SITUATION LISTING

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

HCE294

UTS9303

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DE RUQMBE #3063 1111010

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0 211000Z APR 83 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE ODOD

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ENTIAL BEIRUT 3063

EXDIS

PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: APER, OTRA, LE, US

VIP PLANE TO BEIRUT: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT GEMAYEL SUBJ:

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

I DISUCSSED PRESIDENTIAL AIRCRAFT COMING FOR REMAINS WITH PRESIDENT GEMAYEL LAST NIGHT. 4/20. HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE UNDER-SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELICIES AND WE AGREED ON A BRIEF CALL SHORTLY AFTER ARRIVAL. FORMIN SALIM WILL BE PRESENT AND THIS WILL TAKE CARE OF ANY "FORMALITIES" IN CON-NECTION WITH VISIT. PRESIDENT LOOKS FORWARD TO AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A MORE SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSATION WITH VELICIES AFTER DEPARTURE OF AIRCRAFT.

3. GEMAYEL WANTS TO SEND LEBANESE DELEGATION TO ACCOMPANY HE PROPOSES TO SEND AMBASSADOR FUAD TURK, SECGEN OF FOREMIGN MINISTRY (ROUGHLY EAGLEBURGER/DAM EQUIVALENT), ACCOMPANIED BY SIX CTHERS. SIZE OF DELEGATION STEMS FROM FACT HE WOULD LIKE ALL COMMUNITIES TO BE REPRESENTED. THE ONLY NAME HE COULD GIVE ME WAS THAT OF BRIGADIER HBIB FARIS. I TOLD GENAYEL THAT WE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED THE GESTURE BUT THAT I WOULD WISH TO CONFIRM THAT THERE WAS IN FACT ROOM ON THE PLANE. HE UNDERSTOOD AND SAID IF NECESSARY SIZE OF DELEGATION COULD BE OUT DOWN. (RECOMMENDATION: IF DELEGATION CAN BE ACCOMMODATED ON PLANE, I RECOMMEND WE DO SO. LEBANESE FEEL VERY DEEPLY ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED AND THIS IS WHAT SEEMS TO THEM AN APPROPRIATE GESTURE ON THEIR PART. WE SHOULD ACCEPT IT GRACIOUSLY IF WE CAN.)

4. I TOOK ADVANTAGE OF CONVERSATION TO TELL PRESIDENT GEMAYEL ABOUT MY TELEPHONE CONVERSATION A FEW HOURS EARLIER WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN. HE WAS VERY PLEASED TO HEAR THE PRESIDENT'S REAFFIRMATION OF HIS DETERMINATION TO GO AHEAD IN LEBANON. THIS MORNING THE PRESS CARRIES THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS IN FULL, BASED ON RELEASES ROM WASHINGTON. WE WILL BE REPORTING FURTHER ON LEBANESE REACTIONS IN SEPTELS. DILLON

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SITUATION LISTING

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#3063 NNNN

SITUATION LISTING

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

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DE RUDKGPQ #2931/01 1111508

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FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9243

INFO RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 2563

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE 0257

RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 0887

RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE 0152

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE 0541

RUFHDB/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1253

RUDKSNQ/AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE 2485

RUDKFMQ/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE 1632

RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 5752

RUDKHLQ/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE 0736

RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 0015

RUTADS/AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE 0094

RUTAGN/AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE 0074

RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY SUVA IMMEDIATE 0025

RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE 1729

RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 2802

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SECRET SECTION 01 OF D2 THE HAGUE 02931 DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL

COLLECTIVE, IMMEDIATE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: UNSC, PREL, MARR, LE, NL

SUBJECT: UNIFIL EUROPEAN TROOP CONTRIBUTORS MEETING

IN THE HAGUE, APRIL 20

REFS: (A) THE HAGUE 2854, (B) USUN 954

1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE DISCUSSED MEETING WITH MFA IO POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS DIRECTOR ETTEMA. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE MFA'S REASONS FOR SPONSORING THE MEETING WERE: (1) TO PROVIDE FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN TROOP CONTRIBUTORS; (2) TO SHOW THE MOD -- WHICH HAS RECOMMENDED DUTCH WITHDRAWAL FROM UNIFIL (SEE PARA. 7) -- THE SUPPORT OF OTHER EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTORS FOR CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN THE FORCE; AND (3) TO ESTABLISH FOR THE CABINET AND PARLIAMENT A RECORD OF CONSULTATIONS ON UNIFIL AND ALSO TO DEMONSTRATE THE BROAD EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR

