

*Bill Clark*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

September 14, 1983

Dear Bill:

After receiving the attached cable (Tab A) from Bud McFarlane early Sunday morning, I asked Bill Clark to bring together my national security advisors on Sunday to discuss Bud's recommendations which included expanding the mission of the USMNF in Lebanon to meet the Syrian threat. For most of Sunday, the following people met in the Situation Room and arrived at the recommended modification in our Decision Directive (Tab B). The participants were:

James Baker, William Casey, William Clark, Philip Dur, Larry Eagleburger, Rear Admiral Jonathan Howe, Jean Kirkpatrick, Vice Admiral Arthur Moreau, Richard Murphy, Rear Admiral John Poindexter, Robert Pelitreau, George Shultz, Howard Teicher, Paul Thayer, Admiral James Watkins and Caspar Weinberger.

On Monday this SECRET/SENSITIVE information was revealed by the media reporting at Tab C, resulting in Bud's diplomatic efforts being frustrated if not blocked and his personal security placed in jeopardy, resulting in discussion of his possible resignation.

Bill, as much as I regret the necessity of this, I ask you to interview the above named people to determine if anyone of them spoke with any of the authors at Tab C or to any other unauthorized person concerning the subject matter reported, particularly relating to Bud McFarlane. I ask that you use all legitimate means in your interviews,

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

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including use of the polygraph. As I have said before, if you determine in your personal judgment that reasonable cause exists for believing anyone in my Administration has breached his duty of confidentiality or anyone fails or refuses to cooperate with you in the interview, I will expect that person to resign.

Sincerely,

*Ron*

Attachments

The Honorable  
William French Smith  
Attorney General  
Department of Justice  
10th & Constitution Ave. NW  
Washington, D.C. 20530

SECRET/SENSITIVE

SECRET

# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03  
SIT532

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AMEMBASSY PARIS NIACT IMMEDIATE 0248  
AMEMBASSY ROME NIACT IMMEDIATE 221

INFO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE 1296

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 02 BEIRUT 10051

NODIS

SECSTATE PASS TO SECDEF AND CJCS

FROM MCFARLANE/FAIRBANKS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, US, LE

SUBJECT: MCFARLANE/FAIRBANKS MISSION: STRATEGIC ESCALATION  
OF THE BATTLE

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE.

3. ADDRESSEES ARE AWARE OF INTENSE EFFORTS BEING MADE TO ACHIEVE  
CEASEFIRE AND SUBSEQUENT NATIONAL DIALOGUE TOWARD POLITICAL  
SOLUTION IN LEBANON. OTHER REPORTING HAS DISCUSSED THE EXTENT

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03 BEIRUT 0051

DTG: 111038Z SEP 83 PSN: 067931

TO WHICH THESE EFFORTS INVOLVE GOOD FAITH EFFORT OR SIMPLY A DELAYING TACTIC BY SYRIA WHILE IT IMPROVES ITS POSITION THROUGH SURROGATES ON THE GROUND. EVENTS ON THE BATTLEFIELD DURING NIGHT OF SEPTEMBER 10 GIVE FIRM EVIDENCE OF THE LATTER AND MORE IMPORTANTLY HAVE CONSTITUTED SERIOUS THREAT OF DECISIVE MILITARY DEFEAT OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON WHICH COULD INVOLVE

THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT WITHIN 24 HOURS. LET US BE CLEAR: LAST NIGHT'S BATTLE WAS WAGED (AT SUQ-AL-GHARB) WITHIN FIVE KILOMETERS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE (AND OUR RESIDENCE IN YARZE). FOR THOSE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THIS WOULD CORRESPOND TO THE ENEMY BEING ON THE ATTACK ON CAPITOL HILL. A SECOND ATTACK AGAINST THE SAME LAF UNIT IS EXPECTED THIS EVENING. LOSSES SUFFERED LAST EVENING IN PERSONNEL, AMMUNITION (WE BELIEVE THEY ARE DOWN TO A DAY AND A HALF OF REMAINING 155MM AMMUNITION) AND MORALE RAISE SERIOUS POSSIBILITY THAT EMENY BRIGADE, WHICH ENJOYS GREATER STRENGTH, RESUPPLY CAPABILITY, AND UNLIMITED FIRE SUPPORT COULD BREAK THROUGH AND PENETRATE THE BEIRUT PERIMETER. IN SHORT, TONIGHT WE COULD BE BEHIND ENEMY LINES.

4. FACED WITH THIS THREAT WHICH PROBABLY CANNOT BE CONTAINED BY THE LEBANESE ARMY FOR MUCH LONGER WE MUST DECIDE WHETHER THE US WILL, BY WHITHOLDING DIRECT SUPPORT, ALLOW THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE NEW ELEMENT WHICH SHOULD BE SERIOUSLY ADDRESSED IN OUR CALCULUS IS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME THE THREAT APPEARS TO BE UNAMBIGUOUSLY FOREIGN. SPECIFICALLY, THE ATTACK LAST EVENING IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED BY A PLA BRIGADE. IT IS COMPRISED OF PALESTINIAN SOLDIERS COMMANDED BY SYRIAN OFFICERS AND DIRECTLY CONTROLLED BY THE SARG. IN SHORT IF TRUE THIS REPRESENTS FOREIGN AGGRESSION AGAINST LEBANON.

