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Final Action

EMBASSY OF LEBANON WASHINGTON

The Honorable William P. Clark Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs The White House Washington, d.C. 20500

Dear Judge Clark,

I have the honor to deliver to you a copy of the enclosed letter from His Excellency Sa'eb Salam, former Prime Minister of Lebanon, to The Honorable George Bush.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Honor the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely,

September 12, 1983

Abdallah Bouhabib Ambassador of Lebanon

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Enclosure: letter AB/mc

NSC# 8306523

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AB- SIS-I Supervisor 9/15/83

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EMBASSY OF LEBANON

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1983

The Honorable George Bush Vice President of the United States Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President,

Encouraged by your press conference of yesterday on Lebanon, which we appreciate, I feel compelled to address the following message to you:

1. Lebanon, with all its troubles, remains the only democratic country in the Arab World.

2. Lebanon is still one of the Arab countries which is considered part of the Free World.

3. If Lebanon and its legal government are given good support by America and the West, the Lebanese authority will survive and prevail.

4. If Lebanon is failed and collapses or disintegrates, not one single moderate Arab regime will stand its ground in all the region, from the Atlantic to the Gulf.

5. Of the many serious consequenses, there will be:

- (a) the loss of American credibility, not only in the region, but all over the Free World;
- (b) this whole strategic region, and beyond, will be wide open to Communism's infiltration and domination.

6. It is appropriate to remind you here of a wise dictum conceived by General Douglas MacArthur. I quote: "The history of failure in war can be summed up in two words: TOO LATE. Too late in comprehending the deadly purpose of a potential enemy; too late in realizing the mortal danger; too late in preparedness; too late in uniting all possible forces to resistance; too late in standing with one's friends."

7. May I add that the history of failure in diplomacy, like in war, can also be summed up in two words: TOO LATE.

However, it is never too late to mention one's courage; never too late : to uphold the struggle for a just cause.

With kind regards,

Sa'eb Salam

SS/mc

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AB- SIS-I Supervisor 9/15/83

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KEYWORDS LEBANON

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 5, 1983

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MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES M. FREY

FROM:

ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SJR 159 Regarding Continued U.S. SUBJECT: Participation in Multinational Force in Lebanon

The NSC staff has reviewed and concurs with subject resolution.

NSC# 8307052

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 5, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

. .

FROM: PAUL B. THOMPSON

SUBJECT: SJR 159 Regarding Continued U.S. Participation in Multinational Force in Lebanon

I have reviewed subject resolution dealing with the Multinational Force in Lebanon and concur. Howard Teicher concurs.

Recommendation

That you sign the memo to James Frey at Tab I.

Approve <u>C</u>

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Frey Tab A SJR 159 EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET Washington, D. C. 20503 10/03/83

ENROLLED BILL REQUEST

In accordance with OMB Circular No. A-19, your written views and recommendation for Presidential action are requested on the following enrolled bill(s) (facsimile(s) attached):

S.J.Res.159

Please consult section 10 of OMB Circular A-19, pages 12-14, for instructions regarding the preparation of enrolled bill letters and the procedures to be followed on enrolled bills.

Within <u>TWO DAYS</u> (including holidays but excluding Sundays) after receipt of this request, your reply (original and one copy) should be delivered <u>VIA</u> <u>SPECIAL MESSENGER</u> to Mrs. Julia Yuille, Room 7201, New Executive Office Building.

Your cooperation in meeting this deadline is needed to provide maximum time for Presidential action on the enrolled bill(s).

> James M. Frey Assistant Director for Legislative Reference

ATTENTION:

Michael O. Wheeler NSC

Rinety-eighth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE FIRST SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the third day of January, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-three

Joint Resolution

Providing statutory authorization under the War Powers Resolution for continued United States participation in the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon in order to obtain withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This joint resolution may be cited as the "Multinational Force in Lebanon Resolution".

FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress finds that—

(1) the removal of all foreign forces from Lebanon is an essential United States foreign policy objective in the Middle East;

(2) in order to restore full control by the Government of Lebanon over its own territory, the United States is currently participating in the multinational peacekeeping force (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "Multinational Force in Lebanon") which was established in accordance with the exchange of letters between the Governments of the United States and Lebanon dated September 25, 1982;

(3) the Multinational Force in Lebanon better enables the Government of Lebanon to establish its unity, independence, and territorial integrity;

(4) progress toward national political reconciliation in Lebanon is necessary; and

(5) United States Armed Forces participating in the Multinational Force in Lebanon are now in hostilities requiring authorization of their continued presence under the War Powers Resolution.

(b) The Congress determines that the requirements of section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution became operative on August 29, 1983. Consistent with section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution, the purpose of this joint resolution is to authorize the continued participation of United States Armed Forces in the Multinational Force in Lebanon.

(c) The Congress intends this joint resolution to constitute the necessary specific statutory authorization under the War Powers Resolution for continued participation by United States Armed Forces in the Multinational Force in Lebanon.

AUTHORIZATION FOR CONTINUED PARTICIPATION OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES IN THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN LEBANON

SEC. 3. The President is authorized, for purposes of section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution, to continue participation by United States Armed Forces in the Multinational Force in Lebanon, subject to the provisions of section 6 of this joint resolution. Such participation shall be limited to performance of the functions, and shall be subject to the limitations, specified in the agreement establishing the Multinational Force in Lebanon as set forth in the exchange of letters between the Governments of the United States and Lebanon dated September 25, 1982, except that this shall not preclude such protective measures as may be necessary to ensure the safety of the Multinational Force in Lebanon.

REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS

SEC. 4. As required by section 4(c) of the War Powers Resolution, the President shall report periodically to the Congress with respect to the situation in Lebanon, but in no event shall he report less often than once every three months. In addition to providing the information required by that section on the status, scope, and duration of hostilities involving United States Armed Forces, such reports shall describe in detail—

(1) the activities being performed by the Multinational Force in Lebanon;

(2) the present composition of the Multinational Force in Lebanon, including a description of the responsibilities and deployment of the armed forces of each participating country;

(3) the results of efforts to reduce and eventually eliminate the Multinational Force in Lebanon;

(4) how continued United States participation in the Multinational Force in Lebanon is advancing United States foreign policy interests in the Middle East; and

(5) what progress has occurred toward national political reconciliation among all Lebanese groups.

STATEMENTS OF POLICY

SEC. 5. (a) The Congress declares that the participation of the armed forces of other countries in the Multinational Force in Lebanon is essential to maintain the international character of the peacekeeping function in Lebanon.

(b) The Congress believes that it should continue to be the policy of the United States to promote continuing discussions with Israel, Syria, and Lebanon with the objective of bringing about the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon and establishing an environment which will permit the Lebanese Armed Forces to carry out their responsibilities in the Beirut area.

(c) It is the sense of the Congress that, not later than one year after the date of enactment of this joint resolution and at least once a year thereafter, the United States should discuss with the other members of the Security Council of the United Nations the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping force to assume the responsibilities of the Multinational Force in Lebanon. An analysis of the implications of the response to such discussions for the continuation of the Multinational Force in Lebanon shall be

S.J.Res. 159-3

included in the reports required under paragraph (3) of section 4 of this resolution.

DURATION OF AUTHORIZATION FOR UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN LEBANON

SEC. 6. The participation of United States Armed Forces in the Multinational Force in Lebanon shall be authorized for purposes of the War Powers Resolution until the end of the eighteen-month period beginning on the date of enactment of this resolution unless the Congress extends such authorization, except that such authorization shall terminate sooner upon the occurrence of any one of the following:

(1) the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, unless the President determines and certifies to the Congress that continued United States Armed Forces participation in the Multinational Force in Lebanon is required after such withdrawal in order to accomplish the purposes specified in the September 25, 1982, exchange of letters providing for the establishment of the Multinational Force in Lebanon; or

(2) the assumption by the United Nations or the Government of Lebanon of the responsibilities of the Multinational Force in Lebanon; or

(3) the implementation of other effective security arrangements in the area; or

(4) the withdrawal of all other countries from participation in the Multinational Force in Lebanon.