SENSITIVE

LLCLASSIFI**LD** 

BY RW MARA DATE JUST

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

## MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

### PARTICIPATION.

- 3. PRESENT AT THE MEETING, WHICH WAS CALLED ON APRIL 15, WERE THE NETHERLANDS (HOST), NORWAY, IRELAND, FINLAND, SWEDEN, AND ITALY. ALL BUT ITALY SENT MFA AND MOD/MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES. ITALY WAS REPRESENTED BY ITS EMBASSY IN THE HAGUE. FRANCE WAS INVITED TO ATTEND BUT DECLINED "ON PRINCIPLE." THE FRENCH ASSERTED THAT UNIFIL CONSULTATIONS SHOULD INCLUDE ALL TROOP CONTRIBUTORS AND THIS COULD BEST BE DONE IN NEW YORK. ETTEMA SPECULATED THAT THE FRENCH ALSO DID NOT WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN WHAT THEY CONSIDERED A MEETING OF "SMALL POWERS."
- 4. ETTEMA DECLINED TO DESCRIBE THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY PARTICIPANTS (ASIDE FROM THE DUTCH) BUT HIS IMPRESSION WAS OF A GENERAL CONSENSUS OO AS FOLLOWS:
- -- THERE IS DISSATISFACTION REGARDING THE PRESENT SITUATION IN LEBANON AND THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH UNIFIL IS OPERATING.
- -- THE TROOP CONTRIBUTORS COULD NOT MAKE ANY DEFINITIVE DECISIONS AT THIS POINT BECAUSE THERE WERE TOO MANY UNCERTAINTIES.
- -- ANY NEW ROLE FOR UNIFIL SHOULD MAINTAIN THE "INTER-NATIONAL PEACEKEEPING CHARACTER" OF THE FORCE. NONE OF THOSE PRESENT WISHED TO SEE UNIFIL TAKE ON AN INTERNAL POLICE FUNCTION. WHILE NO ONE SAID SO EXPLICITLY, THERE WAS STRONG AVERSION TO ASSUMING A ROLE OF PROTECTING PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMPS.
- THERE WAS SOME UNCERTAINTY REGARDING THE USG POSITION ON UNIFIL. WHAT ROLE DID THE U.S. SEE FOR THE FORCE? TWO PARTICIPANTS NOTED THE UNSYG'S COMMENTS ON A NEW UNIFIL ROLE THROUGHOUT LEBANON AND SPECULATED THAT THIS WAS INSPIRED BY THE U.S. PERHAPS THE U.S. WANTED TO SEE UNIFIL DEPLOYED THROUGHOUT LEBANON IN ORDER TO PHASE OUT THE MNF.
- -- NO STATE EXPRESSED AN INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM UNIFIL, NOTWITHSTANDING THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. THE DUTCH MOD REP, HOWEVER, DID VOICE STRONG DOUBTS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF CONTINUED DUTCH PARTICIPATION GIVEN UNIFIL'S CURRENT NON-ROLE. THE DUTCH MFA REP, ON THE OTHER HAND, FAVORED REMAINING IN THE FORCE. ETTEMA NOTED THAT THE MFA WAS PLEASED BY THE BROAD SUPPORT EXPRESSED AT THE MEETING FOR REMAINING IN UNIFIL.
- 5. ETTEMA ADDED THAT THE MEETING -- WHICH WAS A ONE-TIME AFFAIR -- ENDED WITH NO FORMAL CONCLUSIONS.
- 6. THE ITALIAN EMBASSY PARTICIPANT AT THE MEETING BT #2931

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SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

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FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9244

INFO RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 2564

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE 0258

RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 0888

RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE 0153

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE 0542

RUFHOB/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1254

RUDKSNQ/AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE 2486

RUDKFMQ/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE 1633

RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 5753

RUDKHLQ/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE 0737

RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 0016

RUTADS/AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE 0095

RUTAGN/AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE 0075

RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY SUVA IMMEDIATE 0026

RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE 1730

RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 2803

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SECRET SECTION 02 OF 02 THE HAGUE 02931 (PROTECT) AND ONE OF THE MOD REPS ALSO PROVIDED READOUTS ALONG THE LINES OF ABOVE.

- 7. IN ADDITION, ETTEMA TOLD US THAT DEFENSE MINISTER DE RUITER HAS SENT A LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DEN BROEK RECOMMENDING THAT THEY JOINTLY PROPOSE TO THE CABINET DUTCH WITHDRAWAL FROM UNIFIL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER JULY 19 IF A NEW AND MORE EFFECTIVE MANDATE IS NOT FORTHCOMING. ETTEMA IS PREPARING A DRAFT REPLY FOR VAN DEN BROEK WHICH WOULD RECOMMEND AGAINST DUTCH WITHDRAWAL. HE EXPECTS THE TWO MINISTERS TO WORK OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES BEFORE THE CABINET CONSIDERS THE UNIFIL ISSUE. ETTEMA IS FAIRLY CONFIDENT THAT THE MFA POSITION -- TO CONTINUE IN UNIFIL -- WILL PREVAIL.
- 8. COMMENT: THE CABINET IS LIKELY TO DECIDE DURING THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS ON CONTINUED DUTCH PARTICIPATION IN UNIFIL. WE RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT CONSIDER DEMARCHE TO THE DUTCH ON THE IMPORTANCE OF STAYING IN UNIFIL. DYESS BT

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SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

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CONFIDENTIAL BEIRUT 5008

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO FOLLOWING ALL IMMEDIATE

CAIRO JIDDA RIYADH DAMASCUS TEL AVIV JERUSALEM ANKARA USUN

LONDON PARIS ROME

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PINS, LE , US

SUBJ: EMBASSY BOMBING: LEBANESE PERCEPTIONS OF

RESPONSIBILITY

1. (C- ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AS IS CUSTOMARY AFTER MAJOR ACTS OF TERRORISM.

LEBANESE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION BEGAN MANUFACTURING THEORIES AND ALLEGATIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY IMMEDIATELY

AFTER THE APRIL 18 BOMBING OF THE EMBASSY. TO A LARGE

EXTENT, THIS FOLLOWED PREDICTABLE PATTERNS:

MUSLIMS/LEFTISTS ARE INCLINED TO BLAME THE ISRAELIS

WHILE CHRISTIANS/RIGHTISTS HOLD THE SYRIANS, PALESTINIANS

AND/OR IRANIANS RESPONSIBLE, EITHE ALONE OR IN

COORDINATION WITH LEBANESE ALLIES.

3. THE IMMEDIATE CLAIM OF RESPONSIBILITY BY THE

ISLAMIC HOLY WAR ORGANIZATION (AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI),

THE SAME "GROUP" THAT HAS ANNOUNCED ITSELF AS BEING

BEHIND THE RECENT ATTACKS ON MNF TROOPS, HAS FUELED MUCH OF THE CONVICTION THAT PRO-KHOMEINI SHIA FANATICS

WERE BEHIND THE BLAST. REPORTS THAT THE BOMBING

WAS A SUICIDE MISSION PERFORMED BY A DRIVER WITH A

CAR (OR TRUCK) LOADED WITH EXPLOSIVES ARE BEING

INTERPRETED AS FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT THE EXPLOSION

WAS THE WORK OF A RELIGIOUS FANATIC. SIMILARLY,

A LATER CLAIM OF CREDIT BY THE HITHERTO UNKNOWN \*\*ORGANIZATION FOR VENGEANCE FOR THE MARTYRS OF SABRA

AND SHATILA" HAS BROUGHT ABOUT AN UPSURGE IN SPECULATION

THAT PALESTINIANS EXTREMEISTS WERE INVOLVED.

