

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

0083

DATE RECEIVED: FEBRUARY 28, 1991

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE JOHN MCDONALD

SUBJECT: FORWARDS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN ACTION PLAN
ON SADDAM HUSSEIN 'S WITHDRAWAL FROM KUWAIT

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
DEPARTMENT OF STATE	ORG	91/02/28		
REFERRAL NOTE:				

WS

COMMENTS: FORMER AMBASSADOR

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                      *                      *CORRESPONDENCE:  *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *          OF SIGNER    *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE     *C-COMPLETED        *          CODE = A    *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET *S-SUSPENDED        *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                      *          OUTGOING  *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                      *                      *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE      *                      *                      *
*X-INTERIM REPLY      *                      *                      *
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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9103884

Date April 15, 1991

FOR: Mr. William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: President Bush
From: The Honorable John McDonald, President
Date: February 22, 1991
Subject: Forwards Recommendations for an Action Plan on
Saddam Hussein's Withdrawal from Kuwait.

WH Referral Dated: March 5, 1991
NSCS ID# (if any): 216768

The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
 A draft reply will be forwarded.
 A translation is attached.
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
 Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

[Signature]
Director
Secretariat Staff

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91 APR 15 P 4. 02

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 11, 1991

The Honorable John McDonald
President
Iowa Peace Institute
917 Tenth Avenue
P.O. Box 480
Grinnell, IA 50112

Dear Ambassador McDonald:

Thank you for your letter regarding the Gulf crisis. I have been asked to respond on behalf of the President. I have read your proposed "action plan" with interest and appreciate your suggestions for achieving peace in the Middle East. I have passed your plan on to a State Department official working directly on such matters.

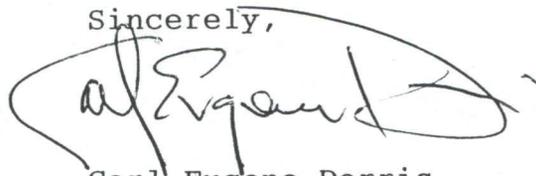
Throughout the crisis, the United States' aims have been clear: the liberation of Kuwait and Iraqi compliance with all United Nations Resolutions relevant to Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. President Bush and Secretary of State Baker have consistently emphasized that the United States and its coalition partners have no argument with the people of Iraq, only with its current government. Moreover, they have repeatedly expressed the United States' commitment to international recognition of Iraq's territorial integrity.

Now that coalition forces have liberated Kuwait, the international community can devote greater attention to establishing a framework for long-term peace and security in the Middle East. President Bush believes that an international commitment to construction of a "new world order" constitutes the best hope for guaranteeing peace and security in the region. In his State of the Union message the President quoted Winston Churchill in describing his own vision of a "'world order'" in which "'the principles of justice and fair play...protect the weak against the strong.'" He believes that a strong and sovereign United States must lead in constructing this "new world order" to replace the Cold War-dominated system that has governed international relations since the end of World War II.

In countering Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, we have successfully confronted the first challenge to the "new world order." We will continue our efforts to fortify this order by promoting peaceful settlement of disputes, observance of international rules, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, political liberty, and market-based economic growth.

We are currently examining measures for establishing comprehensive peace and security arrangements in the Middle East. Clearly, policymakers face a great challenge in working out the details. We appreciate your contribution to our efforts.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Dorris', enclosed within a large, loopy oval scribble.

Carl Eugene Dorris
Deputy Director
Office of Regional Affairs
Bureau of Near Eastern and
South Asian Affairs

9103884

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MARCH 5, 1991

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 216768

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED FEBRUARY 22, 1991

TO: PRESIDENT BUSH

FROM: THE HONORABLE JOHN MCDONALD
PRESIDENT
IOWA PEACE INSTITUTE
917 TENTH AVENUE, BOX 480
GRINNELL IA 50112

SUBJECT: FORWARDS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN ACTION PLAN
ON SADDAM HUSSEIN 'S WITHDRAWAL FROM KUWAIT

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE



DAS

216768

IOWA PEACE INSTITUTE

917 TENTH AVENUE, BOX 480, GRINNELL, IOWA 50112 U.S.A.
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February 22, 1991

9103884

President George Bush
The United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

At some point Saddam Hussein will have to withdraw from Kuwait, so we as a nation, have to begin to focus on our plans for peace.

My recommendations for an action plan are enclosed.

With warm regards,

John McDonald, Ambassador (ret.)
President, Iowa Peace Institute

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John W. McDonald

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Robert T. Anderson

LET'S BEGIN TO PLAN FOR PEACE

February 21, 1991

Where are we in the peace process? Actually our government seems to have made little progress to date, having focused its energies almost entirely on fighting the war.

