

**John Gunther Dean's introductory comments to the files on Lebanon
and US-Palestine and complete inventory of the individual folders
[24 pages] donated to the National Archives of the USA [The Jimmy
Carter Library in Atlanta, Georgia]. [1978 – 1981].**

Lebanon Inventory : 1978 - 1981

A summary of the contents of the files on Lebanon gifted to the National Archives of the USA (Jimmy Carter Presidential Library) by John Gunther Dean

1. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): October 1978

- J.G.D. arrives in Beirut as US Ambassador to Lebanon and visits all Lebanese and foreign personalities involved in the imbroglio.

2. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): November 1978

- First meeting with Walid Khalidi, prominent Palestinian [Beirut 7144 dated November 29, 1978]
- The problem of Israeli involvement with the Christian militia. Israeli actions in South Lebanon. Is the US truly neutral?

3. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): December 1978

- Saudi Ambassador Ali Sha'er is shot down and ends up with a bullet in his leg in a Christian hospital in the Christian heartland. J.G.D. intervenes and has Saudi Ambassador moved to the American Hospital in West Beirut. American Hospital besieged by a mob and Saudi Ambassador asks J.G.D. to help him defuse a major crisis. [Beirut Flash 4207 dated December 15, 1978; Beirut 7481 dated December 15, 1978]

4. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): January 1979

- Meeting with Walid Khalidi; Khalidi suggests meeting with Basil 'Aql since Khalidi was returning to Harvard. New channel with Palestinians is opened. [Beirut 0072 dated January 4, 1979]
- Meeting with PM Hoss, French and Soviet Ambassadors
- USG is shielding Israel from criticism about their support for Lebanese Quizzling Major Sa'ad Hadad.
- UNIFIL's mission is renewed and its functions in Southern Lebanon

5. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): February 1979

- Lebanese President asks all UN Security Council members to raise with Israel the need for Israelis to cooperate and respect UNIFIL
- Goals and Objectives for Lebanon: [Beirut 740 dated February 7, 1979]
- Examples of Israeli violations of Lebanese air and sea space
- Israeli arms for Christian Militia (Chamoon and Gemayel) [Beirut 1054 dated February 22, 1979]

6. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): March 1979

- Reactions to the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty signed in the presence of President Carter.
- Israel undermines Lebanon President Sarkis. [Beirut 1720 dated March 23, 1979]

7. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): April 1979

- J.G.D. upset about failure to bring Israel into line on Quizling Major Sa'ad Hadad. [Beirut 2957 dated May 1979]
- A small contingent of the Lebanese Army moves into South Lebanon, an achievement.

8. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): May 1979

- Israelis continue to build up Major Hadad. Israel bombs South Lebanon and Beirut. [Beirut 2957 dated May 1979]
- How many Palestinians in Lebanon? [Beirut 2608 dated May 9, 1979]
- Dean meets with Soviet Ambassador Soldatov and suggests they work together on Lebanon. This suggestion is turned down by Washington.
- PM Begin and Israel General admit that Israeli Armed Forces are pursuing a "*Pre emptive*" policy in Lebanon and not merely "*retaliatory*". [Beirut 3026 dated May 1979]

9. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): June 1979

- President of AUB Hoelscher transmits message from Arafat re: his willingness to meet with Ambassador Dean. [Beirut 3172 dated June 4, 1979].
- What right do Israeli jets have to fly over Beirut? [Beirut 3260 dated June 7, 1979] President Sarkis protests Israeli flights [Beirut 3325 dated June 12, 1979]
- Israeli Pre emptive military policy in Lebanon and Israeli use of American supplied weapons [Beirut 3418 June 15, 1979]
- Visit to Beirut by Wayne Smith, President of Atlanta-based Friendship Force and friend of the Carter family [Beirut 3437 dated June 18]

10. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): July 1979

- Syrian-Israeli air battles over Lebanon and Israeli determination to attack Palestinians “anywhere in Lebanon”. [Beirut 3691 – July 2, 1979]
- President Sarkis urges Palestinians should help protect security of US Embassy, Beirut. [Beirut 3692 – July 1979]
- President Sarkis July 4 handwritten message to President Carter [Beirut 3738 dated July 5]
- President Sarkis public letter to President Carter devoted largely to Israeli attacks against Lebanon, and apparent US failure to reign in Israelis. [Beirut 4216 dated July 29]
- Press coverage of Assistant Secretary Saunder’s Congressional testimony regarding “informal talks with PLO”. [Beirut 4218 dated July 30]

11. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): August 1979

- J.G.D. “If we cannot make progress on Palestinian issue and if we cannot stop the hemorrhage in South Lebanon, I fear the possibility of terrorist attacks against us will increase.” [Beirut 4682 August 21, 1979]
- PM Hoss and Mufti bluntly criticize US for “mouthing soothing” words, but Israelis continue attacks on Lebanon. They warn that this must change, otherwise moderate Moslems will turn against US. [Beirut 4718, dated July 23, 1979].

12. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): September 1979

- J.G.D. visits South Lebanon and sees for himself the destruction. [Beirut 4989 August 6, 1979]

13. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): October 1979

- Phil Habib meets President Sarkis [Beirut 5956 dated October 24]
- Phil Habib meets Prime Minister Hoss [Beirut 5975 dated October 24]
- Embassy's report on Habib's visit to Lebanon [Beirut 6024 dated October 27]

14. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): November 1979

- Sarkis says that Arab League can agree on Lebanon only if Syrians and PLO have agreed beforehand [Beirut 6258 – November 8, 1979]
- Sarkis briefs J.G.D. on Arab League Summit Meeting in Tunis. [Beirut 6539 dated November 23, 1979]

15. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): December 1979

- J.G.D.'s first meeting with Bashir Gemayel [Beirut 7047 December 17, 1979] December 16, 1979.

16. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): January 1980

- Visit to Lebanon of Cardinal Cooke of New York. The Cardinal gives support to central government and a united Lebanon where Moslems and Christians can live side by side. [Beirut 0034 – January 3, 1980 and Beirut 0064 – January 5, 1980]
- Congressional delegation visits Lebanon. [Beirut 0101 dated January 7, and Beirut 0146 dated January 9, 1980]
- Tel Aviv accuses J.G.D. to have met Palestinian leftist leader Habash (false) and J.G.D. upset by Israeli fabrications [Beirut 0277 January 16 and Tel Aviv 971]

17. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): February 1980

- PM Begin sows discord among Lebanese Christians. On February 7, he asserts that Israel is the "protector" of Lebanon's Christians. [Beirut 0768 February 8, 1980]
- Difference of views between American Embassy Beirut and Israeli authorities on the role of Quizling Major Hadad. [Beirut 0873 February 13]

18. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): March 1980

- Policy statement by President Sarkis [Beirut 1368 dated March 5]
- More on Major Hadad nefarious role in South Lebanon and reports on the incendiary broadcasts of Station Hope, the radio station in Southern Lebanon financed and manned by American fundamentalists. [Beirut 1759 March 23]

19. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): April 1980

- More problems with Hadad; an Irish soldier is critically wounded. [Beirut 2159 April 10] also [Beirut 2174 dated April 10] UNIFIL, best protection against major blow-up. Exchange between Secretary Vance and J.G.D. on that subject. [Beirut 2384 April 19 and State 104707 April 10] Lebanese voice criticism against US for accepting Israel version of events in South Lebanon. [Beirut 2430 April 22]

20. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): May 1980

- ❖ References that US-Palestinian link is reported through different channels (not State Department).
- President Sarkis on the Palestinian problem. [Beirut 2666 dated May 2] Foreign Minister Boutros protests expelling of 2 Palestinian mayors from Israel into Lebanon without notifying Lebanese authorities. [Beirut 2694 May 5]
- American Embassy Beirut receives thanks from Lebanese leaders for press release issued regarding Israeli violations of Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity. [Beirut 2805 dated May 9]

21. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): June 1980

- J.G.D. returns from consultations in Washington and briefs President Sarkis. [Beirut 3694 dated June 18, 1980]
- Israelis establish a military position inside Lebanon. [Beirut 3812 and 3866]
- American Embassy Beirut urges USG to abstain rather than veto UN Security Council resolution on Jerusalem. [Beirut 3925]

22. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): July 1980

- During my meeting with President Sarkis on July 3, Lebanon's President expressed profound appreciation for US abstention on June 30 UN Security Council resolution on Jerusalem. He stressed his personal appreciation for President Carter's courageous stand on this question. [Beirut 4071 dated July 3, 1980] Sarkis added that any clear indication by the USG that it is pursuing a balanced approach to the Middle East will make it easier for Arab governments to side with the US. [Beirut 4071]
- The Phalange (Bashir Gemayel) defeats the Chamounist militarily. [Beirut 4240 July 12] Sarkis wonders whether the Israeli will continue to arm Bashir Gemayel. [Beirut 4322 July 16] Sarkis speaks to J.G.D. about Israel's relationship with Bashir Gemayel. [Beirut 4596 July 28]

23. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): August 1980

- Major Hada gives public warning of increased violence in South Lebanon. [Beirut 4776 August 4]
- American Embassy Beirut urges American Embassy Tel Aviv and Department to prevent any Israeli "pre emptive strikes and to increase tension". [Beirut 4918 August 12]
- Phalange militia men confiscates pistol from one of J.G.D.'s body guards riding in car with diplomatic plates. J.G.D. protests, gets pistol back and written apology. [Beirut 4939 August 12]
- American Embassy Beirut issues statement condemning latest Israeli pre emptive strike in South Lebanon. [Beirut 5014 August 15]
- More Israeli pre emptive raids into South Lebanon. [Beirut 5056 August 19] and American Embassy Beirut wonders whether US authorities in Washington and in Tel Aviv are doing anything with Israeli to restrain them. [Beirut 5079 August 19, 1980]
- American Embassy Beirut's strong statement about Israeli strikes and attacks compared to Washington's mild statements gives rise to polemics about Washington's tacit support for Israeli pre emptive strike policy. [Beirut 5173 August 22]
- Assassination attempt on Ambassador Dean. [Beirut 5279 August 27]
- Assassination attempt on Ambassador Dean. [Beirut 5298 August 28]
- Assassination attempt on Ambassador Dean. [Beirut 5305 August 28]
- Assassination attempt on Ambassador Dean. [Beirut 5306 August 28]
- Assassination attempt on Ambassador Dean. [Beirut 5331 August 29]