4. IN AN APRIL 21 CONVERSATION, AMAL LEADER NABIH

BARRI WAS CATEGORIC THAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI WAS A FICTION (AND COMPARED IT TO THE EQUALLY EPHEMERAL FRONT

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BY RW NARA DATE ILILL

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

# MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

FOR THE LIBERATION OF LEBANON FROM FOREIGNERS WHOSE ALLEGED REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ANNOUNCED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANTI-SYRIAN AND PALESTINIAN ATTACKS OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS). HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE THE ORGANIZATION ITSELF DID NOT EXIST, THERE WERE PRO-KHOMEINI LEBANESE SHIA IN BEIRUT WHO MIGHT BE CAPABLE, AT LEAST PSYCHOLOGICALLY, OF CARRYING OUT SUCH AN ACTION. HE COMMENTED THAT THESE INDIVIDUALS WERE WELL-KNOWN TO THE LEBANESE ARMY'S G-2 AND NOTED SARCASTICALLY THAT IF THEY WERE DETAINED INDEFINITELY AS WAS THE CASE WHEN THE ARMY ARRESTED MEMBERS OF AMAL INSTEAD OF ONLY A FEW HOURS, SUCH INCIDENTS MIGHT BE AVOIDED. (COMMENT: WE BELIEVE BARRI WAS REFERRING TO JAFAR SHA'IB, HEAD OF THE ISLAMIC UNION OF STUDENTS, WHO WAS DETAINED BRIEFLY BY THE LAF BEFORE SHIA SPIRITUAL LEADER SHAMS-AL-DIN PRESSED FOR HIS RELEASE. EARLIER EMBASSY REPORTING REFERS TO SHA'IB AND OTHER PRO-IRANIAN SHIA IN THE BEIRUT AREA. END COMMENT.) 5. BARRI WAS CAREFUL TO STRESS THAT WHILE SHIA EXTREMISTS WERE THEORETICAL CNADIDATES FOR RESPONSIBILITY, THERE WERE MANY OTHERS. HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE LOGICAL PLACE TO SEARCH FOR CULPRITS WAS ON THE POLITICAL FRINGES: PALESTINIAN RADICALS, SUNNI FUNDAMENTALISTS AND KHOMEINI FOLLOWERS -- AS WELL AS LEBANESE FORCES AND ISRAELIS. DILLON BT #3066 NNNN

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION: MESSAGE:

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CONFIDENTIAL STATE 109506

EXDIS - INFORM CONSULS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS:

PEPR, PTER, LE, US SUBJECT: LEBANON SITUATION REPORT NO. 7

- CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. DURING THE NIGHT'S WORK AN ADDITIONAL FIVE BODIES

SENSITIVE

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

WERE LOCATED AND IDENTIFIED. EXCAVATION WORK CONTINUES. WE NOW LIST 15 AMERICANS DEAD WITH TWO MISSING AND PRESUMED DEAD.

- 3. THE SPECIAL DELEGATION TRAVELING TO BEIRUT IS SCHEDULED TO DEPART TODAY.
- 4. LATE PRESS REPORTS (FBIS), CITES IDF RADIO IN TEL AVIV AS HAVING REPORTED THAT AT ABOUT 0900 GMT (0500 EST), SEVERAL SHOTS HAD BEEN FIRED AT THE EMBASSY WHILE RESCUE OPERATIONS WERE UNDERWAY. THE EMBASSY REPORTED AT 0545 EST THAT THE SHOTS MAY HAVE ORIGINATED WHEN A CAR DROVE THROUGH AN INTERNAL SECURITY FORCE (POLICE) CHECK-POINT WITHOUT STOPPING. THIS INCIDENT IS BEING CHECKED FURTHER BY THE EMBASSY. SHULTZ BT #9506

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

HCE464 UTS0595 00 RUEHC

DE RUEHAM #3761/01 1111649

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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3342 INFO RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE 9042 RUEHRH/USELO RIYADH IMMEDIATE 2835 BT

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 02 AMMAN 03761 NODIS

E. 0.12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PLO, JO, MO, US, AG, XF

SUBJECT: APRIL 21 CONVERSATION WITH KING HUSSEIN:

ALGERIAN "FEELER"

REF: (A) STATE 109072, (B) STATE 108845 (NOTAL)

S - ENTIRE TEXT.

AS INSTRUCTED I BRIEFED KING HUSSEIN THIS AFTERNOON ON THE VELIOTES-BANDAR CONVERSATION RELATING TO THE

FOR THE RECORD I LEFT A COPY OF THE TEXT OF PARA (5) OF REFTEL (A) CONTAINING THE ALGERIAN QUESTION AND OUR RESPONSE. ALSO, I UNDERLINED THE CONTINUING NEED TO GUARD THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THIS EXCHANGE. WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT

HUSSEIN SAID THE REASONS FOR THE ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT HERE WERE A MYSTERY TO HIM. IS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE TOMORROW AND THE KING SAID HE WILL MEET WITH HIM ON SATURDAY. THE SAUDI REPORT THAT THE PRINCIPAL REASON BEHIND THE ALGERIAN MISSION RELATES TO IMPROVEMENT OF JORDANIAN-SYRIAN RELATIONS SEEMED MILDLY TO INTEREST HUSSEIN. HE SPECULATED ON WHETHER THIS WAS CONNECTED TO AN INDIRECT EFFORT TO BRING PRESSURE ON ARAFAT, OR WHETHER IT WAS EXCLUSIVELY RELATED TO AN ATTEMPT TO UNFREEZE THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. WAY, HE PLAINLY WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT WHAT THE ALGERIANS COULD ACCOMPLISH.

