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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

May 20, 1986

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached for your decision is enrolled bill S.J.Res. 316, prohibiting the proposed sale of certain missles to Saudi Arabia.

Disapproval of the bill is recommended by OMB, the State and Defense Departments, NSC, and the Offices of Legislative Affairs, Policy Development, Counsel, and Intergovernmental Affairs. Cabinet Affairs has no objection.

If you concur in the above recommendation, please sign the attached disapproval statement.

David L. Chew

LAST DAY FOR ACTION: May 21st

The President has seen 5/2

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MAY 13 1986

Received 3 5

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Enrolled Resolution S.J.Res. 316 - Prohibiting the

Proposed Sale of Certain Missiles to Saudi Arabia

Sponsors - Sen. Cranston (D) California and 66 others

Last Day for Action

May 21, 1986 - Wednesday

Purpose

Prohibits the sale of certain defensive missiles to Saudi Arabia.

Agency Recommendations

Office of Management and Budget

Disapproval

Department of State

National Security Council Department of Defense

Disapproval (Veto Message attached)

Disapproval (Informally)

Discussion

On April 8, 1986, you formally gave Congress advance notification that the Administration intends to sell certain defensive missiles to Saudi Arabia. Notwithstanding strong and repeated Administration opposition, including veto threats, the Congress has passed S.J.Res. 316, by margins of 356-62 in the House and of 73-22 in the Senate, to prohibit this sale. The specific defensive missiles affected are the following:

- -- 671 AIM 9P4 air-to-air missiles;
- -- 995 AIM 9L air-to-air missiles;
- -- 200 STINGER manportable ground-to-air missile systems and 600 reloads; and
- -- 100 HARPOON air-to-sea missiles.

Administration Views

The Administration built its case for the proposed limited sale of missiles to the Saudis using the following arguments:

- -- The provision of these defensive arms advances United States security interests -- by demonstrating continued U.S. reliability as a security partner for Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States and by sending a clear message to Iran that the United States will oppose any expansion of the Gulf War and Iranian-backed radicalism in the region.
- -- The sale will allow Saudi Arabia, with which we have had close and mutually-beneficial ties for over 40 years, to meet military threats in the future.
- -- The Saudis already have missiles of the types proposed in this sale in their present arsenal.
- -- The Administration judges that the sale to Saudi Arabia supports vital U.S. interest in the region and clearly poses no threat to the security of Israel.
- -- The Saudis will be forced to buy weapons elsewhere if they cannot purchase them from the United States. It serves neither United States nor Israeli interests to allow other countries to sell these needed arms to the Saudis, particularly since only U.S. arms sales require safeguards and assurances.
- -- The sale could have large economic benefits to the U.S. economy.

Congressional Views

Our allies in the House and Senate, including Representatives Solomon, Hamilton, and Lagomarsino, and Senators Lugar, Rudman, and Goldwater, basically reiterated the arguments for the proposed sale outlined above in floor colloguy.

Taking a contrary view point, congressional supporters of the enrolled resolution argued in floor colloquy that:

- -- the proposed sale would not advance United States national security interests in the Middle East;
- -- the sale should be opposed, because the Saudis have failed to support U.S. peace efforts in the region, continued to withhold support from Egypt because of that country's peace treaty with Israel, provided tens of

millions of dollars annually to the PLO and Syria, and affirmed "total solidarity with Qaddafi" in the fight against terrorism; and

-- the United States should not continue to condone Saudi intransigence with further arm sales.

Conclusion

The Administration strongly opposed S.J.Res. 316 at every opportunity. Clear veto signals were sent to the Congress in Statements of Administration Policy prepared for both the House and Senate prior to floor action and in your March 25, 1986, letter to Majority Leader Dole in which you stated: "It will be necessary for me to veto any resolution of disapproval intended to block these sales." Consistent with our longstanding opposition to this enrolled resolution, we join the other agencies in unanimously supporting your decision to veto this legislation.

fer III

The Department of State has prepared the attached veto message for your consideration.

James

Enclosures

I am returning herewith without my approval

S.J. Res. 316, a resolution that would halt the proposed sale of defensive missiles to Saudi Arabia.

The U.S. defense relationship with Saudi Arabia was started by President Roosevelt in 1943 and endorsed by every President since. I cannot permit the Congress to dismantle this long-standing policy, damage our vital strategic, political and economic interests in the Middle East and undermine our balanced policy in that region.