24. Chronological Files (telegrams): September 1980

- Assassination attempt on J.G.D.: Press comment which does not exclude for GOL possibility that Israeli intelligence was involved. [Beirut 5374 September 2]
- More on assassination attempt. [Beirut 5376 dated September 2]
- More on assassination attempt. [Beirut 5380 September 2] GOL points finger at Israel messages in support of American Embassy.
- More on assassination attempt. [Beirut 5459 September 5]
- More on assassination attempt. [Beirut 5487 September 8] Sarkis on assassination attempt.
- More on assassination attempt. [Beirut 5525 September 8] Bashir Gemayel claims not involved.
- More on assassination attempt. [Beirut 5560 September 10] GOL thinks Christians with close ties to Israel did it.
- More on assassination attempt. [Beirut 5561 September 10] Scurrilous attack on J.G.D. in Israeli newspaper Haaretz.
- Bashir Gemayel and the Lebanese State. [Beirut 5641 September 13]
- ❖ J.G.D. receives countersignature for the reserves of several billion dollars held in Switzerland by National Bank of Lebanon. [Beirut 5702 September 17], [Beirut 5635 dated September 12] and [Beirut 5143 dated August 21, 1980]
- J.G.D. deplores Washington's double standards on Israeli or Lebanese/Palestinian civilian victims. [Beirut 5762 September 22]
- American chancery is hit by explosive projectiles. [Beirut 5957 September 27]

25. Chronological Files (telegrams): October 1980

- Rocket fired at chancery missed target. [Beirut 6289 dated October 11]
- Israeli aircraft attacks targets 5 miles south of Beirut. [Beirut 6506 October 23]
- Consequences for US of Israeli attacks on Lebanon. Should Lebanon buy Airbus rather than Boeing? [Beirut 6512 October 12]
- Israeli arms deliveries to Lebanese Christian militias. [Beirut 6449 dated October 21]

26. Chronological Files (telegrams): November 1980

- Lebanon buys Airbus over Boeing. [Beirut 7205 November 5]
- Israeli official “in charge of Lebanon” Kimche discusses Lebanon with US officials in Washington. Embassy Beirut’s critical analysis. [Beirut 7223 November 26]
- Ambassador Dean’s meeting with Bashir Gemayel after President Reagan’s election victory. [Beirut 7229 November 26]

27. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): December 1980

- A new crisis: Phalange confrontation in the Bequa valley, IAH LAH with Syrians. [Beirut 7840 December 29] and [Beirut 7815 December 29]
- Senator Levin’s call on President Sarkis. [Beirut 7761 December 22] and [Beirut 7764 December 22]

28. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): January 1981

- Israeli Chief of Staff Eytan visits Phalange leaders in Lebanon on December 23 or 24, 1980. [Beirut 0184 January 12, 1981]

29. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): February 1981

- Overseas Private Investment corporation agreement signed with Lebanon February 10 after one year’s negotiation. [Beirut 0823 February 10]
- Is Israeli Intelligence holding back on sharing information with USG? [Beirut 0877 February 12, 1981]

30. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): March 1981

- Quizling Sa'ad Hadad is planning to add TV to Radio Hope operated without Lebanese authorization by American fundamentalists in Lebanon without Lebanese visas. [Beirut 1246 dated March 2]
- President Sarkis asks whether new Reagan Administration plans to keep J.G.D. in Beirut. Sarkis would like J.G.D. to stay, but Israeli Mossad official David Kimché had urged Washington to have J.G.D. moved. [Beirut 1262 March 3]
- Ambassador Dean's motorcade is attacked on March 10 near the center of Beirut Port area. [Beirut 1478 March 11; Beirut 1483 March 11; Beirut 1486 March 11, 1981]
- President Reagan's phone call to J.G.D. asking him to go as US Ambassador to Thailand. [Beirut 1528 March 11]
- Bashir Gemayel's meeting with Ambassador Dean [Beirut 1591 March 16]
- J.G.D.'s meeting with Commanding General of UNIFIL on problems of the South. [Beirut 1630 March 17]
- USG is accused of tilting toward Israel in UN SC discussions of violence in Southern Lebanon. [Beirut 1746 March 23]
- Letter given to J.G.D. on March 24 re: US policy toward Lebanon. [Beirut 1786 March 25] and [Beirut 1787 March 25]
- J.G.D. urges Washington to support Lebanese Army sending some troops into UNIFIL area. [Beirut 1867]

31. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): April 1981

- J.G.D.'s assessment: "Heading into a storm" which argues that Reagan Administration is not continuing President Carter's balanced policies on Lebanon. [Beirut 1975 dated April 1, 1981]
- New administration appears to be unwilling to oppose – even verbally – Israeli pre-emptive strikes. [Beirut 2003 dated April 3]
- Many cables regarding the deteriorating security situation in Lebanon, especially fighting in Zahlah, Phalange versus Syrians, etc.
- Secretary of State Alexander Haig's letter to President Sarkis which was very supportive of Sarkis. [SECTO 2058 April 7, 1981]
- J.G.D.'s meeting with Bashir Gemayel to calm down fighting in the Zahlah area. [Beirut 2665 April 29]
- Deputy Assistant Secretary Draper's visit to Beirut and his meetings. [Beirut 2219 April 9]; [Beirut 2220 April 9]; [Beirut 2221 April 9]; and [Beirut 2236 April 10]
- Prime Minister Begin fuels the fires by issuing statements in support of Lebanese rightists and Christians; also continues military assistance. [Beirut 2343 April 16]
- Assessment of fighting in Bequa: Phalange suffers military set-back but may have gained some political points. [Beirut 2343 April 17]
- ❖ J.G.D. briefs Bashir Gemayel on his 2 day visit to Washington and offered consultations with Bashir in Beirut; also raised possibility of a visit to Washington by Bashir. [this message has no number]

32. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): May 1981

- ❖ * Highly confidential message from J.G.D. to Secretary Haig dated May 1 reporting on J.G.D.'s latest meeting with Bashir Gemayel. J.G.D. notes that this new link is very helpful to dealing with the crisis. Also refers to Bashir's confidential meeting in Rome.
- Lebanese Army sends 200 men south into UNIFIL area. A significant achievement for central government of Lebanon. [Beirut 2725 May 1]
- Israelis bomb Sunni Old Age home in Saïda which had received a US grant for rebuilding institution. [Beirut 2728 May 1]
- Phil Habib's talks in Lebanon: May 7 and 8, 1981: [Beirut 2913 May 8]; [Beirut 2914 May 8]; [Beirut 2915 May 9]; [Beirut 2920 May 9]; [Beirut 2921 May 9]; [Beirut 2922 May 9]; [Beirut 2923 May 9]; [Beirut 2924 May 9]; [Beirut 2928 May 9]; [Beirut 2927 May 9]; [Beirut 2947 May 9]
- Soviet Ambassador Soldatov on Lebanon and future. [Beirut 2962 May 11]
- Phil Habib back in Beirut. [Beirut 3003 May 13]; [Beirut 3034 May 13]; [Beirut 3041 May 14]
- J.G.D. is asked to testify before House Sub-Committee on Middle East. [Beirut 3059 May 14]
- President Sarkis asks J.G.D. to stay on for a few more weeks. Secretary Haig agrees to Sarkis' request. [Beirut 3072 May 14]
- Numerous messages reporting on meetings by J.G.D. with Lebanese leaders for Phil Habib's benefit May 15 – 18. At May 18 meeting with Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq-al-Wazzan, latter makes a statement that Lebanon will stick with Syria. [Beirut 3132 May 18]
- Phil Habib back in Beirut. [Beirut 3225 May 20]; [Beirut 3227 May 20]; [Beirut 3269 May 20]; [Beirut 334 May 22]; [Beirut 3335 May 22]; [Beirut 3339 May 23]
- Ambassador Dean's residence hit by one round. [Beirut 3343 May 23]
- ❖ Letter from Phil Habib to Bashir Gemayel to be transmitted to Phalange leader. [Dated May 21, 1981. This is an important document.]
- ❖ Note from Bashir Gemayel addressed to Phil Habib dated May 22, 1981 which Ambassador Dean was to deliver to Habib. The note discussed Bashir Gemayel's relations with Syria and Israel. [This is an interesting and important document]
- US Embassy is hit by 4 rockets. No casualties. [Beirut 3347 May 20]
- Saudi Ambassador Ali-Sha'er returns to Beirut after a year's absence. Sarkis considers this good news. [Beirut 3411 May 28 and Beirut 3415 May 27] (Note: See December 1979 File how J.G.D. helped Ambassador Sha'er when he was shot down in helicopter.)
- Sarkis tells J.G.D. that Phil Habib understands Lebanon well and is doing a good job. [Beirut 3448 May 28]
- The mayor of New York (Koch) invites Quizling Sa'ad Hadad to visit New York. President Sarkis and Foreign Minister Boutros ask J.G.D. to derail visit because it would undercut US support for Lebanese unity, sovereignty and central government. [Beirut 3451 May 28]

33. Chronological Files (outgoing telegrams): June 1981

- By June 1, 1981, the Lebanese Army had deployed 1,500 men in the UNIFIL area of southern Lebanon. This was a great success considering the opposition to that deployment. [Beirut 3582 June 1]
- Ambassador Dean's residence in Yargé is hit by intensive mortar fire on June 2. [Beirut 3601 June 2] No casualties.
- Prime Minister Begin states publicly that Secretary Haig and Ambassador Habib knew that Israel would hit Palestinian targets in Lebanon. American Embassy Beirut urges Washington to react publicly to Begin's statement; otherwise Washington would be seen in collusion with Israel. Israel strikes were in the Tyre area. [Beirut 3624 June 2]
- J.G.D. establishes direct personal contact with Shia leader Amal, Nabil Berri, who became speaker of the Lebanese National Assembly for 20 years and remains major political element in Lebanon. [Beirut 3602 June 3]
- J.G.D.'s meeting with Bashir Gemayel who asks J.G.D.'s advice on how to get out of a meeting with PM Begin. J.G.D. suggests he needs to remain in Beirut to meet with Habib. [Beirut 3747 June 8]
- Habib returns to Beirut in effort to stop fighting among Phalange, Syrians, Israelis, and Palestinians. Saudis try to calm down turbulence. Meeting with President Sarkis. [Beirut 3800 June 9]
- Habib's meeting with PM Al-Wazzan [Beirut 3836 June 10]; with Bashir Gemayel [Beirut 3838 June 10]; with Druze leader Jumblat. [Beirut 3839 June 10]
- Dean's farewell tour all over Lebanon. "Two years ago and nine months, I arrived in Lebanon. Today, 33 months later, I can travel to all regions of this country. I could not do that when I first came here. Lebanon is still one country. Its currency has not changed in value. All Lebanese of all confessions, work together as Lebanese." [Beirut 4066 June 19]; [Beirut 4039 June 18]; [Beirut 3939 dated June 15]