IN BRIEFING HUSSEIN ON KING HASSAN'S ABORTIVE

SENSITIVE

NLRR M09-26/3#3846/ BY 100 NARA DATE // I/CL

SITUATION LISTING

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SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

REQUEST THAT WE SEND AN EMISSARY TO RABAT TO RECEIVE A SPECIAL MESSAGE, I ASKED IF HE HAD HEARD ANYTHING FURTHER FROM KING HASSAN SINCE BOUCETTA'S VISIT. HE HAD NOT,

5. HUSSEIN SAID HE HAD FORGOTTEN TO RELATE TO ME HASSAN'S REQUEST THAT HE (HUSSEIN) AGREE IN A SEPARATE SECRET DOCUMENT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE ONCE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL HAD TAKEN PLACE. HE HAD TOLD BOUCETTA TO INFORM HIS MONARCH

HE WAS PREPARED TO SIGN A DOCUMENT THAT MADE REFERENCE TO SELF-DETERMINATION BECAUSE HE BELIEVED THIS WAS THE SACRED RIGHT OF ANY PEOPLES.

THE KING ALSO SAID THAT WITHIN THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS HE EXPECTED THE GOJ WOULD BE ANNOUNCING NEW RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL BETWEEN THE WEST BANK ("I AM GOING TO BEGIN TO PUT THE PRESSURE AND JORDAN THE BRIDGES WOULD REMAIN OPEN, BUT MUCH GREATER CARE WOULD BE GIVEN TO SCREENING TRAFFIC AND CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE WOULD REQUIRE PRIOR APPROVAL BEFORE BEING PERMITTED TO ENTER JORDAN. HE ALSO FORECAST TIGHTER CONTROLS ON INTERNAL TRAVEL OF PLO OFFICIALS NOW RESIDENT IN JORDAN. FINALLY, AS I WAS WALKING OUT OF THE OFFICE HUSSEIN MADE A CURIOUS REMARK THAT BEARS RECORDING. IN RESPONDING TO MY OBSERVATION THAT WE HAD HEARD THERE MIGHT BE A MEETING OF THE PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN TUNIS TONIGHT, HE SCATHINGLY REMARKED THAT HE DOUBTED IF ANYTHING WOULD COME OUT OF IT.

<sup>8.</sup> COMMENT: THE KING APPEARED RESTED AND RELAXED. HE ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY FURTHER NEWS ON A VISIT TO THE AREA BY THE SECRETARY. I

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REPLIED THAT I THOUGHT A DECISION ON A TRIP PROBABLY WOULD BE MADE SHORTLY. HUSSEIN SAID BT #3761

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION: MESSAGE:

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DE RUEHAM #3760/01 1111643

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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3340

INFO RUGMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4917

RUFHRS/AMEMBASSY ALGIERS 1128

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1602

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 9700

RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 5750

RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 9040

RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 5522

RUEHRH/USELO RIYADH 2833

RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 6699

RUDKKR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 2112

RT

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 AMMAN 03760

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PLO, JO

SUBJECT: EXILED MAYOR GAWASMEH'S VIEWS ON PLO-US

RELATIONS

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY. IN A MEETING WITH EXILED MAYOR FAHD QAWAS-MEH, DCM DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITIES FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE HUSSEIN-ARAFAT DIALOGUE. QAWASMEH'S BOTTOM LINE ASSESSMENT WAS THAT ARAFAT, BECAUSE OF HIS WEAKENED LEADERSHIP ROLE WITHIN THE PLO, WILL NEED U.S. ASSURANCES TO MOVE FORWARD WITH HUSSEIN. GAWASMEH SAID THESE U.S. ASSURANCES SHOULD INCLUDE U.S. "RECOGNITION" OF THE PLO (NOT JUST OPENING OF A DIALOGUE) AND RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN RETURN FOR AN EXPLICIT PLO DECLARATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF 242, 338 AND ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. IF ARAFAT CAN OBTAIN THIS FROM THE U.S., HE WILL RISK JOINING HUSSEIN AND FACING THE INEVITABLE DIVISION BETWEEN THE PLO LODERATES AND EXTREMISTS. QAWASMEH PLANS TO GO TO TUNIS AND ALGIERS NEXT WEEK TO MEET ARAFAT AND SAID HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO CARRY ANY MESSAGE THE USG MAY WANT TO CONVEY TO ARAFAT. END SUMMARY.

GAWASMEH CPENED THE CONVERSATION WITH DCM AND ACTING

SENSITIVE

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

# MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

POLCHIEF APRIL 21 BY EXPRESSING HIS SORROW OVER THE BEIRUT EMBASSY BOMBING. HE STATED HE WAS CONVINCED THIS TERRORIST ACT WAS NOT COMMITTED BY THE PLO AND HE KNEW DIRECTLY FROM ARAFAT AND ABU JIHAD THAT MILITARY ACTION BY THE PLO WAS PROHIBITED AT THIS STAGE. DEM ASKED GAWASMEH OF HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE POSSIBILI-TIES OF MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD AFTER THE BREAKDOWN IN THE HUSSEIN/ARAFAT TALKS. QAWASMEH SAID THE OUTLOOK WAS NOT BRIGHT. HE WAS CRITICAL OF ARAFAT'S LEADERSHIP AT THE PNC AND ALGIERS AND SAID ARAFAT COULD HAVE ORCHESTRATED THE ALGIERS CONFERENCE TO ADDRESS THE REAL ISSUES IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND TO OBTAIN A STRONG MANDATE TO MOVE FORWARD. INSTEAD, HE TURNED IT INTO A DEBATING SOCIETY AND LET EVERYONE HAVE HIS SAY. RESULT WAS THAT THE VARIOUS FACTIONS OF THE PLO ALL THOUGHT THEY HAD GIVEN ARAFAT A DIFFERENT MANDATE. AMBIGUOUS SITUATION LED TO ARAFAT'S INABILITY TO LEAD THE PLO TO A DECISION TO MOVE FORWARD WITH KING HUSSEIN ON THE BASIS OF THE PLO/JORDANIAN TALKS. ARAFAT, IN SHORT, REAPED IN KUWAIT THE RESULTS OF HIS LACK OF LEADERSHIP IN ALGIERS. 5. NEVERTHELESS, EFFORTS TO GET THE JORDANIAN/PLO TALKS REVIVED MUST CONTINUE, QAWASMEH SAID. HE IS CON-VINCED THAT THE REAGAN INITIATIVE AND FEZ SUMMIT PROVIDE A BASIS FOR FORWARD MOVEMENT. HOWEVER, SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK WITH THE PLO. QAWASMEH ASKED IF THE U.S. WAS WILLING AND PREPARED TO OFFER THE PLO "ASSURANCES" WHICH WOULD SERVE TO GIVE THE PLO MORE OF A STAKE IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. DCM ASKED WHETHER ARAFAT WAS IN A POSITION TO ACCEPT EXPLICITLY AND PUBLICLY UNSC 242, 338, AND ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. IT WAS WELL KNOWN THAT IN RETURN THE USG WOULD ENTER INTO IMMEDIATE CONTACT WITH THE PLO. ADVANTAGES RO THE PLO OF SUCH DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE U.S. WERE SIGNIFICANT. QAWASMEN STATED THAT ARAFAT CANNOT ACCEPT THE U.S. CONDITIONS, ALTHOUGH THE CHAIRMAN RECOGNIZES THE NECESSITY OF A DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S. HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO ANNOUNCE HIS SUPPORT OF "ALL UN RESOLUTIONS INCLUDING UN RESOLUTION 242." DCM SAID THIS WAS TOO AMBIGUOUS. QAWASMEH REMARKED THAT WHAT ARAFAT REALLY NEEDS IS ASSURANCE THAT, IF HE ACCEPTS 242, HE WILL RECEIVE IN RETURN U.S. "RECOGNITION" OF THE PLO (NOT SIMPLY THE INITIATION OF A DIALOGUE) AND OF THE PALESTINIANS" RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. WITH THIS ASSURANCE IN HAND, ARAFAT WOULD HAVE THE STRENGTH OF POSITION TO SPLIT THE PLO AND TURN HIS BACK ON SYRIA'S