The American people and their representatives should understand that this sale is in our interests. It is not just a favor to our friends in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, it is not being done at anyone's expense.

The security of Israel remains a top priority of this Administration. This sale will not endanger Israel's defenses, a fact that is underscored by Israel's decision not to oppose the sale.

Stability of the oil-rich Persian Gulf is another goal of great importance. In a region living in the shadow of the tragic and gruesome Iran-Iraq war, and threatened by religious fanaticism at its worst, we cannot afford to take stability for granted. Saudi willingness to stand up to Iranian threats has been key in preventing the spread of chaos. It has been Saudi Arabia's confidence in our commitment to its security that has allowed it to stand firm.

But Saudi Arabia produces no weapons of its own and we have not sold the Saudis new arms in almost 2 years. If we suddenly shut off that supply, it will weaken our own credibility, as well as the Saudis' ability to defend themselves. It would send the worst possible message as to America's dependability and courage.

Delivered to Senete: 5/21/86 (6:44p)

Mark

Behind the scenes, the Saudis have aided the effort to combat terrorism, which is as much, if not more, of a threat to them as it is to us. Recently, they refused Qadhafi's requests for aid. Several times in recent months, they have been instrumental in offsetting unjust criticism of the United States and preventing radical states from undertaking joint action against our country.

They have assisted our efforts to support responsible governments in Egypt, Jordan, and Sudan. They have worked quietly in the search for peace in Lebanon, in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and in the Iran-Iraq war. They also provide impressive assistance to the government of Pakistan and to Afghan refugees.

In the long run this sale will be good for America, good for Israel, good for Saudi Arabia, and good for the cause of peace.

I ask members of both parties to sustain this veto and to join me in protecting our country's vital interest.

Rould Rogan

THE WHITE HOUSE,
May 21, 1986.

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It is vetoed. I ask responsible members of both parties to sustain this veto and to join me in protecting our country's vital interest.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

May 20, 1986

DAVID:

I find the opening sentence of the Saudi veto message as amended in yesterday's meeting to be terribly awkward. If you also find its construction a little odd, you may wish to approve a rewrite, such as that which I have prepared (attached).

In this rewrite, the opening sentence is simply restructured, and a reference to the obvious fact that "Both Houses of Congress voted" is deleted. The second paragraph of the approved message is made the last sentence of the opening paragraph.

Dan Marks

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

I am returning herewith without my approval S.J. Res. 316, a resolution that would halt the proposed sale of defensive missiles to Saudi Arabia. The U.S. defense relationship with Saudi Arabia was started by President Roosevelt in 1943 and endorsed by every President since. I cannot permit the Congress to dismantle this longstanding policy, damage our vital strategic, political and economic interests in the Middle East and undermine our balanced policy in that region.

Both Houses of Congress voted to halt the proposed sale of defensive missiles to Saudi Arabia, and I am returning herewith without my approval S.J. Res. 316. The U.S. defense relationship with Saudi Arabia was started by President Roosevelt in 1943 and endorsed by every President since.

I cannot permit the Congress to dismantle this longstanding policy, damage our vital strategic, political and economic interests in the Middle East and undermine our balanced policy in that region.

The American people and their representatives should understand that this sale is in our interests. It is not just a favor to our friends in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, it is not being done at anyone's expense.

The security of Israel remains a top priority of this Administration. This sale will not endanger Israel's defenses, a fact that is underscored by Israel's decision not to oppose the sale.

Stability of the oil-rich Persian Gulf is another goal of great importance. In a region living in the shadow of the tragic and gruesome Iran-Iraq war, and threatened by religious fanaticism at its worst, we cannot afford to take stability for granted. Saudi willingness to stand up to Iranian threats has been key in preventing the spread of chaos. It has been Saudi Arabia's confidence in our commitment to its security that has allowed it to stand firm.

But Saudi Arabia produces no weapons of its own and we have not sold the Saudis new arms in almost 2 years. If we suddenly shut off that supply, it will weaken our own credibility, as well as the Saudis' ability to defend themselves. It would send the worst possible message as to America's dependability and courage.