5. OUR RULES OF ENGAGEMENT AS AMPLIFIED BY NATIONAL SECURITY DECISION DIRECTIVE APPROVED SEPTEMBER 10 ALLOW THE USE OF US

SECRET

# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DTG: 111038Z SEP 83 PSN: 067935

~~MILITARY FORCE ONLY IN SELF DEFENSE~~ IN CONSIDERING THE  
 THREAT NOW POSED TO AMERICANS (THE MNF, OTHER US MILITARY  
 PERSONNEL IN BEIRUT AND THE US DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE), ~~WE MUST~~  
~~RECOGNIZE THAT TO WAIT UNTIL AN ATTACK IS AT OUR~~  
~~DOORSTEP BEFORE RESPONDING WOULD BE TOO LATE.~~ THIS REQUIRES  
 A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF JUDGMENT ON THE SCENE TO BE ABLE TO DEAL  
 IN A TIMELY FASHION WITH A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER. IN MY  
 JUDGMENT THAT DANGER TO AMERICANS WOULD EXIST IF SYRIAN-  
 SUPPORTED FORCES

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# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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AMEMBASSY PARIS NIACT IMMEDIATE 0249  
AMEMBASSY ROME NIACT IMMEDIATE 0222

INFO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE 1297

SECRET SECTION 02 OF 02 BEIRUT 10051

NODIS

FROM MCFARLANE/FAIRBANKS

CAPTURE SUQ-AL-GHARB. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS WITHIN OUR CURRENT RULES OF ENGAGEMENT, IN MY JUDGMENT, TO TAKE ACTION TO PREVENT SUCH A LOSS FROM OCCURRING. TO STATE CLEARLY THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WHAT I AM SAYING, I AM RECOMMENDING THAT US FORCES SUPPORT THE LAF IN ITS DEFENSE OF SUQ-AL-GHARB WITH FIRE SUPPORT TO INCLUDE TAC AIR. OTHER MNF FORCES WOULD BE MOST WELCOME IF THE US DECISION IS TAKEN, BUT NOT AT THE COST OF DELAY PAST TONIGHT.

5. IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND, AS WE HAVE STRESSED IN RECENT WEEKS, THAT THIS IS NOT A PURELY CIVIL CONFLICT. THIS REALITY WAS UNDERSCORED IN LAST NIGHT'S ACTION BY THE FACT THAT THERE WERE APPARENTLY NO LEBANESE INVOLVED IN THE ATTACKING GROUND FORCES. THE FORCE IS REPORTED TO BE COMPRISED OF A PLA BRIGADE AND IRANIAN ELEMENTS. THE BATTLE WAS SAVAGE AND INCLUDED AXE FIGHTING AND

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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BRUTAL HAND-TO-HAND COMBAT. I DO NOT SAY THIS TO BE  
 MELODRAMATIC BUT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE GOL MAY BE  
 THREATENED WITH IMPENDING TAKEOVER BY SURROGATE FOREIGN  
 FORCES. I AM VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE DIFFICULTY OF TAKING SUCH  
 A DECISION IN A CLIMATE OF PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL IGNORANCE  
 SUCH AS EXISTS IN THE US TODAY. THE FACT IS, HOWEVER, THAT WE  
MAY WELL BE AT A TURNING POINT WHICH WILL LEAD IN A MATTER OF  
DAYS TO A SYRIAN TAKEOVER OF THIS COUNTRY NORTH OF THE AWALI.  
IT IS REQUESTED THAT THIS SITUATION BE CONSIDERED BY THE NSC  
AND GUIDANCE PROVIDED WITHIN THE NEXT FOUR HOURS SO AS TO  
 FACILITATE THE NECESSARY PLANNING AND COORDINATION IF NEW RULES  
 OF ENGAGEMENT ARE APPROVED. NEEDLESS TO SAY, IF WE DO NOT  
 ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE AND THE ATTACK TAKES PLACE, WE MUST BE READY  
 TO CARRY OUT AN IMMEDIATE EVACUATION. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT  
 TONIGHT'S ATTACK WILL BE CONTAINED, THAT SYRIA WILL DISCONTINUE  
 ITS SUPPORT AND THAT A CEASEFIRE CAN BE ESTABLISHED. THAT SEEMS  
 UNLIKELY TO ME. EVEN IF WE GET BY TONIGHT, UNLESS WE  
SEE A CHANGE IN SYRIAN POLICY, THE SURVIVAL OF THIS GOVERN-  
MENT IS MEASURED IN DAYS. I SEND THIS CABLE WITH THE  
 EMBARRASSMENT BORNE OF DEALING WITH PEOPLE WHO EXAGGERATE.  
 THE INTELLIGENCE CONCERNING LAST NIGHT'S BATTLE MAY BE INFLATED  
 AND THUS NOTHING MAY HAPPEN TONIGHT. STILL IT IS OUR COLLECTIVE  
 JUDGMENT (MCFARLANE/FAIRBANKS/DILLON/STINER) THAT THE BALANCE  
 OF FORCES (TAKING INTO ACCOUNT SYRIAN SURROGATES AND SYRIAN  
 SUPPLIES) IS LOPSIDELY AGAINST THE GOL AND THAT ABSENT A POLITICAL  
SETTLEMENT, THE GOL CANNOT PREVAIL ALONE. THE USE OF U.S. TAC AIR  
 AND FIRE SUPPORT WOULD NOT "WIN THE WAR", BUT COULD PROVIDE  
 THE MUSCLE NEEDED TO GET THE SYRIANS TO BARGAIN SERIOUSLY. BECAUSE  
 THE FORCES EMPLOYED ARE STILL SURROGATES AND NOT DIRECT SARG  
 ARMY, THEY HAVE RETAINED A MEASURE OF DENIABILITY AND HENCE CAN  
 STILL AGREE POLITICALLY WITHOUT A TOTAL LOSS OF FACE. AS  
 YOU KNOW, I AM NOT GIVEN TO HAND WRINGING AND I AM FULLY  
 CONCIOUS THAT THE COMPETING DEMANDS IN  
 CENTRAL AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE MAY HAVE LED US TO A DECISION TO  
 CUT OUR LOSSES. IF SO, I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW THAT, SO AS TO DEAL  
 IN GOOD FAITH WITH THE GOL AND PLAN FOR THE PROTECTION OF