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THREATS AND THOSE OF THE RADICALS. THIS WOULD STRENGTHEN ARAFAT'S HAND WITH THE OTHER PLO FACTIONS TO ALLOW HIM TO PROCEED WITH HUSSEIN TO SUPPORT THE U.S. INITIATIVE. BT

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SITUATION LISTING

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MESSAGE:

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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3341

INFO RUGMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4918

RUFHRS/AMEMBASSY ALGIERS 1129

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1603

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 9701

RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 5751

RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 9041

RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 5523

RUEHRH/USELO RIYADH 2834

RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 6700

RUDKKR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 2113

BT

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IF SOMETHING OF THIS NATURE WAS NOT INJECTED INTO THE PROCESS, GAWASMEH PREDICTED PROLONGED DRIFT AND AN INCREASING INABILITY OF THE ARAB SIDE TO MOVE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS.

5. GAWASMEH, IN PARTING, SAID HE WAS TRAVELING TO ALGIERS ON APRIL 26 TO ATTEND THE ARAB MUNICIPALITIES CONFERENCE, THEN WOULD GO TO TUNIS BEFORE RETURNING TO AMMAN. HE HAD SENT A CABLE TO ARAFAT TO ARRANGE A MEETING AND RECEIVED AN AFFIRMATIVE REPLY. QAWASMEH VOLUNTEERED TO PASS ANY MESSAGE OR GUESTIONS TO ARAFAT THE U.S. DESIRED.

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MESSAGE:

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FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6018

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UNCLAS COTONOU 0979

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPDC, DM

SUBJECT: BEIRUT BOMBING: MESSAGE TO SECRETARY SHULTZ 1. FOREIGN MINISTER ADJIBADE HAS ASKED THE EMBASSY TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO SECRETARY SHULTZ "ON THE OCCASION OF THE DISGRACEFUL OFFENSE COMMITTED APRIL 18, 1983, AGAINST THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN BEIRUT." 2. INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION IS AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE YOUR EXCELLENCY, IT IS WITH GRIEF THAT I HAVE JUST LEARNED OF THE TRAGIC EVENT WHICH OCCURRED APRIL 18, 1983 AT THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN BEIRUT. ON THIS SAD OCCASION, PERMIT ME TO PRESENT TO YOU IN THE NAME OF THE BENINESE PEOPLE AND STATE AS WELL AS IN MY OWN NAME, MY HEARTFELT AND MOST SINCERE CONDOLENCES. PLEASE TRANSMIT TO THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS MY DEEPEST SYMPATHY. SINCERELY, TIAMIOU ADJIBADE. UNQUOTE. 3. EMBASSY WILL RETAIN ORIGINAL OF THE NOTE UNLESS OTHERWISE ADVISED. TRANSMIT SEPARATELY TO THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY AN APPROPRIATE EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY AND TO REPRESENT THE GOVERNMENT AT ANY CEREMONY.

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INFO RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE 001
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RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 001
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SECRET BEIRUT 3068

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINS, PREL, MOPS, LE, US, IS

SUBJ: LEBANESE-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS: UNIFIL AND

PROTECTION OF PALESTINIANS.

REF: TEL AVIV 5092

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: A RECENT I DICATION FROM AMIN GEMAYEL THAT UNIFIL IS EXPENDABLE -- PARTICULARLY IF THE ROLE ENVISIONED FOR IT IS PROTECTION OF PALESTINIAN CAMPS -- PLUS ISRAEL'S CONSISTENT ANTI-UNIFIL POSITION INCREASES THE POSSIBILITY THAT LEBANESE AND ISRAELIS WILL AGREE ON NO UN TROOPS IN SOUTH LEBANON. CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION DIRECTED AGAINST PALESTINIANS IN THE SIDON AREA IS A CLEAR INDICATOR OF THE HOSTILITY WITH WHICH SOME LEBANESE VIEW THEM, HOWEVER, AND IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SOME PROVISIONS FOR PROTECTION MUST BE MADE FOLLOWING AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. WHILE THE LAF HAS THE CAPABILITY OF PROVIDING SECURITY, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE GOL WILL ATTACH A HIGH PRIORITY TO SUCH A MISSION. FROM THE .S. PERSPECTIVE. AN AGREEMENT THAT DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR ADEQUATE INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION OF PALESTINIANS IN SOUTH LEBANON CARRIES TWO RISKS: FIRST, THE PLO MAY REFUSE TO WITHDRAW. SECOND. IF THE PALESTINIANS ARE VICTIMS OF LARGE SCALE VIOLENCE FOLLOWING AN IDF PULL OUT, THE 7. ., AS PARTY TO AN AGREEMENT THAT DID NOT PROVIDE ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS. WILL BE SEEN AS RESPONSIBLE. ALTHOUGHT IT MAY NOT BE AN IDEAL SOLUTION, WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT UNIFIL BE RETAINED IN SOUTH LEBANON TO PROTECT PALESTINIAN CAMPS AS PART OF ANY LEBANESE-U.S.- ISRAELI