34. Special File: (outgoing telegrams) – August 27, 1980 Assassination attempt on Ambassador Dean

- Factual report by Security Officer. [Beirut 5279 August 27]
- Ambassador Dean's initial meeting with Chief of Lebanese Intelligence (Col. Abdo) and Brigadier Sami Khatib, Commander Arab Deterrence Forces, point to Christians as the attackers. [Beirut 5305 August 28]
- Press comments on August 27 attack on Ambassador Dean. Some newspapers opine that Israel was behind the attack. [Beirut 5374 September 2]
- Pentagon reports that LAWs (Light Anti Tank Weapon) used against US Ambassador are of US manufacture and were sold to Israel. Washington instructs US Embassy Tel Aviv to raise with Israeli's. [SECSTATE to Beirut 3962 September 6]
- Col Abdo of Lebanese Intelligence says that there is "no doubt that Christians with close links to Israel were responsible for August 27 attack." [Beirut 5560 September 10]
- US Ambassador in Tel Aviv's (Lewis) discussion with David Kimché, senior Mossad official involved in all aspects of Israel's relations with Christian groups in Lebanon [repeated by SECSTATE to Beirut 3986 September 9] also [SECSTATE to Beirut 4013 September 12] Messages indicate that LAWS were shipped by Israel to Christian Militia but Mossad doubts that Bashir Gemayel was involved.
- Additional LAWS confiscated by Lebanese Army from Chamounist forces near US Ambassador's Residence in Yarzé. [Beirut 5813 September 22]
- Washington concludes that LAWS used against Ambassador Dean on August 27 were part of a shipment provided by US to Israel in late 1974 [SECTATE to Beirut 4157 September 25]
- Various messages of support from US officials; reactions of Arafat; translation of a Beirut newspaper article in which former Prime Minister Rachid Karami blames Israel for the assassination attempt against the US Ambassador.

35. Special File: Press clippings on Assassination attempts and J.G.D.'s tenure as US Ambassador to Lebanon:

- San Francisco Chronicle, August 28, 1980, page 15: "Envoy escapes ambush".
- Spotlight, June 15, 1981: "Truthful Official Marked for Death".
- Washington Post, June 4, 1989, page B-1: "Andy Young wasn't Alone"
- Spotlight, article by Warren Haough: "Key to Lebanon Blood Bath"
- Los Angeles Times, June 24, 1981 part 1: "US Envoy Dean found Lebanon Hazardous but not Hopeless"
- International Herald Tribune, August 29, 1980: "Beirut said to Query 2 in Ambush"
- Departure Interview with La Revue du Liban, June 1981 (Ambassador Dean)
- Interview Mrs. Martine Dean, La Revue du Liban, August 1979
- Le Monde, September 7, 2003, page 3 : « Révélations sur le rôle de Yasser Arafat »
- Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, November 2002, page 15: "...Assassination attempt with US weapons."
- "Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired", Bulletin, September 6, 2002 Luncheon
- 2 FBI's report, September 1, 1980 re: Arafat's statement on assassination attempt.
- Safir (Beirut newspaper) See File 34.
- An-Nahar (Beirut "newspaper") FBI's report September 2, 1980: "Paper suggests Israeli link behind attack on US Ambassador".

36. Special File: Israeli efforts to drive wedge between US Embassy Beirut and Washington authorities – One week before assassination attempt:

- Seven days before assassination attempt on Ambassador Dean, and family by Israeli surrogates, Israel launched a pre emptive strike into Southern Lebanon. PM Begin asserts pre emptive strikes will continue. American Embassy Beirut "condemns" Israeli action – State Department uses mild language.

37. Special File: Security for the American Embassy Beirut:

- Differences in approach between views of the Embassy in Beirut and Washington; evacuation policies; when does the ambassador leave post and Beirut's view that his presence in Lebanon is essential to keep events getting out of control.

38. Special File: Should US Ambassador to Lebanon work with Soviet colleague to keep Lebanon conflict from getting out of control?

- Department of State turns down J.G.D.'s suggestion to work with Soviet Ambassador Soldatov in effort to avoid Near East conflict getting out of control. [telegrams and memoranda, 1979]

39. Special File: Official Documents linked to accreditation (1978) and resignation of J.G.D. as US Ambassador to Lebanon (1981):

- Message President Carter sent to President Sarkis to be delivered by J.G.D. on the occasion of presentation of Letters of Credentials. Message dated October 13, 1978. (It is still today an impressive statement of US objectives and action needed for peace in the area.)
- Letter from J.G.D. to Secretary Haig dated January 2, 1981 giving more personal observations on the problems facing Lebanon. This personal letter was enclosed to formal resignation Letter as required by State Department protocol.
- ❖ Letter dated March 24, 1981 addressed to Nicholas Veliotis, Assistant Secretary of State, in which J.G.D. sums up his views, achievements and problems of Lebanon, the Near East after two and a half years as US Ambassador to Lebanon. Veliotis was named by incoming President Reagan. Letter also discusses the importance of a link with PLO. (A document still valid more than 20 years later.)

40. Special File: Article by J.G.D. on Lebanon written for publication in 2002.

- 7 page article by J.G.D. was not published in US.

41. Special File: Text of J.G.D.'s chapter on his assignment to Lebanon:

- ❖ From 1996 – 2003 the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training in Arlington, VA worked with J.G.D. on an Oral History. The interviews were conducted by former FSO Charles Stewart Kennedy. The transcription of these interviews, as revised several times, comes to a document of 419 pages. 44 pages are devoted to J.G.D.'s ambassadorship in Lebanon from 1978-1981. This document gives meaning to the 40 other files gifted to the national Archives of the USA [The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta]. Events cite in this manuscript are backed up by the files.