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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91075 Add-On

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1983

Addendum to NSDD 103 On Lebanon of September 10, 1983

SECRET

It has been determined that occupation of the dominant terrain in the vicinity of SUQ-AL-GHARB by hostile forces will endanger Marine positions. Therefore, successful LAF defense of the area of SUQ-AL-GHARB is vital to the safety of US personnel (USMNF, other US military personnel in Beirut, and the US diplomatic presence). As a consequence, when the US ground commander determines that SUQ-AL-GHARB is in danger of falling as a result of attack involving non-Lebanese forces and if requested by the host government, appropriate US military assistance in defense of SUQ-AL-GHARB is authorized. Assistance for this specific objective may include naval gun fire support and, if deemed necessary, tactical air strikes, but shall exclude ground forces. (S)

I further direct that the Secretary of State immediately inform and consult with other MNF contributor governments and appropriate Congressional leadership on this directive. (S)

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Declassify on: OADR

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White House News Summary

Tuesday, September 13, 1983 — B-2

NETWORK NEWS SUMMARY FOR MONDAY-EVENING, September 12, 1983 (continued)

MIDEAST—CBS's Bob Simon reports from Beirut: Ancient Lebanese blood-feuds are (cont.) developing into one more contest between the superpowers. The questions which were asked in Vietnam, which were being asked in Salvador, are coming up again. Can the U.S. train, equip and motivate enough Lebanese soldiers fast enough? And if not, what then? U.S. officers say a pullout could change the map of the Mideast.

Rather: Ambassador McFarlane has recommended that the Marines be allowed to use air strikes to defend their positions. Larry Speakes said no decision has yet been made on that recommendation. (CBS-2)

ABC's Peter Jennings: Three more U.S. warships have arrived off the coast. They are carrying 2,000 more Marines. Marine positions have been shelled again. Three were slightly wounded.

ABC's Hal Walker: McFarlane met with Gemayel amid speculation that negotiations under the auspices of American and Saudi Arabian mediators may soon produce a cease-fire. The draft of a peace proposal acceptable to Syria is said to have been signed by Jumblatt and is being considered by the Lebanese government. A key issue still to be resolved is the arrangement for removing the army and the Christian militia from the central mountains. (ABC-4)

NBC's Chris Wallace: Top Administration officials have asked the President to seriously consider ordering U.S. air strikes on Syrian positions in Lebanon as a way to stop what they charge is Syrian aggression in the area. Administration officials make these points: The air strike idea is still an option and any military action would be coordinated through the multinational force. But advocates say an air strike on Syrian positions would go to the source, stun the Syrians and get them to stop causing trouble. One top official said the point is not to wage war, the point is to strengthen our military position in order to strengthen our diplomacy. These officials say the Syrians are the main cause of the current fighting in Lebanon. What alarms them most, they say, is that Syrian forces have begun moving into areas from which the Israelis have just withdrawn. One official said the Syrians clearly seem headed for Beirut. If the Marines continue to take casualties, officials predict a major battle within the Administration, one side arguing the U.S. cannot become involved in a civil war, the other side arguing the U.S. must stand up to the Syrians and their Soviet backers.

NBC's Brokaw and Wallace:

Brokaw: How are they figuring the Soviet angle?

Wallace: It is a big concern here. They understand that you have a possibility of the two superpowers eyeball-to-eyeball. On the other hand, the advocates of more military force say it's worth the risk, that if the U.S. is to have any credibility in the world it must be willing to use force against its enemies.

—more—

White House News Summary

Tuesday, September 13, 1983 — B-3

NETWORK NEWS SUMMARY FOR MONDAY EVENING, September 12, 1983 (continued)

MIDEAST—Brokaw: Within the Administration, who's for this idea of going after (cont.) the Syrians and who's against it?

Wallace: There are some interesting coalitions, unusual coalitions. Our sources say McFarlane, the NSC staff and the State Department, are all calling for more military force. On the other hand, Casey, some defense officials like Gen. Vessey and the political types at the White House are all worried about deeper U.S. involvement.

(NBC-Lead)

CONGRESS—CBS's Rather: What to do about the downing of the Korean jetliner was just one of the orders of business confronting Congress as they came back from summer recess.

CBS's Phil Jones: This is a somber Congress that returned to work facing a different world than it left five weeks ago. (Sen. Baker: "There's a sobering realization that we've got a dangerous situation on our hands.") It was clear that the Russians had managed to do what Ronald Reagan had been unable to do, rally sincere and unanimous bipartisan support for the President on a foreign policy issue. A joint leadership resolution was introduced in the Senate for "one of the most infamous and reprehensible acts in aviation history." It demanded a Soviet apology and compensation to families of victims. And there was agreement that this had enhanced passage of funding for controversial defense programs such as the MX, that it had probably killed for now efforts by the nuclear freeze movement to get the Senate to pass a freeze. And it had even damaged efforts in Congress to limit the President's funds for covert activities in Central America. But the President was in trouble with his Mideast policy. (Speaker O'Neill: "...it seems to me the War Powers Act should be in effect.") But James Baker came to argue with O'Neill against invoking the War Powers resolution. On the Senate floor, Mathias offered a way out for Congress and the President, a resolution triggering the War Powers resolution but authorizing Americans to remain in Lebanon for six months instead of 60-90 days. - So the mood here is not to do anything that will give the idea the Congress and the President are divided.

(CBS-4)

ABC's Brit Hume: Congress returned to a political atmosphere much changed by the Soviet downing of Flight 7 and by American bloodshed in Lebanon. (Speaker O'Neill: "This is not the time for us to run. If we were to run out of Lebanon at this time, I mean, we lose all credence and respect of the rest of the world.") (Sen. Baker: "There's a sobering realization that we've got a dangerous situation on our hands from a foreign policy standpoint.") In the House, 19 members rose to denounce the Soviets. And there was praise for the President from both conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats. But James Baker was here to scout a problem that still exists, despite the improved outlook for the Reagan defense policies. Many still want the War Powers Act imposed. Senior Administration sources tell ABC that while the President will not himself invoke the act, he would not veto a congressional decision to do so.