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#### MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY 3. IN THE COURSE OF THE CURRENT NEGOTIAITIONS, CONSIDERATION OF THE FUTURE ROLE OF UNIFIL AND THE ISSUE OF PROTECTION FOR PALESTINIANS IN SOUTH LEBANON HAVE OFTEN BEEN CONNECTED: UNIFIL COULD BE DEPOLOYED AROUND REFUGEE CAMPS IN THE SIDON AND TYRE AREAS. THE ISRAELIS HAVE CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED THE PRESENCE OF UNIFIL TROOPS FOR ANY PURPOSE IN THE SECURITY ZONE, AND IN HIS APRIL 14 MEETING WITH HABIB, AMIN GEMAYEL MADE IT CLEAR THAT AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, A CONTINUED ROLE FOR UNIFIL IN THE SOUTH IS NOT AN IMPORTANT ISSUE --PARTICULARLY IF THE MISSION IS PROTECTION OF PALESTINIANS. 4. GEMAYEL'S COMMENTS ON UNIFIL. COUPLED WITH ISRAEL'S WELL-KNOWN POSITION, STRENTHENS THE POSSIBILITY THAT LEFT TO THEMSELVES, THE ISRAELIS AND LEBANESE WILL SIMPLY DEAL UNIFIL OUT OF THE SOUTH. IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT THAT WE AGAIN REVIEW THE STATUS OF AND PROSPECTS FOR PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON IN LIGHT OF U.S. INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES. OUR REPORTING SINCE LAST JULY HAS MADE IT REPEATEDLY CLEAR THAT PALESTINIANS HERE FACE A HOSTILE AND THREATENING ENVIRONMENT. THE EVENTS OF THE LAST EIGHT YEARS HAVE FOSTERED AN INTENSE HATRED OF PALESTINIANS ON THE PART OF MANY LEBANESE. AND A DEFEATED ADVERSARY IN THIS SOCIETY IS NOT DEALT WITH MAGNANIMOUSLY. INDEED, ACTIONS AGAINST PALESTINIANS, ESPECIALLY THE STRING OF THREATS AND MURDERS AROUND SIDON, ARE CONTINUING PROOF THAT SOME LEBANESE ARE FULLY PREPARED TO RESORT TO EXTREME ACTS TO GET PALESTINIANS OUT OF LEBANON. WE HAVE READ TEL AVIV'S REPORT OF BG DAGAN'S OBSERVATIONS ON PROSPECTS FOR PALESTINIANS IN SOUTH LEBANON (REFTEL). HIS COMMENT THAT ONCE THE IDF WITHDRAWS, FURTHER MASSACRES OF PALESTINIANS ARE LIKELY STRIKES US AS PLAUSIBLE. WHILE WE BELIEVE THE LAF'S CAPABILITIES ARE INCREASING STEADILY, WE CANNOT BE SURE THAT THE GOL AND LAF WILL BE MOTIVATED TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE PROTECTION TO PALESTINIANS. THEREFORE, BUT LIKELY FOR DIFFERENT REASONS, WE FIND BG DAGAN'S ASSERTION OF LAF INADEQUACY IN PROTECTING PALESTINIANS QUITE PLAUSIBLE. WHILE THE IDF MAY NOT BE DOING EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO PREVENT INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE OR INTIMIDATION OF PALESTINIANS, ISRAELI PRESENCE HAS PROBABLY BEEN THE MAJOR FACTOR IN THE PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE ON A MAJOR SCALE. FOLLOWING AN IDF WITHDRAWAL, SOUTH LEBANON WITHOUT UNIFIL COULD VERY EASILY BECOME THE ARENA FOR INCREASED VIOLENCE DIRECTED AGAINST

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#### MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS.

6. IF UNIFIL IS DROPPED EVEN AS A PRESENCE AROUND PALESTINIAN CAMPS, WE FORESEE TWO MAJOR DANGERS FROM THE U.S. PERSPECTIVE. FIRST, THE PLO MAY REFUSE TO WITHDRAW ON THE GOUNDS THAT THERE ARE NO ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS. SECOND, AS A FULL PARTY TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, WE WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE IN WORLD OPINION FOR CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM THE TERMS OF ANY AGREEMENT. IN OUR VIEW, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT A WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES WILL INCREASE THE PROBABILITY OF NEW VIOLENCE AGAINST PALESTINIANS. IF WE HAVE ACQUIESCED IN AN AGREEMENT THAT LEAVES PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS WITHOUT SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION, THE UNITED STATES WILL BE BLAMED FOR WHAT HAPPENS. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO FORESEE THE ASSASSINATION OF BASHIR GEMAYEL, THE ISRAELI INVASION OF WEST BEIRUT AND THE SUBSEQUENT MURDER OF PALESTINIANS IN SABRA/SHATILA. IF THERE WERE TO BE A MASSACRE IN SOUTH LEBANON. WE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO ARGUE THAT THERE WERE NO PRIOR WARNINGS. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM OF PROTECTION FOR PALESTINIANS IN SCUTH LEX NON AT LENGTH WITH ICRC AND OTHERS. WEPYAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT IT WILL BE EASY TO ENSURE SECURITY FOLLOWING AN IDF WITHDRAWAL, AND IN SOME AREAS FULL SECUTIV MAY NOT BE ATTAINABLE. SIDON WILL POSE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS: IN ADDITION TO THE THREATS POSED BY THE PATTERN OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION THATXAS ALREADY DEVELOPED, UNRWA ESTIMATES THBP OVER HALZIOF THE YTIMATED 5(000 AZDLESTINIANS IN THE SIDON AREA ARE OUTSIDE REFUEEE ALTHOUGH IT IS CLEARLY NOT POSSIBLE TO POST UN TROOPS WHEREVER THERE ARE PALESTINIANS, IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO CONSIDER A SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT IN SIDON FOR INTENSIVE PATROLS IN AREAS OUTSIDE THE CAMPS THAT ARE HEAVILY POPULATED BY PALESTINIANS. THIS ALONE WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT WOULD REQUIRE MORE THAN A TOKEN FORCE OF A COMPANY OR SO. THERE ARE NUMEROUS PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEPLOYMENT OF UNIFIL AROUND REFUGEE CAMPS AND OTHER PALESTINIAN AREAS: IT IS AN ISSUE THAT WILL COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATIONS, CAUSE FRICTION WITH THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT, FOSTER A GHETTO-LIKE ATMOSPHERE AMONG THE PALESTINIANS, AND MAY BRING OBJECTIONS FROM SOME TROHQ CONTRIBUTORS. IT IS OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THAT NONE OF THESE OUTWEIGHT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE HUMAN AND POLITICAL DISASTER THAT COULD RESULT FROM AN AGREEMENT