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Suggested rewrite

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Behind the scenes, the Saudis have aided the effort to combat terrorism, which is as much, if not more, of a threat to them as it is to us. Recently, they refused Qadhafi's requests for aid. Several times in recent months, they have been instrumental in offsetting unjust criticism of the United States and preventing radical states from undertaking joint action against our country.

They have assisted our efforts to support responsible governments in Egypt, Jordan, and Sudan. They have worked quietly in the search for peace in Lebanon, in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and in the Iran-Iraq war. They also provide impressive assistance to the government of Pakistan and to Afghan refugees.

If the United States fails to stand by the Saudis now in a time of peril, why should anyone trust us? This precipitous move by Congress could do more to undermine our credibility

than all the accusations and threats of Qadhafi and Khomeni.

It would make us less able to act as a peacemaker in the Arab
Israeli dispute. And, over time, it will mean the loss of commercial, political, and security access to the Middle East.

The Congress is playing with fire. We must not permit our bridges of influence in that region to be burned. The stakes are higher than many Members of Congress seem to understand. And to what avail? These U.S. weapons are already in the Saudi inventory. If we refuse to live up to our commitments, they will turn to other suppliers for equivalent arms.

INSOCT STINGON STATEMEN Preventing this sale in the long run will be bad for America, bad for Israel, bad for Saudi Arabia, and bad for the cause of peace.

I ask responsible members of both parties to sustain this veto and to join me in protecting our country's vital interest.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Last week, both Houses of Congress voted to halt the proposed sale of defensive missiles to Saudi Arabia, and today. I am vetoing S.J. Res. 316. The U.S. defense relationship with Saudi Arabia was started by President Roosevelt in 1943 and endorsed by every President since.

I will not permit Congress to dismantle this longstanding policy, damage our vital strategic, political and economic interests in the Middle East and undermine our balanced policy in that region.

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It is vetoed. I ask responsible members of both parties to sustain this veto and to join me in protecting our country's vital interest.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Tam returning today to the Senate/House S.J. Res. 316, a joint resolution

I am returning today to the Senate/House S.J. 316/H.J. 589

To Saud: Aral:a of certain defense articles a related defense servicer.

without my approval. I am vetoing this legislation because I

am convinced

firml: perioved that failure to complete the proposed sale of

air defense and anti-ship missiles to Saudi Arabia would damage

important U.S. strategic, political, and economic interests in

the Middle East. It would undermine the balanced policy the

United States has followed in the area for over thirty years.

A Recent events have increased the danger to moderate states in the Middle East from religious fundamentalists and radical forces. These trends, together with the heightened threat from Iran in the Gulf War.

A Recent Libyan efforts to radicalize the head world

meaningful U.S. response at this time. We can make such a showing our tangible Support for response by meeting the legitimate defense needs of Saudi Arabia, a country with which the U.S. has enjoyed friendly and mutually beneficial relations for over forty years. Providing Saudi Arabia the means to defend itself, its Arab Gulf neighbors, and the vital Persian Gulf sea lanes is important to wital U.S. economic and strategic interests. We have evaluated the impact of this sale, and I can assure you that it in no way jeopardizes the security of Israel.

The U.S. defense relationship with Saudi Arabia was been started by President Roosevelt in 1943 and endorsed by every Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1943.

President since I will neet allow congressional action to regin the dismantlement of this policy. Saudisfarabia has have In addition, the worked closely with the United States to ensure the free flow of oil so critical to our interests and those of our European allies and Japan. Saudi Arabia has promoted the security and stability of the Gulf region in the face of Iranian radicalism and Soviet expansionism. Within the context of intra-Arab politics, the Saudis have sought to move the Arab world away

insert on

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5/15 8:309

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Arabia in particular has made significant contributions toward the search for peace and regional stability. If this legislation were to be enacted, it would not advance U.S. objectives in the area, would not strengthen israel's security and would not reduce the level of arms in the region. It would mean lost U.S. jobs and export earnings would diminish U.S. influence among moderate Arab states who are key to a lasting Israeli-Arab peace, and would encourage radical state-sponsored increase the threat from Iran, and Ultimately, would terrorism, and further Iranian advances I am determined to avoid this result.