INTERPRETATION OF THIS RESOLUTION

SEC. 7. (a) Nothing in this joint resolution shall preclude the President from withdrawing United States Armed Forces participation in the Multinational Force in Lebanon if circumstances warrant, and nothing in this joint resolution shall preclude the Congress by joint resolution from directing such a withdrawal.

(b) Nothing in this joint resolution modifies, limits, or supersedes any provision of the War Powers Resolution or the requirement of section 4(a) of the Lebanon Emergency Assistance Act of 1983, relating to congressional authorization for any substantial expansion in the number or role of United States Armed Forces in Lebanon.

CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITY PROCEDURES FOR AMENDMENTS

SEC. 8. (a) Any joint resolution or bill introduced to amend or repeal this Act shall be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, as the case may be. Such joint resolution or bill shall be considered by such committee within fifteen calendar days and may be reported out, together with its recommendations, unless such House shall otherwise determine pursuant to its rules.

(b) Any joint resolution or bill so reported shall become the pending business of the House in question (in the case of the Senate the time for debate shall be equally divided between the proponents and the opponents) and shall be voted on within three calendar days thereafter, unless such House shall otherwise determine by the yeas and nays.

(c) Such a joint resolution or bill passed by one House shall be referred to the committee of the other House named in subsection (a) and shall be reported out by such committee together with its recommendations within fifteen calendar days and shall thereupon become the pending business of such House and shall be voted upon within three calendar days, unless such House shall otherwise determine by the yeas and nays.

(d) In the case of any disagreement between the two Houses of Congress with respect to a joint resolution or bill passed by both Houses, conferees shall be promptly appointed and the committee of conference shall make and file a report with respect to such joint resolution within six calendar days after the legislation is referred to the committee of conference. Notwithstanding any rule in either House concerning the printing of conference reports in the Record or concerning any delay in the consideration of such reports, such report shall be acted on by both Houses not later than six calendar days after the conference report is filed. In the event the conferees are unable to agree within forty-eight hours, they shall report back to their respective Houses in disagreement.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET Washington, D. C. 20503 10/03/83

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S.J.Res.159

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Your cooperation in meeting this deadline is needed to provide maximum time for Presidential action on the enrolled bill(s).

> James M. Frey Assistant Director for Legislative Reference

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Michael O. Wheeler NSC

Rinety-eighth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE FIRST SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the third day of January, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-three

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Providing statutory authorization under the War Powers Resolution for continued United States participation in the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon in order to obtain withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This joint resolution may be cited as the "Multinational Force in Lebanon Resolution".

FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress finds that—

(1) the removal of all foreign forces from Lebanon is an essential United States foreign policy objective in the Middle East;

(2) in order to restore full control by the Government of Lebanon over its own territory, the United States is currently participating in the multinational peacekeeping force (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "Multinational Force in Lebanon") which was established in accordance with the exchange of letters between the Governments of the United States and Lebanon dated September 25, 1982;

(3) the Multinational Force in Lebanon better enables the Government of Lebanon to establish its unity, independence, and territorial integrity;

(4) progress toward national political reconciliation in Lebanon is necessary; and

(5) United States Armed Forces participating in the Multinational Force in Lebanon are now in hostilities requiring authorization of their continued presence under the War Powers Resolution.

(b) The Congress determines that the requirements of section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution became operative on August 29, 1983. Consistent with section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution, the purpose of this joint resolution is to authorize the continued participation of United States Armed Forces in the Multinational Force in Lebanon.