The State Department and President Bush have said repeatedly that our fundamental war aim, as set forth in UN Security Resolution 660, is to insure that Iraq "immediately and unconditionally" withdraws from Kuwait. Resolution 661 then goes beyond that and calls for the restoration of the "sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity" of Kuwait. It has been clear, since January 16, however, that some, but not all, of the Coalition forces have other war aims, i.e. the destruction of Iraq's nuclear, gas, chemical weapons and missile capability, as well as its air force, navy and ground forces. In addition, as we have seen from official reports of the war, an enormous amount of infrastructure in Iraq, such as bridges, highways, power plants, water systems, etc., has been destroyed.

One could argue that this destruction is justified in order to carry out Security Council Resolutions 674 and 678, which call, respectively, for the restoration of "peace, security and stability in the region" and "to restore international peace and security in the region". It would certainly be difficult to restore "international" peace and security in the region, if Saddam Hussein remained in power after his armed forces withdrew from Kuwait.

However, such mass destruction, plus the mounting number of civilian casualties in Iraq, have changed the tenor of the war and caused ever increasing numbers of Muslims throughout the world to increase their anger towards, and criticism of, the United States.

Unfortunately, the US government allowed an opportunity to explore Saddam Hussein's credibility, to slip through its fingers and pass to the Soviet Union, when it refused to negotiate with Iraq, that country's heavily conditioned offer of February 15, to withdraw from Kuwait.

Yet it is critically important today that the world recognize that the United States' ultimate goal is peace in the Gulf and stability in the region. With these aims in view the United States should take the following actions:

1. Announce, for all Arabs to hear, that we have no plans to occupy Baghdad or to rule Iraq.

2. State that we have no intention of dismembering Iraq or allowing any other nation or collection of nations to violate its international borders and break up that country into smaller pieces.

3. Inform the Iraqi people that we want them to decide their own future, after the war is over. However, if they decide to move towards a democratic state, for example, along the lines proposed by the Joint Action Committee, (a coalition of 16 different exiled Iraqi political groups which is calling for a transitional government to be established after Saddam Hussein's death or ouster and free elections in a year) we, and others, will help, under United Nations auspices, to rebuild their war damaged country.

4. We should take the lead at the United Nations Security Council now, and propose the negotiation of the following four resolutions, which would go into effect at the time Iraq begins its unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait, recognizing the chaos that will exist in Iraq and Kuwait at the end of the conflict and the need to bring stability to the region:

a. The Security Council should establish a UN Peacekeeping Force in Kuwait which would supervise Iraq's withdrawal and insure that the border between the two countries would remain a peaceful one. This military force should be made up primarily of military personnel from Arab League member states. The five permanent members of the Security Council (US, UK, USSR, France and China) would not be represented in this peacekeeping force.

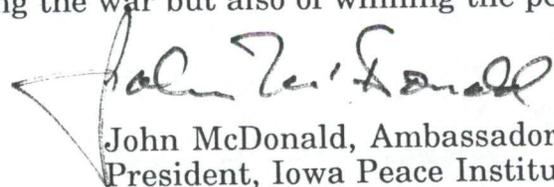
b. The Security Council should establish a temporary, non-military, United Nations Advisory Group in Kuwait City, to assist the returning Kuwait government and help the returning refugees. This advisory group could also supervise a referendum in Kuwait, six months after the withdrawal, to determine the kind of government the citizens of Kuwait would like to establish.

c. The Security Council should establish, as soon as possible, a major, non-military, United Nations Advisory Group in Baghdad, made up primarily of experts from the Specialized Agencies of the UN, who would be responsible for providing emergency help to the civilian population, evaluating the damage to the civilian economy, coordinating foreign assistance from all sources and helping the transitional government rebuild the destroyed civilian infrastructure and the economy.

d. The Security Council should schedule an International Peace Conference, three months after the Iraqi withdrawal is completed, to take place in Geneva, Switzerland. Countries invited to attend, as members, would be the 15 nations of the Security Council, Iraq and Kuwait and the countries on their borders, those member nations providing military or financial assistance to the Allied Coalition, Israel and the PLO. Other members of the United Nations would have Observer status. The Agenda should have the following substantive issues for discussion:

1. A review of the implementation of the Security Council Resolutions mentioned in paragraph 4,
2. The lifting of the UN embargo,
3. The exchange of prisoners of war,
4. Iraq's land and oil claims against Kuwait,
5. Kuwait's claims for war damage against Iraq,
6. Human rights violations against Iraq,
7. The future role of former "guest" workers in Kuwait, Iraq and Saudi Arabia,
8. Future security arrangements in the Gulf including the removal of all foreign troops from Saudi Arabia and the future role of the Gulf Cooperation Council,
9. Conventional arms control measures in the region and the need for a nuclear free zone,
10. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, based on UN Security Council Resolution 242.

If we start today, taking the actions recommended here, we have a better chance of not only winning the war but also of winning the peace!

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John McDonald". The signature is written in a cursive style and is positioned above the printed name and title.

John McDonald, Ambassador (ret.)
President, Iowa Peace Institute