(ABC-3)

# Reagan Authorizes Marines to Call In Beirut Air Strikes

By Lou Cannon  
and George C. Wilson  
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Reagan has authorized marines in Beirut to call in air strikes against forces shelling their positions, serving notice on Syria that the United States is ready to escalate its firepower in Lebanon, White House officials said last night.

Although the authorization may increase pressure in Congress to invoke the War Powers Resolution, White House officials told Democratic House leaders yesterday that Reagan remains opposed to invoking a section of the act that could require withdrawal of U.S. forces from Lebanon in 60 to 90 days.

"We don't want to have our hands tied that way," a senior administration official said.

The decision allowing the marines to call for air strikes was made by top administration executives and representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in a series of meetings over the weekend, sources said. The strongest argument for additional military action, they said, came in communications from Robert C. McFarlane, Reagan's Middle East special envoy.

His emphasis, officials said, was not only that the marines must be given more protection by having authority to call in their AV8 Harrier fighter-bombers and Navy A6 bombers from the carrier USS Eisenhower off Beirut, but also that the U.S. government must demonstrate to Arab nations that it is a reliable ally.

Among those involved in the weekend meetings were national security affairs adviser William P. Clark, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar

W. Weinberger and Army Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs, officials said.

The president approved their recommendations, an official said, and agreed that marines in Beirut could ask for help from Marine and Navy fighter-bombers without always going up the chain of command to Washington.

After the meeting on the War Powers Resolution, White House officials said they were receptive to alternative congressional action that would put an 18-month limit on the mission of the marines in Lebanon and restrict their role in the combat there.

The White House meeting was attended by chief of staff James A. Baker III, House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) and other Democratic congressmen.

At the State Department, spokesman Alan Romberg said there is "increasing evidence" that Syrian-backed units of the Palestine Liberation Organization are taking part in the heavy fighting around Beirut.

Senior department officials said privately that there is no longer any doubt that PLO forces are fighting alongside Lebanese factions working against President Amin Gemayel and that Syria has been providing arms and logistical assistance.

White House officials said that congressional leaders had been supportive privately of administration actions in Lebanon, but also said they believed that Reagan, under a provision of the 1973 War Powers Resolution, is required to inform Congress that U.S. troops are involved in a situation "where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances."

Once the president took such an action, he would be obliged to withdraw U.S. forces within 90 days unless Congress during that period approved keeping the marines on station. Putting such a clock on the mission "would send the wrong signal—to our

troops, to our allies and to the Syrians," said one administration official.

Another official said this also would be likely to touch off a domestic political debate that would complicate U.S. diplomatic efforts in the region.

U.S. officials say invocation of the 90-day provision would be "a wrong signal" in that it would encourage the Syrians to hang back from diplomatic efforts to end the fighting in Lebanon. Some officials said that, on the contrary, the Syrians would be likely to increase their support of Gemayel's opponents in the hope of drawing U.S. marines into combat and increasing U.S. domestic pressure for withdrawal.

These officials said that a presidential signal of withdrawal also could be harmful to the morale of the marines and might encourage the French, who also have troops in Lebanon that have taken casualties, to reconsider their role.

According to administration officials, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.) and O'Neill said they believed the "imminent hostilities" section of the War Powers Res-

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MARINES - AIR STRIKES . . .

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olution should have been invoked Aug. 29, the day two marines were killed in Lebanon.

White House strategy is to seek a compromise that would demonstrate congressional support for the U.S. peace-keeping effort in Lebanon, without yielding on the administration's basic legal position that the disputed section of the War Powers Resolution is inapplicable.

Officials said the White House is willing to accept a congressional initiative, also provided for in the War Powers Resolution, that would restrict the mission and role of marines in Lebanon but could not force their withdrawal within the next few months.

"We're seeking bipartisan support, not a Tonkin Gulf resolution," said one White House official, in reference to the unlimited declaration of congressional support won by President Johnson. That resolution became the basis for broadscale U.S. participation in the Vietnam war.

This official said that a resolution expressing support for administration objectives but imposing an 18-month limit would

be "beneficial" from the point of view of persuading the Syrians that Reagan's deployment of marines has U.S. domestic backing.

What administration officials are most anxious to prevent, a concern they say is shared by some congressional leaders, is a free-for-all debate in Congress that would be interpreted as a sign of U.S. weakness.

The consultations yesterday were conducted by a White House team of Baker, presidential assistant Richard G. Darman and chief of legislative liaison Kenneth Duberstein with O'Neill, Zablocki and House Majority Leader James C. Wright Jr. (D-Tex.). They are scheduled to continue today with other members of Congress.

The negotiations came amid what U.S. analysts say they believe is a stepped-up Syrian effort to bring down the Gemayel government.

State Department officials said that, while the evidence is not conclusive, there are some grounds for believing that the groups attacking the Lebanese Army include some Syrian troops, wearing the uniforms of the irregular militias, and some Iranian revolutionary guards known to be in Lebanon to encourage pro-Khomeini sentiment among the Shiite Moslem population.

These officials said the Palestinian fighters involved appear to be drawn both from Syrian-sponsored Palestinian guerrilla groups that have kept separate from the PLO and from PLO units that recently rebelled against the leadership of Chairman Yasser Arafat and have come under Syrian control.

The involvement of Palestinians has been confirmed through interception of messages and identification of fighters killed in weekend clashes with the Lebanese Army, these officials said.

Staff writer John M. Goshko contributed to this report.