Finally, I would note that this is the first resolution of disapproval pursuant to section 36 (b) of the Arms Export and Control Act to be disacted by the Congress. I regret that Congress, by enacting SJ Resolution 316, and HJ Resolution 589, has forced a showdown that Successive Administrations and Congresses have heretofore avoided. I veto this legislation because confident that its enactment would gravely harm vital U.S. national security interests.

weaken the credibility of U.S. Commitments Throwevert the Middle East and would undermine Israel's security by encouraging the introduction of non-U.S. weapons which are not subject to our stringent controls. This

ATE:	/15/86	ACTION/C	ONCURR	ENCE/CO	MMENT DUE BY:	9:00 am, F	ri., 5/1	.6/86
JBJECT:	VETO MESSA	GE FOR S.	J. RES	316	- PROHIBITIN	G PROPOSED	SALE OF	CERTA
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		our comme	ents or	n the	attached by 9	:00 tomorr	ow morni	ng.
PONSE:								

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I will not permit Congress to dismantle this longstanding policy, damage our vital strategic, political and economic interests in the Middle East and undermine our balanced policy in that region.

The American people and their representatives should understand that this sale is in <u>our</u> interests. It is <u>not</u> just a favor to our friends in Saudi Arabia. And, it is not being done at anyone's expense.

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The Congress is playing with fire. I cannot permit our bridges of influence in that region to be burned. The stakes are higher than many Members of Congress seem to understand.

Preventing this sale in the long run will be bad for America, bad for Israel, bad for Saudi Arabia, and bad for the cause of peace.

It is vetoed. I ask responsible members of both parties to sustain this veto and to join me in protecting <u>our</u> country's vital interest.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Msg/S Saudi Avabia 3
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TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

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5/15/86 p.m.

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THE WHITE HOUSE,

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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May 14, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID L. CHEW

FROM:

RODNEY B. MCDANIEL KINN

SUBJECT:

Enrolled Resolution S. J. Res. 316 -- Prohibiting

the Proposed Sale of Certain Missiles to Saudi

Arabia

The NSC has reviewed and approves the OMB recommendation to veto S. J. Resolution 316. The draft veto statement is approved as amended at Tab A. Tab B is an annotated version of the original draft veto statement showing the extent of the changes. The NSC recommends holding a veto ceremony in the Oval Office with press coverage in order to give the President's position additional visibility.

Attachment

Tab A - Draft Veto Statement

Tab B - Original Draft with Changes

cc: clarki

DRAFT VETO MESSAGE

I am returning today to the Senate/House S.J. 316/H.J. 589 without my approval. I am vetoing this legislation because I am convinced that failure to complete the proposed sale of air defense and anti-ship missiles to Saudi Arabia would damage important U.S. strategic, political and economic interests in the Middle East. It would undermine the balanced policy the United States has followed in the area for over forty years.

Recent events have increased the danger to moderate states in the Middle East from religious fundamentalists and radical forces. These trends, together with the heightened threat from Iran in the Gulf war, require a meaningful U.S. response now. We can make such a response by showing our tangible support for the legitimate defense needs of Saudi Arabia, a country with which the U.S. has enjoyed friendly and mutually beneficial relations for over forty years. Providing Saudi Arabia the means to defend itself, its Arab Gulf neighbors and the vital Persian Gulf sea lanes is important to U.S. economic and strategic interests. We have evaluated the impact of this sale and I can assure you that it in no way jeopardizes the security of Israel.

The U.S. defense relationship with Saudi Arabia has been endorsed by every President since Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1943. I cannot allow Congressional action to begin the dismantling of this policy. Saudi Arabia has promoted the security and stability of the Gulf region in the face of Iranian radicalism and Soviet expansionism. Within the context of intra-Arab politics, the Saudis have sought to move the Arab world away from confrontation and toward conciliation with Israel. Saudi Arabia in particular has made significant contributions toward the search for peace and regional stability. In addition, the Saudis have worked closely with the United States to ensure the free flow of oil so critical to our interests and those of our European allies and Japan. If this legislation were to be enacted, it would weaken the credibility of U.S. commitments throughout the Middle East and would undermine Israel's security by encouraging the introduction of non-U.S. weapons which are not subject to our stringent controls. This would diminish U.S. influence among moderate Arab states who are key to a lasting Israeli-Arab peace, encourage radical state-sponsored terrorism, increase the threat from Iran, and, ultimately, would mean lost U.S. jobs and export earnings. I am determined to avoid this result.