42. Two Envelopes with photos of J.G.D.'s travels through Lebanon:

- In order to unite Lebanon and show the American flag in all parts of Lebanon, J.G.D. travels north and south, east and west. The two envelopes enclose 11 photos each; 11 are taken in the Metu and 11 in South Lebanon.

A summary of the contents of the files on US-Palestinian relations while John Gunther Dean was US Ambassador to Lebanon, gifted by him to the National Archives of the USA [The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta, Georgia].

Introductory Comments:

While in Beirut as US Ambassador to Lebanon, J.G.D. tried to establish a dialogue with all elements involved in the civil strife which was tearing the country apart. The aim of having a dialogue with all domestic or foreign elements involved in the imbroglio was to increase the security for the American Embassy, reduce violence, strengthen the Lebanese Central government, and have all foreign elements respect the sovereignty of Lebanon within the internationally recognized borders.

When J.G.D. arrived in Lebanon in October 1978, the security problem for the American Embassy was acute. J.G.D.'s predecessor, Ambassador Francis Melloy and his Economic Counselor had been assassinated. J.G.D. and his staff believed that local security conditions could be determined more accurately by the Embassy on the spot, and not exclusively by Washington thousands of miles away acting on the basis of intercepts, intelligence reports from human sources, or rumors or penetrations. Embassy Beirut therefore suggested to establish on the ground contact with all elements involved in the Lebanese conflict. One of the most important players in Lebanon at the time were the Palestinians.

As the material in this file indicates, the American Embassy in Beirut acted as intermediary between the Department of State and the PLO for 2 years. The link established initially for security reasons for Americans in Lebanon became over time a channel for exchanging significant information between the American administration in Washington and the PLO, especially its chairman, Mr. Arafat.

The role of "intermediary" of Embassy Beirut was not appreciated by all elements. In particular, the Israelis in Tel-Aviv were unhappy and as the files indicate they saw the American Embassy in Beirut and its ambassador to be "protectors" or "puppets" of the PLO. The bureaucracy in Washington was also divided about the wisdom of having American Embassy Beirut act as intermediary between Washington and the PLO. During the Carter Administration this link was build up. The PLO was considered a "valid interlocutor" both for security purposes as for the broader aim of finding a modus vivendi to the Lebanon-Palestine-Israel quandary. The role of Embassy Beirut with the Palestinians was reduced after the Reagan Administration took over in 1981.

Whatever the American Embassy did with the Palestinians, Ambassador Dean kept President Sarkis, his Chief of Intelligence Johnny Abdo, and two Lebanese Prime Ministers (Hoss and Wazzan) fully informed. Without their acquiescence and support, the American Embassy in Beirut would not have been able to play the role of "intermediary" with the Palestinians.

Most of the messages passed between US officials and the PLO were first transmitted from Washington via a secret scrambler telephone and were then typed up by Ambassador Dean's loyal secretary, Ms. Leona Nieman, for transmittal to the PLO. Hence for many documents in this file, J.G.D.'s personal copies are the only written evidence of this important chapter in US-Palestinian relations. The replies of Mr. Arafat were brought to Ambassador Dean by Palestinians (Mr. Walid Khalidy or Mr. Basil 'Aql) for transmittal to Washington. Many of them were in Mr. Khalidy or Mr. 'Aql's handwriting. Most of the participants in this dialogue are still alive. On the American side, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Draper, Mr. Dean, Mr. Yellin and Ms. Nieman are alive. (Mr. Vance has died). On the Palestinian side, Mr. Arafat, Mr. Khalidy and Mr. 'Aql are alive. What emerges from all these papers is that during the period 1979 – 1980, the US authorities in Washington considered the PLO and Mr. Arafat valid interlocutors on matters pertaining to the aver-all problems of the Near East and not only to security interests related to Americans in the region.

In the listing of some of the documents in the files donated by Ambassador Dean to the National Archives, items of particular interest or importance have an asterisk in front.

More or less in chronological order:

1. May 1979 – November 1979

- Biography of Basil 'Aql
- Secretary Christopher's instruction authorizing Ambassador Dean having contact with PLO/Fatah – Secretary of State to Beirut 7845 dated May 6 1979.
- J.G.D.'s first meeting with Basil 'Aql – Beirut 3156 dated June 2, 1979
- A memorandum on the mechanism for activating contact between J.G.D. and Basil 'Aql.
- J.G.D.'s meetings with Mr. 'Aql: Beirut 3723 dated July 3, 1979;
Beirut 3724 dated July 3, 1979;
Beirut 3782 dated July 6, 1979;
Beirut 4279 dated August 1, 1979.
- Comments of Embassy Beirut on Mr. Aql's July 3 message dealing with the security of American Embassy Beirut: Beirut 3785 dated July 9, 1979
Beirut 3885 dated July 12, 1979.
- Report on telephone conversation between J.G.D. and Mr. Draper, August 23, 1979
- Discussion with Mr. Aql re: South Lebanon. Beirut 4898 dated August 31, 1979. This message is supplemented by a 3 page memorandum on the same subject and was sent to Washington.
- Situation in South Lebanon discussed with Mr. Aql in meetings September 6, 1979 and September 14, 1979 and reported in memoranda to Washington.
- First meetings with Mr. Khalidy in Beirut on October 22, 1979 and on November 9, 1979. Mr. Aql is in NY at the UN. Memoranda to Washington.
- Memorandum on J.G.D.-Khalidy meeting reporting on Arafat's assessment of situation in Teheran. November 9, 1979.
- Memorandum of J.G.D.'s meeting with Mr. Aql reporting on Arafat's assessment of situation in Teheran. November 11, 1979
- ❖ Memorandum of J.G.D.'s meeting with Abu Walid on November 12, 1979 in Beirut regarding his role in helping US hostages in Teheran. (4 pages).
- Memorandum on J.G.D.'s meeting with Mr. Aql on November 14, 1979 regarding US hostages in Teheran, including a message addressed to Washington from Mr. Arafat.
- ❖ SECSTATE to Beirut [Flash] 0078 dated November 14, 1979 regarding the situation in Teheran and expressing Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's appreciation for Abu Walid's efforts on behalf of US hostages.
- ❖ Text of message dictated on November 16, 1979 to J.G.D. by Mr. Draper re: Iranian hostages for delivery to Mr. Aql. Text of return message from PLO representative in Teheran about release of 13 hostages from Teheran. (Total of 3 pages)
- Mr. Aql transmits message from Arafat re: Iranian Red Crescent Committee announcing release of 13 hostages. A memorandum of 1 page dated November 17, 1979.