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*Cy to WILGIA*

*1 of 2*

FBI 059

CLASS: U.S. PREPARING TO UNLEASH NEW WAR IN LEBANON

LD131439 MOSCOW TASS IN ENGLISH 1418 GMT 13 SEP 83

(\*THE USA PREPARING A STRIKE AGAINST LEBANON\* -- TASS HEADLINE)

(TEXT) MOSCOW SEPTEMBER 13 TASS -- TASS NEWS ANALYST LEONID PONOMAREV WRITES:

(ROBERT MCFARLANE, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, NOW CARRYING OUT A SO-CALLED "PEACE-MAKING MISSION" FOR A SETTLEMENT IN LEBANON, RECOMMENDED THE WHITE HOUSE TO CONSIDER A POSSIBILITY FOR AMERICAN PLANES TO MAKE STRIKES AT SYRIAN POSITIONS IN THE AL-BIQAR VALLEY AS WELL AS TO PROVIDE AN AIR SUPPORT FOR THE AMERICAN MARINES BROADENING THEIR COMBAT OPERATIONS IN LEBANON. THE WHITE HOUSE QUICKLY RESPONDED TO THIS INITIATIVE AND, AS THE WASHINGTON POST REPORTED TODAY, PRESIDENT REAGAN ORDERED THE COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN TROOP CONTINGENT IN LEBANON TO CALL IN BOMBERS AND FIGHTER BOMBERS FROM THE AIRCRAFT CARRIER "EISENHOWER" FOR MAKING STRIKES IN COOPERATION WITH THE MARINES.

FROM NOW ON THESE INTERVENTIONIST ACTIONS OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN LEBANON WILL BE TERMED "AGGRESSIVE SELF-DEFENCE TACTICS". BUT THE WORD "DEFENCE" HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH WHAT THE INTERVENTIONIST AMERICAN CONTINGENT IS DOING ON LEBANESE SOIL: AT FIRST AMERICAN TROOPS ENTERED THE TERRITORY OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY UNDER A FALSE PRETEXT OF PEACE-MAKING AND NOW THEY ARE EXPANDING THEIR INTERVENTION BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WHOLE WORLD. THE PENTAGON HAS ANNOUNCED SPECIFICALLY THAT OVER 2,000 AMERICAN MARINES REACHED YESTERDAY THE LEBANESE SHORES. FOR THE TIME BEING THEY ARE STAYING ABOARD LANDING CRAFT BUT MAY BEGIN DISEMBARKING AT ANY MOMENT. FOURTEEN AMERICAN SHIPS ARE NOW CONCENTRATED OFF THE LEBANESE SHORES. ONE MORE TASK FORCE WITH THE BATTLESHIP "NEW JERSEY" AT THE HEAD HAS BEEN SENT OUT TO JOIN THEM. ALL THIS INDICATES THAT THE LEADERS OF THE USA, INSTEAD OF MAKING EFFORTS TO FIND, TOGETHER WITH OTHER STATES CONCERNED, A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE PROBLEM, ARE PREPARING TO TAKE ARMED ACTIONS TO IMPOSE ON THE REGION BY FORCE A

THE LONDON NEWSPAPER "DAILY TELEGRAPH" REPORTS IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS ADVISED ALL BRITISH SUBJECTS STAYING IN LEBANON TO LEAVE THAT COUNTRY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THESE ACTIONS BY LONDON CAN ONLY MEAN THAT WASHINGTON IS PREPARING A NEW DANGEROUS MILITARY PROVOCATION WHICH MAY HAVE UNFORESEEABLE CONSEQUENCES. SIMULTANEOUSLY IT IS REPORTED IN THE WESTERN PRESS THAT ISRAEL IS READY FOR AND WILL INEVITABLY COMMIT A NEW ARMED INVASION OF LEBANON IN A SITUATION SUITABLE TO IT. IT IS SUCH A SITUATION, SUITABLE FOR JOINT AMERICAN-ISRAELI ACTIONS, THAT IS BEING CREATED NOW BY WASHINGTON IN THE HOPE OF ASSUMING CONTROL OVER THE ENTIRE THEATRE OF OPERATIONS IN LEBANON. FACTS GO TO SHOW THAT TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR MILITARY AND POLITICAL DOMINATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST THE U.S. LEADERS STOP AT NOTHING AND ARE PREPARING TO UNLEASH A NEW WAR BEGINNING WITH A DIRECT SEIZURE OF LEBANON AND MILITARY PROVOCATIONS AGAINST SYRIA.

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EXDIS

JIDDA PLEASE PASS MCFARLANE SOONEST  
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, OTRA (MCFARLANE, ROBERT), SY

SUBJECT: (MCFARLANE/FAIRBANKS MISSION: TROUBLE ON MCFARLANE  
- (REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT WITH SYRIAN PRESIDENT)  
- (ASSAD)

REFS: A) BEIRUT 10083; B) JIDDA 7571

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE.

2. IN FOLLOWING UP ON OUR REQUEST FOR YOUR APPOINTMENTS  
HERE WITH MFA, (WE HAVE RUN INTO SAME OLD SONG AND DANCE  
(ABOUT YOUR SEEING ASSAD. MFA HAS TOLD US THAT ASSAD IS ON  
VACATION IN LATAKIA, AND IN ANY CASE, KHADDAM IS SARG'S  
ANOINTED "NEGOTIATOR." I HAVE PRESSED FOR ASSAD APPOINT-  
MENT TWICE ALREADY, REMINDING SYRIANS THAT ASSAD HAS

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 DAMASCUS 7212

DTG: 130538Z SEP 83 PSN: 070935

RECEIVED A VARIETY OF VISITORS IN LATAKIA INCLUDING BANDAR, JAPANESE, BULGARIANS, ETC. KHADDAM HAS SENT BACK SAME ANSWER, I.E., HE WILL DO THE NEGOTIATING.