(c) The Congress intends this joint resolution to constitute the necessary specific statutory authorization under the War Powers Resolution for continued participation by United States Armed Forces in the Multinational Force in Lebanon.

S.J.Res. 159–2

AUTHORIZATION FOR CONTINUED PARTICIPATION OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES IN THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN LEBANON

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(c) It is the sense of the Congress that, not later than one year after the date of enactment of this joint resolution and at least once a year thereafter, the United States should discuss with the other members of the Security Council of the United Nations the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping force to assume the responsibilities of the Multinational Force in Lebanon. An analysis of the implications of the response to such discussions for the continuation of the Multinational Force in Lebanon shall be

S.J.Res.159-3

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(3) the implementation of other effective security arrangements in the area; or

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SEC. 7. (a) Nothing in this joint resolution shall preclude the President from withdrawing United States Armed Forces participation in the Multinational Force in Lebanon if circumstances warrant, and nothing in this joint resolution shall preclude the Congress by joint resolution from directing such a withdrawal.

(b) Nothing in this joint resolution modifies, limits, or supersedes any provision of the War Powers Resolution or the requirement of section 4(a) of the Lebanon Emergency Assistance Act of 1983, relating to congressional authorization for any substantial expansion in the number or role of United States Armed Forces in Lebanon.

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Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 11, 1983

Dear Congressman Wortley:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 13, 1983, transmitting the suggestions of Dr. Anis Obeid regarding a plan for peace and reconstruction in the nation of Lebanon.

Dr. Obeid's ideas are fully consistent with the measures we have taken to help bring about a cease-fire and to begin the process of national reconciliation. We are confident that the bipartisan support demonstrated by the Congress in support of the United States policy in Lebanon has contributed significantly to help bring an end to the bloodshed and restore peace and prosperity to Lebanon.

With my warm regards,

Sincerely yours, Riu (use

William P. Clark

The Honorable George C.X Wortley United States House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

NSC# 8306487

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 30, 1983

SIGNED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: HOWARD R. TEICHER MET

SUBJECT: Response to Congressman George C. Wortley

At Tab I, for your signature, is a draft response to Congressman Wortley regarding suggestions for the American policy on Lebanon.

Recommendation

That you sign the letter at Tab I to Congressman Wortley.

Approve

Disapprove _____

Chris Lehman concurs.

Attachment

Tab IResponse letter from Judge Clark to Congressman WortleyTab ALetter from Congressman Wortley to Judge Clark



COMMITTEES: BANKING, FINANCE AND URBAN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEES: FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS SUPERVISION, REGULATION AND INSURANCE ECONOMIC STABILIZATION HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OVERSIGHT AND RENEGOTIATION SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING



428 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-3701

> DISTRICT OFFICE: 1269 FEDERAL BUILDING SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13260 (315) 423-5657

September 13, 1983

The Honorable William Clark National Security Advisor White House Washington, DC 20500

15

Dear Mr. Clark:

With a thorough understanding of the paper flow that crosses your desk each day, I respectfully request that you carefully examine the attached document.

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

A 7 Washington, D.C. 20515

It is written by a Lebanese-American constituent of mine whose family still resides in the Beirut area. He is in constant communication with some of the principals over there and has some important personal insights he would like to share with the Administration.

I would very much appreciate it if you or someone from your staff could get back to me with your comments on the enclosed paper.

Cord iall e C. Wortley Geol Member of Congress

GCW:1cp

Enclosure

| Author: | Anis (| Obeid, | M.D. |
|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| ۰. | Syrac | use, Ne | w York |

Approved: American-Arab Council of Central New York September 10, 1983

Recognizing the weight of the tragedy in Lebanon and the urgency for its resolution, as well as the possible escalation of the crisis into regional and global dimensions, the American Arab Council of Central New York calls upon all the parties concerned to end the senseless destruction of life and property. We call on the Lebanese Government and the fighting militias to implement the following actions:

1. Cessation of hostilities immediately in the Shouf and Aley areas, and in Beirut and elsewhere in Lebanon;

2. Disengagement of forces with removal of the Phalange militias and Lebanese Army and all other so called Lebanese Forces from the Shouf and Aley areas and from neighborhoods in Beirut where their presence has led to provocation and violence and has hampered efforts at reconciliation;

3. Clearly delineated and sincere commitment from the Lebanese Government to achieve a national reconciliation and to complete constitutional reforms that would be fair to all Lebanese people and would be more representative of their aspirations and needs;

4. Reconstruction of the country, government and army based on national consensus, political reforms and national reconciliation of all parties.

For the United States Government, the choices are all difficult but we should measure up to the responsibility we clearly chose to undertake. We urge the following actions to be taken immediately:

1. We do not recommend escalation of the U.S. role or an increase in the number of American forces in Lebanon. We should never be drawn into the civil war in Lebanon since it is primarily an internal affair with regional overtones. Our declared support for the Lebanese Government as it is presently composed has not encouraged reconciliation but has encouraged the Lebanese Government to promote Phalangist domination of the Army and the Government. We have unwittingly strengthened the Phalangist militias and this has led directly to the reactivation of the civil war.

2. We recommend that the U.S. threaten to remove all Marines unless President Gemayel and his Government move to a genuine national concensus (which is what he promised when he was installed as President) and forgo the policy of domination and bigotry by the Phalange.

PLAN FOR PEACE AND RECONSTRUCTION. IN THE NATION OF LEBANON

| Author | : | Anis | Obei | d, M | .D. |
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| 0 | • | Syrad | cuse, | New | York |

Approved: American-Arab Council of Central New York September 10, 1983

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1. Cessation of hostilities immediately in the Shouf and Aley areas, and in Beirut and elsewhere in Lebanon;

2. Disengagement of forces with removal of the Phalange militias and Lebanese Army and all other so called Lebanese Forces from the Shouf and Aley areas and from neighborhoods in Beirut where their presence has led to provocation and violence and has hampered efforts at reconciliation;

3. Clearly delineated and sincere commitment from the Lebanese Government to achieve a national reconciliation and to complete constitutional reforms that would be fair to all Lebanese people and would be more representative of their aspirations and needs;

4. Reconstruction of the country, government and army based on national consensus, political reforms and national reconciliation of all parties.

For the United States Government, the choices are all difficult but we should measure up to the responsibility we clearly chose to undertake. We urge the following actions to be taken immediately:

1. We do not recommend escalation of the U.S. role or an increase in the number of American forces in Lebanon. We should never be drawn into the civil war in Lebanon since it is primarily an internal affair with regional overtones. Our declared support for the Lebanese Government as it is presently composed has not encouraged reconciliation but has encouraged the Lebanese Government to promote Phalangist domination of the Army and the Government. We have unwittingly strengthened the Phalangist militias and this has led directly to the reactivation of the civil war.

2. We recommend that the U.S. threaten to remove all Marines unless President Gemayel and his Government move to a genuine national concensus (which is what he promised when he was installed as President) and forgo the policy of domination and bigotry by the Phalange.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

183178

November 1, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLIE PONTICELLI

FROM:

For your records, this letter has been responded to by phone. I called Kirk O'Donnell on the Speaker's staff yesterday and informed him that the President has read the report subsequent to the Speaker's suggestion. Kirk and I agreed nothing further needs to be done on this letter. Thanks.

KEN DUBERSTEINE D.

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The Speaker's Rooms H.S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

27 October 1983

The President The White House Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Following up on our recent phone conversation, I would like to give you the exact title of the document I was referring to at that time.

The Report is, "Prospects for Lebanon", Special National Intelligence Estimate, October 11, 1983. I believe that this is an extremely important analysis. It is succinct and convincing. I strongly urge that you read this report particularly since it is being read closely in the House Intelligence Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

and and

Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. The Speaker

TPO/LKO'D:pj

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