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THAT PROVIDES NO INTEROSTIONAL PROTECTION FOR PALESTINIANS.

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MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5142

INFO RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 0407

RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 9149

RUEHRH/USELO PIYADH PRIORITY 1557

RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY 3232

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY 5919

RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY 3461

BT

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 01398

EXDIS

FROM HABIE AND DRAPER

E.O. 12356: DECL: DADR

TAGS: PREL, IS, SY, LE, PLC, MOPS, XF

SUBJ: HABIB-DRAPER MISSION: NEAR CRISIS AT 21 APRIL

NETANYA SESSION

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: THE 21 APR TRIPARTITE NEGOTIATING SESSION AT NETANYA REFLECTED SOME OF THE CROSS CURRENTS NOW EMERGING, INCLUDING GROWING LEBANESE RESISTANCE TO SOME ISRAELI CONCEPTS. THE HEADS OF DELEGATION AGREED PRIDR TO THE SESSION THAT WE SHOULD HAVE FOUR NEGOTIATING SESSIONS NEXT WEEK, MAKING A MAJOR EFFORT TO CONCLUDE AN UNDERSTANDING ON ALL ISSUES EXCEPT THOSE WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE SETTLED AT THE HIGHER POLITICAL LEVEL, E.G., HADDAD, UNIFIL, AND THE FEASIBILITY OF SOME JOINT SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. WE CLEARED UP TO 95 PERCENT OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE COVERING AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS THE AGREED MINUTES INTERPRETING THE COVERING AGREEMENT, WITH THE ISRAELI SIDE DEMONSTRATING AN ACCOMMODATING ATTITUDE ON MOST SUBJECTS. IN CONTRAST TO MOST PAST BEHAVIOR, THE LEBANESE SIDE INDULGED IN SOME NITPICKING.

3. A NEAR CRISIS AROSE AS WE WERE ABOUT TO BREAK FOR LUNCH. GENERAL EINAN, THE CHIEF ISRAELI NEGOTIATOR IN THE MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE, CAME DOWN FROM THE MEETING ROOM WITH STORM CLOUDS ON HIS FACE AND INSISTED TO KIMCHE THAT THE ISRAELI DELEGATION PACK UP AND LEAVE

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MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

INSTANTLY. HE CLAIMED THAT THE LEGANESE MILITARY DELEGATION HAD REVOKED SIGNIFICANTLY SOME PREVIOUS UNDERSTANDINGS AND WAS TRYING TO TURN THE CLOCK BACK. THE ISRAELI REACTION WAS TRIGGERED BY HAMDAM'S RESPONSE TO A POORLY DRAFTED ISRAELI CONCEPT PAPER ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE JOINT SUPERVISORY TEAMS WHICH WAS PROVIDED TO THE LEBANESE FOR COMMENT AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE LAST MEETING. THE LEBANESE REJECTED THE ISRAELI PAPER AND RETRENCHED TO A POSITION OF 3-5 TEAMS, WHICH THE ISRAELIS REJECTED. KIMCHE PROFESSED TO AGREE WITH EINAN THAT THE ISRAELIS SHOULD LEAVE RIGHT AWAY BUT DRAPER PREVAILED UPON HIM TO STAY FOR AN AFTERNOON SESSION ON SECURITY MATTERS WHICH WOULD BE ATTENDED ONLY BY THE CHIEF CIVILIAN AND MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES. AT THAT AFTERNOON SESSION, A FEW MISUNDERSTANDINGS STARTED TO BE CLEARED UP AND A CONSENSUS WAS REACHED ON RESDLVING ONE MAJOR ISSUE. MEVERTHELESS, THIS SESSION REVEALED IN DE-TAIL A MAJOR DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TERRITORIAL BRIGADE. THE SESSION ALSO MADE CLEARER THAN EVER THAT THE LEBANESE HAVE BEEN HAVING SECOND AND EVEN THIRD THOUGHTS ABOUT WHAT THZY HAVE GIVEN UP UN NZGO-TIATIONS ON JOINT SUPERVISORY TEAMS . DAMONG OTHER MATTERS, AND APPEAR DETERMINED TO RESIST CONCEPTS AND METHODS OF OPERATION WHICH THZPISRAELIS UP TILL NOW THOUGHT HAD BEEN ACCEPTED. AT THE SAME TIME, IN THE CIVILIAN SUBCOMMITTEE (EPORTED SEPTEL) THE LEBANESE APPEARED TO BE BACKING AWAY FROM INSTITUTING AT LEAST SOME OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE AR-RANGEMENTS FOR THE SIX MONTH INTERIM PERIOD, ALTHOUGH WE CLEARED THIS UP TO A CERTAIN EXTENT BY THE END OF THE SESSION. THIS UNDOUBTEDLY HEIGHTENED ISRAELI CONCERNS. END SUMMARY.