3. I RECALL THAT BANDAR EXTRACTED COMMITMENT FROM ASSAD THAT HE WOULD SEE YOU IF YOU ARE CARRYING A PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE OR AT TIME OF CRISIS. LATTER CONDITION CERTAINLY APPLIES, BUT I ALSO SUGGEST THAT YOU CAST YOUR DEMARCHE IN THE FORM OF AN ORAL MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO ASSAD.

4. WE ARE SEVERELY HANDICAPPED IN THIS MATTER SINCE ASSAD IS OUT OF TOWN, AND ANYWAY WE ONLY HAVE ACCESS TO HIM THROUGH THE MFA. I RECOMMEND THAT YOU ASK BANDAR, OR BETTER YET KING FAHD HIMSELF, TO PHONE ASSAD OR OTHERWISE GET MESSAGE TO HIM DIRECTLY URGING THAT HE RECEIVE YOU.

5. WOULD APPRECIATE EARLIEST POSSIBLE NOTICE OF YOUR FIRM TRAVEL PLANS FROM JIDDA TO DAMASCUS.

6. AFTER ABOVE DRAFTED WE HEARD RADIO ISRAEL 0800 HOURS LT SEPT. 13 REPORT QUOTING NBC AND ABC NEWS STORIES THAT MCFARLANE AND STATE DEPT ARE ADVOCATING AIR STRIKES ON SYRIAN FORCES IN LEBANON BUT PENTAGON AND CIA DIRECTOR CASEY ARE PRESENTLY OPPOSED. THIS COULD HAVE SOME EFFECT ON YOUR PROPOSED VISIT HERE TO SAY THE LEAST.

7. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. PAGANELLI

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*Handwritten notes:*  
D. [unclear] [unclear]  
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~~AMEMBASSY BEIRUT~~

~~TO SECSTATE~~ WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2921  
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

SECRET BEIRUT 09947

NODIS  
WHITEHOUSE FOR JUDGE CLARK  
SECSTATE PLEASE PASS TO SECDEF AND CJCS  
FROM AMBASSADOR MCFARLANE  
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL MARR MOPS

~~SUBJECT: MCFARLANE/FAIRBANKS MISSION: WORST CASE STRATEGY FOR  
LEBANON~~

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WHILE IN WASHINGTON LAST WEEKEND I EXPRESSED, IN NSC MEETINGS AND IN THE BRIEFING TO THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP, MY VIEW THAT THE CENTRAL FACTOR IN THE LEBANON CONFLICT IS SYRIA'S DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN AN ENDURING INFLUENCE OVER LEBANESE POLICY. GIVEN HER OVERWHELMING MILITARY POWER RELATIVE TO LEBANON, AND ABSENT MAJOR THIRD COUNTRY MILITARY INTERVENTION IN BEHALF OF LEBANON, SYRIA CAN ACHIEVE HER GOAL. SHE CAN EXERCISE HER INFLUENCE TO A GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE BY MAINTAINING OCCUPATION FORCES IN THE COUNTRY AND/OR RELYING UPON LEBANESE POLITICANS IN THE CABINET WHO ARE SENSITIVE TO SYRIAN CONCERNS. FACED WITH THIS PROBLEM, OUR POLICY HAS BEEN

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TO INSIST UPON SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON BUT TO AGREE TO THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY, ACCEPTING THAT IT WILL SURELY INCLUDE FIGURES BEHOLDEN TO SYRIA (E, 7 & . . . FRANJIYYEH, KARAMI AND BARRI). OUR POLITICAL STRATEGY HAS BEEN TO DEVELOP THE BROADEST POSSIBLE SUPPORT FOR LEBANON'S FORMAL CALL FOR SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL THROUGH BILATERAL CONTACTS AND (IN THE DAYS AHEAD) THE UNITED NATIONS

CONCURRENTLY WE HAVE ENDORSED THIRD COUNTRY SUPPORT FOR LEBANON'S CALL FOR A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE, AN IMMEDIATE CONVENING OF THE LEADERS FOR THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE, MINOR REDEPLOYMENT OF LEBANESE FORCES IN THE BEIRUT AREA AND AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE FOR THE ULTIMATE DEPLOYMENT OF LEBANESE ARMY FORCES TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN THE SHUF AND BEYOND. TO GIVE CREDIBILITY TO THIS POSITION WE, AND OUR ALLIES, HAVE GRADUALLY EXPANDED OUR MILITARY FORCE PRESENCE IN THE AREA. IT HAS BEEN OUR HOPE THAT SYRIA WILL RESPOND TO THIS COLLECTIVE POLITICAL AND MILITARY PRESSURE AND ACCÉDE TO THE CEASEFIRE, THE FORMATION OF THE GNU, AND WITHDRAW HER FORCES, ETC. INTELLIGENCE REPORTS RECEIVED WITHIN THE PAST TWO DAYS AND PRINCE BANDAR'S DEBRIEF OF DUPLICITOUS AND MERCURIAL RHÉTORIC TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO PUT 20,000 SOLDIERS INTO THE SHUF DISGUISED AS PSP IF NECESSARY TO CHANGE THE GOVERNMENT IN BEIRUT, JUSTIFY A REVIEW OF OUR STRATEGY AGAINST THE POSSIBILIG THAT SYRIA HAS NOT YET FOUND OUR STRATEGY CREDIBLE. WE BELIEVE FURTHER THAT PROPOSALS SUCH AS ARE CONTAINED IN THE STRATEGY PAPER AND DRAFT NSDD FOR THE GRADUAL EXPANSION OF FORCE PRESENCE TO RESOLVE THE LEBANESE CRISIS COULD BE AT BEST IRRELEVANT, AND AT WORST CATASTROPHIC UNLESS APPLIED IN THE CONTEXT OF A SPECIFIC STRATEGY DESIGNED TO BRING AN EARLY POSITIVE CHANGE IN SYRIAN BEHAVIOR. ON THE OTHER HAND WE BELIEVE THAT THE STRATEGIC ESCALATION -- IN BOTH POLITICAL AND MILITARY TERMS -- COULD ACHIEVE THE DESIRED RESULT.