- Message from State [SecState 0138 to Beirut dated November 17, 1979] destined for PLO regarding arrangements of moving released hostages from Teheran.
- ❖ Memorandum of 3 pages regarding the text of messages from Secretary Vance to PLO and Arafat's reply regarding the release of the first American hostages from Teheran (November 17, 1979). On that same day there were several telephone conversations between Mr. Draper and J.G.D. to fine-tune arrangements for the evacuation of the US hostages released as a result of PLO intervention in Teheran.
- Memorandum reporting on exchange of messages between Washington and the PLO regarding the US hostages. There are also reports on Arafat's travels in the Arab world connected to the situation. (November 18, 1979)
- Memorandum (3 pages) on J.G.D.'s meeting with Aql regarding the latest events in Teheran. Aql also reports on Arafat's travels in the Arab world re: events in Iran (November 19, 1979).
- Memorandum setting forth message for transmittal to PLO and reply from PLO for Washington. (November 20, 1979)
- Telegram from J.G.D. to Department reporting on his meeting with Walid Khalidy on events in Iran. [Beirut 5039 dated November 25, 1979]
- Memorandum dated November 25, 1979 on exchange of messages between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and PLO regarding events in Iran.
- Memorandum setting forth text of Arafat's reply to Secretary Vance's message. In this exchange between Secretary Vance and Chairman Arafat, Walid Khalidy served as intermediary taking messages from J.G.D. to Arafat and reply of Arafat back to J.G.D. for transmittal to Washington.
- Memorandum of November 27 and 28 setting forth concern of Washington re: latest developments in Teheran.
- NOTE: When the meetings with Walid Khalidy were initiated in the first part of 1979, J.G.D. and Walid Khalidy agreed that their signature could be replaced with the name "Ben Brown" or just "B.B.". Both Walid Khalidy and J.G.D. had been Fellows at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard, and the Advisor to the Fellows was Ben Brown. This explains the use of the name instead of the real name of the intermediary.
- J.G.D. wonders whether US should try to work with Soviet Ambassador in Beirut in order to enhance mutual security in the violent atmosphere of Lebanon. Soviet Ambassador Soldatov had been Deputy Foreign Minister, Ambassador to London, Ambassador to Cuba and was clearly a very senior Soviet official when he was named to Lebanon. [J.G.D.'s cable to Washington: Beirut 3298 dated June 11, 1979] The initial meeting with Soldatov was on May 17, 1979 and reported in Beirut 2803. Before the May 17 meeting, J.G.D. had received a carefully drafted briefing memorandum from his staff, dated May 16, 1979. In a separate message, Assistant Secretary Saunders addressed the question and concluded that such an initiative was untimely. (NOTE: Additional data on this issue is set forth in File 38 I the index of Lebanon)

2. December 1979 to February 1980

- Messages in December turned to a different subject: The fate of the Shah and his need for medical care. Also the differences with the Iranians over assets of the Shah taken outside the country.
- December 5 and 12 messages re: Assistant Secretary Saunders' trip to Vienna to discuss situation with Austrian Chancellor Kreisky, including exploring residence status for the Shah in Austria for medical recuperation. On December 7, 1979, J.G.D. transmitted to Washington Arafat's reply re: possible role of Austria in helping the Shah.
- Message from Washington dated January 28, 1980 to PLO regarding the whereabouts of FSO Mike Metrinko who was US Consul in Tabriz.
- On January 25, 1980 meeting with Basil Aql, the PLO position on Afghanistan was for the first time discussed. "Arafat wanted J.G.D. to know that the PLO will not militate against the US position with other Islamic countries where it enjoys influence."
- ❖ January 20, 1980 message from Abu Jihad in Teheran about his efforts on behalf of US hostages in Teheran. Draper claims in his reply that Washington is not happy about the results so far obtained by the PLO in Teheran on the liberation of the US hostages.
- ❖ Message from Secretary Vance for transmittal to Chairman Arafat dated January 19, 1980 re: US position on Iran. Also relates messages passed to UN Secretary General Waldheim re: Iran. The return to Iran of the assets removed by the Shah from Teheran is discussed. The Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeg Ghotbzadeh considers them to belong to the Iranian people. USG believes that "it will not be possible for the UN Security Council to recognize the legitimacy of Iran's claim...as to the return of assets removed by him from Iran. Questions such as recovery of assets are subject of the sovereignty and law of individual nations involved and must be pursued between the 2 nations concerned."
- Meeting with Basil 'Aql on January 13, 1980 re: visit to Beirut of Pamela de Maigret. Her handwritten report is addressed to Harold Saunders in Washington reporting on her meetings in Lebanon.

