NSD 45 of August 20, 1990, and as a matter of long-standing policy, the United States remains committed to defending its vital interests in the region, if necessary through the use of military force, against any power with interests inimical to our own. Iraq, by virtue of its unprovoked invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, and its subsequent brutal occupation, is clearly a power with interests inimical to our own. Economic sanctions mandated by UN Security Council Resolution 661 have had a measurable impact upon Iraq's economy but have not accomplished the intended objective of ending Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. There is no persuasive evidence that they will do so in a timely manner. Moreover, prolonging the current situation would be detrimental to the United States in that it would increase the costs of eventual military action, threaten the political cohesion of the coalition of countries arrayed against Iraq, allow for continued brutalization of the Kuwaiti people and destruction of their country, and cause added damage to the U.S. and world economies. This directive sets forth guidelines for the defense of vital U.S. interests in the face of unacceptable Iraqi aggression and its consequences. (§)

2. Pursuant to my responsibilities and authority under the Constitution as President and Commander in Chief, and under the laws and treaties of the United States, and pursuant to H. J. Res. 77 (1991), and in accordance with the rights and obligations of the United States under international law, including UN Security Council Resolutions 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667,

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669, 670, 674, 677, and 678, and consistent with the inherent right of collective self-defense affirmed in Article 51 of the of the United Nations Charter, I hereby authorize military actions designed to bring about Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. These actions are to be conducted against Iraq and Iraqi forces in Kuwait by U.S. air, sea and land conventional military forces, in coordination with the forces of our coalition partners, at a date and time I shall determine and communicate through National Command Authority channels. This authorization is for the following purposes:

- a. to effect the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait;
- b. to restore Kuwait's legitimate government;
- c. to protect the lives of American citizens abroad; and
- d. to promote the security and the stability of the Persian Gulf. ~~(TS)~~

3. To achieve the above purposes, U.S. and coalition forces should seek to:

- a. defend Saudi Arabia and the other GCC states against attack;
- b. preclude Iraqi launch of ballistic missiles against neighboring states and friendly forces;
- c. destroy Iraq's chemical, biological, and nuclear capabilities;
- d. destroy Iraq's command, control, and communications capabilities;
- e. eliminate the Republican Guards as an effective fighting force; and
- f. conduct operations designed to drive Iraq's forces from Kuwait, break the will of Iraqi forces, discourage Iraqi use of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, encourage defection of Iraqi forces, and weaken Iraqi popular support for the current government. ~~(TS)~~

4. While acting to achieve the purposes in paragraph 2 above and carry out the missions in paragraph 3 above, every reasonable effort should be taken to:

- a. minimize U.S. and coalition casualties and

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- b. reduce collateral damage incident to military attacks, taking special precautions to minimize civilian casualties and damage to non-military economic infrastructure, energy-related facilities, and religious sites. (TS)

5. The United States shall seek the maximum participation of its coalition partners in all aspects of operations conducted in either Kuwait or Iraq. (S)

6. The United States will encourage Iraq's neighbors Syria and Turkey to increase their forces along their borders with Iraq so as to draw off Iraqi forces from, and resources devoted to, the Kuwait theatre of operations. (S)

7. The United States will discourage the government of Israel from participating in any military action. In particular, we will seek to discourage any preemptive actions by Israel. Should Israel be threatened with imminent attack or be attacked by Iraq, the United States will respond with force against Iraq and will discourage Israeli participation in hostilities. (TS)

8. The United States will discourage any participation in hostilities by Jordan. Similarly, the United States will discourage any Jordanian facilitation of, or support for, Iraqi military efforts. The United States will also discourage violation of Jordanian territory or airspace. (TS)

9. The United States recognizes the territorial integrity of Iraq and will not support efforts to change current boundaries. (S)

10. Should Iraq resort to using chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons, be found supporting terrorist acts against U.S. or coalition partners anywhere in the world, or destroy Kuwait's oil fields, it shall become an explicit objective of the United States to replace the current leadership of Iraq. I also want to preserve the option of authorizing additional punitive actions against Iraq. (TS)

11. All appropriate U.S. government departments and agencies are to prepare and present to me for decision those measures necessary for stabilizing to the extent possible energy supplies and prices during hostilities. (S)

12. Military operations will come to an end only when I have determined that the objectives set forth in paragraph 2 above have been met. (S)



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1991

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 54

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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
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
DIRECTOR, 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

SUBJECT: Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf (U)

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FOIA/SYS Case #: 2004-0416-F

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Appeal Disposition:

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File Location: NSD-54 - January 15, 1991 - Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf

Date Closed: 9/9/2009

OA/ID Number: 90004-026

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2004-0416-F

Appeal Case #:

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MR Disposition:

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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