3. IN PRACTICAL TERMS WE BELIEVE THERE ARE THREE CRITICAL CONDITIONS WHICH SHOULD APPLY BEFORE SUCH AN ESCALATION IS CONTEMPLATED. FIRST, THAT WE ARE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR ABOUT OUR OWN POLICY AND ITS LIMITS AND CONDITIONS; SECOND, THAT WE HAVE THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF OUR MNF PARTNERS; THIRD, THAT THE KEY MODERATE ARAB STATES, PARTICULARLY

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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SAUDI ARABIA, BACK UP OUR STRATEGY AND OPPOSE SYRIA. THE STRATEGY WOULD BE BASED UPON THE PREMISE THAT SYRIA HAS NO INTENTION OF AGREEING EITHER TO A CEASEFIRE, TO THE SUPPORT OF A NATIONAL DIALOGUE IN LEBANON OR TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF HER OWN FORCES BUT ASSUMES THAT WHILE SHE MAY TAKE A POSITIVE POSITION ON THESE ELEMENTS PUBLICLY SHE WILL CONCURRENTLY PROPOSE SUCH PRECONDITIONS AS TO MAKE HER REALIZATION IMPOSSIBLE WHILE, ON THE GROUND, SHE SUPPORTS AND ULTIMATELY CONSTRICTS (THROUGH THE PSP) THE ENCLAVE OF BEIRUT LEADING TO THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2922  
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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BEIRUT 05947

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FROM AMBASSADOR MCFARLANE

4. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE COLLECTIVE POLITICAL POSITION WOULD BE A QUADRIPARTITE CALL FOR: AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE IN PLACE; MINOR LAF REDEPLOYMENTS WITHIN BEIRUT; COMMENCEMENT OF AN IMMEDIATE PROCESS OF WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES TO BE COMPLETED WITHIN X MONTHS; AND AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON THE ULTIMATE EXTENSION OF LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY VIA GRADUAL LAF PRESENCE IN EVACUATED AREAS. WE WOULD IN ADDITION TAKE THE POSITION THAT NO COUNTRY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO SUBVERT THIS PROCESS AND THAT TO ENSURE AGAINST THIS CONTINGENCY THE MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE WOULD POSITION UNITS AT STRATEGIC LOCATIONS (I.E., NOTABLY AT THE PASSES LEADING WESTWARD FROM THE BEKKA ON THE BEIRUT-DAMASCUS HIGHWAY.) IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER THE FOUR FLAGS ACCOMPANIED BY A MODEST FORCES WOULD CONSTITUTE A SUFFICIENT DETERRENT TO SYRIAN AND/OR PALESTINIAN INFILTRATION.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT A JOINT US-UK-FRENCH-ITALIAN DEMARCHE TO SYRIA WITH AT LEAST PARALLEL, STRONG SAUDI AND OTHER MODERATE ARAB BACKING, ALONG THE LINES DESCRIBED ABOVE, COULD HAVE THE DESIRED

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EFFECT. OUR POINT IS THAT THERE IS NO USEFUL PURPOSE SERVED BY INCRIMENTALLY ESCALATING THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN AND OTHER MILITARY POWER WITH ALL THE PROBLEMS THAT GO WITH IT UNLESS IT IS CLEAR THAT IT HAS A GOOD CHANCE OF ACHIEVING THE DESIRED PURPOSE (I.E., A CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN FORCES). IN SHORT IT SEEMS TO US THAT WE MAY BE FALLING INTO A TRAP OF INCRIMENTAL ESCALATION WHICH WILL ULTIMATELY BE EXPOSED AS A BLUFF. WE ARE VERY MINDFUL OF THE NEED FOR A STRATEGIC ANALYSIS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH A STRATEGY FOR OUR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, THE CONGRESS, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS CLEAR THAT SYRIA IS A KEY ELEMENT IN SOVIET NEAR EAST STRATEGY AND WE MUST CONSIDER A SPECTRUM OF SOVIET RESPONSES TO ANY ESCALATORY MEASURES WE MIGHT CONSIDER. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE ENORMOUS STRATEGIC STAKES FOR THE US AND THE WESTERN WORLD IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND THE NEAR EAST IN ADDITION TO BUT NOT SEPARATE FROM LEBANON, THAT WOULD CERTAINLY JUSTIFY THE POSSIBLE USE OF AMERICAN MILITARY POWER. IT IS THIS FACTOR -- WHICH ADMITTEDLY, IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO CONVEY TO A CONGRESS WHICH HAS NOT BEEN SEIZED WITH THIS ISSUE BY PUBLIC SPEECHES AND FREQUENT TESTIMONY -- WHICH IS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

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6. IT MAY BE THAT TOMORROW MORNING SYRIA WILL AGREE TO OUR FOUR POINT STRATEGY, CEASEFIRE WILL BE ESTABLISHED, THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE WILL TAKE PLACE AND ALL WILL BE WELL IN LEBANON. QUITE HONESTLY, HOWEVER, I DOUBT IT. (WE HAVE JUST HAD A CALL FROM BANDAR IN DAMASCUS TO THE EFFECT THAT HIS TALKS HAVE GONE BADLY AND THAT NEW PRECONDITIONS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED BY SYRIA. THIS SIGNALS MY WORST FEARS THAT SYRIA IS PURSUING A STRATEGY OF DELAYING TACTICS WHILE CHANGING THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND.) AS A CONSEQUENCE WE URGE YOUR CONSIDERATION OF WORST CASE SCENARIOS AND, BASED UPON YOUR CONCLUSIONS, PROMPT CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES TO BE FOLLOWED BY COORDINATED COLLECTIVE ACTION. DILLON

BT

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A-1WASHINGTON POST  
13 September 1983

# Reagan Authorizes Marines to Call In Beirut Air Strikes

## Opposed to Invoking War Powers Measure

By Lou Cannon  
and George C. Wilson  
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Reagan has authorized marines in Beirut to call in air strikes against forces shelling their positions, serving notice on Syria that the United States is ready to escalate its firepower in Lebanon, White House officials said last night.