Finally, I would note that this is the first resolution of disapproval pursuant to section 36(b) of the Arms Export and Control Act to be enacted by the Congress. I regret that Congress, by enacting S. J. Resolution 316 and H. J. Resolution 589, has forced a showdown that prior Administrations and Congresses have heretofore avoided. I veto this legislation because its enactment would gravely harm vital U.S. national security interests.

DRAFT VETO MESSAGE

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WHITE HOUSE,

Clerk: Note change in deadline

Document No.

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ould you please give to my office your comments on the attached OMB ecommendation as well as on the draft veto message by noon Friday,									

RESPONSE:



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MAY 1 3 1986



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Enrolled Resolution S.J.Res. 316 - Prohibiting the Proposed Sale of Certain Missiles to Saudi Arabia Sponsors - Sen. Cranston (D) California and 66 others

Last Day for Action

May 21, 1986 - Wednesday

Purpose

Prohibits the sale of certain defensive missiles to Saudi Arabia.

Agency Recommendations

Office of Management and Budget Disapproval

Department of State

National Security Council Department of Defense Disapproval (Veto Message

attached)

Disapproval (Informally)
Disapproval

Discussion

On April 8, 1986, you formally gave Congress advance notification that the Administration intends to sell certain defensive missiles to Saudi Arabia. Notwithstanding strong and repeated Administration opposition, including veto threats, the Congress has passed S.J.Res. 316, by margins of 356-62 in the House and of 73-22 in the Senate, to prohibit this sale. The specific defensive missiles affected are the following:

- -- 671 AIM 9P4 air-to-air missiles;
- -- 995 AIM 9L air-to-air missiles;
- -- 200 STINGER manportable ground-to-air missile systems and 600 reloads; and
- -- 100 HARPOON air-to-sea missiles.

Administration Views

The Administration built its case for the proposed limited sale of missiles to the Saudis using the following arguments:

- -- The provision of these defensive arms advances United States security interests -- by demonstrating continued U.S. reliability as a security partner for Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States and by sending a clear message to Iran that the United States will oppose any expansion of the Gulf War and Iranian-backed radicalism in the region.
- -- The sale will allow Saudi Arabia, with which we have had close and mutually-beneficial ties for over 40 years, to meet military threats in the future.
- -- The Saudis already have missiles of the types proposed in this sale in their present arsenal.
- -- The Administration judges that the sale to Saudi Arabia supports vital U.S. interest in the region and clearly poses no threat to the security of Israel.
- -- The Saudis will be forced to buy weapons elsewhere if they cannot purchase them from the United States. It serves neither United States nor Israeli interests to allow other countries to sell these needed arms to the Saudis, particularly since only U.S. arms sales require safeguards and assurances.
- -- The sale could have large economic benefits to the U.S. economy.

Congressional Views

Our allies in the House and Senate, including Representatives Solomon, Hamilton, and Lagomarsino, and Senators Lugar, Rudman, and Goldwater, basically reiterated the arguments for the proposed sale outlined above in floor colloquy.

Taking a contrary view point, congressional supporters of the enrolled resolution argued in floor colloquy that:

- -- the proposed sale would not advance United States national security interests in the Middle East;
- -- the sale should be opposed, because the Saudis have failed to support U.S. peace efforts in the region, continued to withhold support from Egypt because of that country's peace treaty with Israel, provided tens of

millions of dollars annually to the PLO and Syria, and affirmed "total solidarity with Qaddafi" in the fight against terrorism; and

-- the United States should not continue to condone Saudi intransigence with further arm sales.

Conclusion

The Administration strongly opposed S.J.Res. 316 at every opportunity. Clear veto signals were sent to the Congress in Statements of Administration Policy prepared for both the House and Senate prior to floor action and in your March 25, 1986, letter to Majority Leader Dole in which you stated: "It will be necessary for me to veto any resolution of disapproval intended to block these sales." Consistent with our longstanding opposition to this enrolled resolution, we join the other agencies in unanimously supporting your decision to veto this legislation.

The Department of State has prepared the attached veto message for your consideration.

Enclosures

DRAFT VETO MESSAGE

I am returning today to the Senate S.J. 316 without my approval. I am vetoing this legislation because I firmly believe that failure to complete the proposed sale of air defense and anti-ship missiles to Saudi Arabia would damage important U.S. strategic, political and economic interests in the Middle East. It would undermine the balanced policy the United States has followed in the area for over thirty years.

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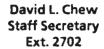
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