3. February 1980 to spring 1981:

- J.G.D. passes on to Draper re: February 8 meeting that Arafat wanted USG to know that “there is no reason to worry as for Fatah’s role in the protection of Americans” in Lebanon.
- Messages February 18 and 25, 1980 from Arafat re: events in Iran.
- Report on April 4, 1980 meeting with Aql. J.G.D. gets the impression that PLO is “frustrated with the USG”. PLO feels that whatever the PLO does – for example in cooperating in obtaining release of some US hostages in Iran – the USG gives no signal that it appreciates it and that progress is in sight in dealing with Palestinians.
- ❖ J.G.D.’s memorandum while on consultation in Washington on his meeting with Secretary Muskie, May 28, 1980
- May 10, 1980, a Soviet embassy official in Damascus defects and asks for US Embassy help.
- August 28, 1980, message from Arafat re: Dean’s survival of assassination attempt.
- ❖ September 9, 1980: J.G.D. meets Walid Khalidy – memorandum. “Khalidy felt that the cooperation of the PLO with the US in Beirut has been a one-way street, with the US giving nothing while the PLO was giving positive evidence of its desire to cooperate. Khalidy said that the PLO leadership is convinced that Ambassador Dean had been even-handed during his tenure here. As long as J.G.D. continues to head the American Embassy, Khalidy said PLO will continue to protect J.G.D. and his mission. However, after J.G.D. leaves Beirut, the PLO feels that “it is no longer committed to the policy which it has carried out since June 1979.”
- ❖ Telephone conversation J.G.D.-Saunders on J.G.D.’s disappointment over the lack of Department’s support for J.G.D.’s condemnation of Israeli raids into South Lebanon, failure of Department to use assassination attempt on J.G.D. by Israeli surrogates with American weapons to criticize publicly use of American supplied weapons for offensive purposes, etc. September 13, 1980.
- October 11, 1980: Secretary Muskie receives through Embassy Beirut report on Arafat’s conversation with Rafsanjani in Teheran.
- October 23, 1980: Message addressed to Saunders re: PLO position on Iranian-Iraqi war.
- December 8, 1980: Letter from J.G.D. to Walid Khalidy asking PLO to facilitate Ambassador Dean’s travel to Tyre where he will endow financially a Greek Catholic school.
- ❖ January 12, 1981: Message from Chairman Arafat asking Washington: “Does the new American administration in Washington wish to continue the relationship that we have had through the American Embassy Beirut over the last year and a half?”
- ❖ January 29, 1981: Message approved by Secretary Haig to the PLO: “This administration contemplates no change at this time.”
- J.G.D. endows vocational school in Nabatiyah, South Lebanon. [Beirut 0567 January 29, 1981]

- Message about the position of the American Embassy in Beirut on the Palestinians and their cause: March 6, 1981; March 2, 1981; and February 20, 1981.

4. Newspaper and media articles on J.G. Dean's tenure and assassination attempts [also see File 35 on J.G.D.'s donation to the Archives]:

- Wall Street Journal, February 10, 1983 on assassination of Ali Hassan Salameh in Beirut on January 22, 1979 reported also by Embassy Beirut for his alleged links to the US. (He was Arafat's personal assistant.)
- Press clipping re: meeting in Paris, October 1980 by Reagan's campaign aides with Iranians re: postponing release of US hostages in Iran during election campaign.
- San Francisco Chronicle, June 5, 1989 article re: Ambassador Dean's meetings with PLO to help in the release of US hostages in Teheran.
- Article in National Herald of India, June 7, 1989 re: Ambassador Dean's meetings with PLO in Beirut.
- ❖ Israeli press on assassination attempt on J.G. Dean: Ha'aretz September 1, 1980, is particularly offensive and makes Ambassador Dean "an intelligence coordinator." Other reports on the same event: Tel-Aviv's cable 1601 to SECTSTATE dated September 8, 1980 and Tel-Aviv's cable 1601 to SECSTATE dated September 8, 1980 and Tel-Aviv's cable to SECSTATE 1484 dated September 3, 1980.
- Original letter of thanks dated December 10, 1978 from Ali Al-Shair, Ambassador of Saudi Arabia in Lebanon, to Ambassador Dean for his help when Saudi Ambassador was shot down and received bullet in leg for which he needed to be hospitalized at the American Hospital in Beirut.
- ❖ August 28, 1980: Statement of Department Spokesman on assassination attack on Ambassador Dean in Beirut.
- Press Release of the Middle East Reporter, August 28, 1980 re: attack on J.G.D.'s life.
- ❖ FBI's release September 2, 1980 quoting Beirut newspaper An-Nahar "which does not rule out the possibility that the Israeli Intelligence was behind the attempt to assassinate the US ambassador in Beirut and that it was a serious attempt engineered with precision and not for intimidation."
- SECSTATE to Beirut 3841 from President Carter to Ambassador Dean expressing relief that J.G.D. was not hurt. (August 27, 1980)
- Article in Spotlight, June 15, 1981: "Truthful official marked for death."
- Washington Post June 4, 1989 by Lally Weymouth on page B-1: entitled: "Andy young was not alone."