Although the authorization may increase pressure in Congress to invoke the War Powers Resolution, White House officials told Democratic House leaders yesterday that Reagan remains opposed to invoking a section of the act that could require withdrawal of U.S. forces from Lebanon in 60 to 90 days.

"We don't want to have our hands tied that way," a senior administration official said.

The decision allowing the marines to call for air strikes was made by top administration executives and representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in a series of meetings over the weekend, sources said. The strongest argument for additional military action, they said, came in communications from Robert C. McFarlane, Reagan's Middle East special envoy.

His emphasis, officials said, was not only that the marines must be given more protection by having authority to call in their AV8 Harrier fighter-bombers and Navy A6-bombers from the carrier USS Eisenhower off Beirut, but also that the U.S. government must demonstrate to Arab nations that it is a reliable ally.

Among those involved in the weekend meetings were national security affairs adviser William P. Clark, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar

W. Weinberger and Army Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs, officials said.

The president approved their recommendations, an official said, and agreed that marines in Beirut could ask for help from Marine and Navy fighter-bombers without always going up the chain of command to Washington.

After the meeting on the War Powers Resolution, White House officials said they were receptive to alternative congressional action that would put an 18-month limit on the mission of the marines in Lebanon and restrict their role in the combat there.

The White House meeting was attended by chief of staff James A. Baker III, House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) and other Democratic congressmen.

At the State Department, spokesman Alan Romberg said there is "increasing evidence" that Syrian-backed units of the Palestine Liberation Organization are taking part in the heavy fighting around Beirut.

Senior department officials said privately that there is no longer any doubt that PLO forces are fighting alongside Lebanese factions working against President Amin Gemayel and that Syria has been providing arms and logistical assistance.

White House officials said that congressional leaders had been supportive privately of administration actions in Lebanon, but also said they believed that Reagan, under a provision of the 1973 War Powers Resolution, is required to inform Congress that U.S. troops are involved in a situation "where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances."

Once the president took such an action, he would be obliged to withdraw U.S. forces within 90 days unless Congress during that period approved keeping the marines on station. Putting such a clock on the mission "would send the wrong signal to our

troops, to our allies and to the Syrians," said one administration official.

Another official said this also would be likely to touch off a domestic political debate that would complicate U.S. diplomatic efforts in the region.

U.S. officials say invocation of the 90-day provision would be "a wrong signal" in that it would encourage the Syrians to hang back from diplomatic efforts to end the fighting in Lebanon. Some officials said that the Syrians would be likely to increase their support of Gemayel's opponents in the hope of drawing U.S. marines into combat and increasing U.S. domestic pressure for withdrawal.

These officials said that a presidential signal of withdrawal also could be harmful to the morale of the marines and might encourage the French, who also have troops in Lebanon that have taken casualties, to reconsider their role.

According to administration officials, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.) and O'Neill said they believed the "imminent hostilities" section of the War Powers Res-

olution should have been invoked Aug. 29, the day two marines were killed in Lebanon.

White House strategy is to seek a compromise that would demonstrate congressional support for the U.S. peace-keeping effort in Lebanon, without yielding on the administration's basic legal position that the disputed section of the War Powers Resolution is inapplicable.

**CONTINUED**

Officials said the White House is willing to accept a congressional initiative, also provided for in the War Powers Resolution, that would restrict the mission and role of marines in Lebanon but could not force their withdrawal within the next few months.

"We're seeking bipartisan support, not a Tonkin Gulf resolution," said one White House official, in reference to the unlimited declaration of congressional support won by President Johnson. That resolution became the basis for broadscale U.S. participation in the Vietnam war.

This official said that a resolution expressing support for administration objectives but imposing an 18-month limit would

be "beneficial" from the point of view of persuading the Syrians that Reagan's deployment of marines has U.S. domestic backing.

What administration officials are most anxious to prevent, a concern they say is shared by some congressional leaders, is a free-for-all debate in Congress that would be interpreted as a sign of U.S. weakness.

The consultations yesterday were conducted by a White House team of Baker, presidential assistant Richard G. Darman and chief of legislative liaison Kenneth Duberstein with O'Neill, Zablocki and House Majority Leader James C. Wright Jr. (D-Tex.). They are scheduled to continue today with other members of Congress.

The negotiations came amid what U.S. analysts say they believe is a stepped-up Syrian effort to bring down the Gemayel government.

State Department officials said that, while the evidence is not conclusive, there are some grounds for believing that the groups attacking the Lebanese Army include some Syrian troops, wearing the uniforms of the irregular militias, and some Iranian revolutionary guards known to be in Lebanon to encourage pro-Khomeini sentiment among the Shiite Moslem population.

These officials said the Palestinian fighters involved appear to be drawn both from Syrian-sponsored Palestinian guerrilla groups that have kept separate from the PLO and from PLO units that recently rebelled against the leadership of Chairman Yasser Arafat and have come under Syrian control.

The involvement of Palestinians has been confirmed through interception of messages and identification of fighters killed in weekend clashes with the Lebanese Army, these officials said.

*Staff writer John M. Goshko contributed to this report.*