- 4. SINCE THE SUBJECTS COVERED IN THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN SUBCOMMITTEES HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN SEPTELS, THE REMAINDER OF THIS REPORT WILL DEAL ONLY WITH THE AFTERNOON SESSION ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ATTENDED BY DRAPER AND COOLEY FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY KIMCHE AND EINAN FOR ISRAEL, AND BY FATTAL AND HAMDAM ON THE LEBANESE SIDE.
- 5. INVITED TO SPEAK FIRST, EINAN SAID HE HAD BEEN SHOCKED BY THE APPARENT TURN-AROUND OF THE LEBANESE SIDE ON SOME KEY SECURITY ISSUES. HE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE LEBANESE ATTITUDE PUT IN JEOPARDY THE PACKAGE OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WAS BEING DEVELOPED. HE SAID HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED WITH FOUR ISSUES:
- (1) THE LEBANESE PROPOSAL TO CHANGE THE NAME OF THE "MILITARY COMMITTEE" TO SOMETHING LIKE THE "SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE";

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SITUATION:

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5143

INFO RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 0408

RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 9150

RUEHRH/USELO RIYADH PRIORITY 1558

RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY 3233

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY 5920

RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY 3462

BT

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EXDIS

FROM HABIB AND DRAPER

E.O. 12356: DECL: DADR

TAGS: PREL, IS, SY, LE, PLO, MOPS, XF

SUBJ: HABIB-DRAPER MISSION: NEAR CRISIS AT 21 APRIL

(2) THE LEBANESE CONCEPT FOR THE INTEGRATION OF HADDAD'S

FORCES INTO THE TERRITORIAL BRIGADE;

(3) LEBANESE RESISTANCE TO THE CONCEPT OF "HOT PURSUIT"

IN LEBANON'S TERRITORIAL WATERS; AND

(4) THE LEBANESE VIEW THAT WE SHOULD RETURN TO THE CON-CEPT OF ONLY THREE TO FIVE SUPERVISORY TEAMS (ORIGINALLY A UNITED STATES IDEA) IN LIEU OF THE AGREED FORMULA OF "UP

TO EIGHT TEAMS."

OVER THE NAME OF A COMMITTEE BUT LEAVE THIS MINOR ISSUE UNTIL LATER. KIMCHE WENT INTO A LONG EXPOSITION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE LEBANESE HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN ASSOCIATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES ON THE ONE HAND OR WITH SYRIA ON THE OTHER AND THAT LEBANON SHOULD RESIST ALLEGED ARAB PRESSURES, INCLUDING ON NAMES OF COMMITTEES.

7. DRAPER COUNTERED THAT LEBANON HAD ALREADY MADE ITS CHOICE OF FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATIONS AND IT WAS EXAGGERATION TO SUGGEST THAT SELECTION OF A NAME FOR A COMMITTEE WOULD HAVE SUCH MONUMENTAL SIGNIFICANCE. FATTAL ALSO HEATEDLY INSISTED THAT LEBANON HAD CHOSEN ITS PATH WITH THE WEST. EINAN REVEALED IN EFFECT THAT HE WAS FEARFUL OF GOING BACK TO HIS SUPERIORS WITH A LEBANESE-PROPOSED CHANGE OF NAME AFTER THE LEBANESE HAD GONE THROUGH 26 SESSIONS WITHOUT

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POSING OBJECTIONS. HE SAIL THAT TTTTYYYY II THE ---M
KNEW THAT THE -EAL REASSN WAS THE ATTITUDE -F THE LEBANESE
PRIME MINISTER. WHILE NO -NE DISAGREED WITH THIS LAST
ASSERTION, WE MAY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN COOLING TENSIONS TEMPORARILY ON THIS MINOR ISSUE.

8. THE QUESTION OF THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION OF THEO HADDAD FORCES WAS ANOTHER MATTER. HOWEVER. KIMCHE AND EINAN MADE CLEARER THAN EVER THE ISRAELI VIEW THAT THE PRESENT HADDAD FORCES, ADMITTEDLY FORMED BY ISRAEL, SHOULD BE LEGITIMIZED AS THE ONLY REAL BRIGADE IN THE SOUTHERN SECURITY ZONE. ONVE THAT OCCURRED, THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES MIGHT THEN RECRUIT INHABITANTS OF THE SECURITY REGION TO FILL IN THE GAPS IN THIS BRIGADE, WHILE ALSO BRINGING CERTAIN REGULAR LAF OFFICERS TO FLESH OUT THE BRIGADE LEADERSHIP FROM EXISTING LAF UNITS, ASSUMING ONCE AGAIN THAT ALL SUCH OFFICERS HAVE BEEN INHABITANTS OF THE SECURITY REGION. THE LEBANESE CONCEPT OF COURSE HAS BEEN THAT THEY HAVE FORMED A TERRITORIAL BRIGADE ON PAPER EARLIER THIS MONTH, WITH DESIGNATED OFFICERS FROM VARIOUS LAF UNITS. THEY

WOULD PLAN TO INTEGRATE MEMBERS OF THE HADDAD FORCES INTO THIS BRIGADE WHENEVER POSSIBLE ON A UNIT-BY-UNIT BASIS (E'.G., PLATOONS, COMPANIES, AND EVEN BATTALIONS). INSISTED THAT WHILE ISRAELI INTENTIONS HAD ALWAYS BEEN CLEAR ON THIS ISSUE, THERE NEVER HAD BEEN ANY AGREEMENT FROM THE LEBANESE SIDE TO THE ISRAELI CONCEPT. MOREOVER, CITING THE UNITED STATES NON-PAPER GIVEN TO THE ISRAELIS IN WASHINGTON AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES COMMENTS TO THE ISRAELI REACTION TO THAT NON-PAPER, DRAPER SAID IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD ALWAYS ACCEPTED THE LEBANESE APPROACH. IN OTHER WORDS, HADDAD'S MEN WOULD BE INTEGRATED INTO A LEGALLY FORMED LEBANESE BRIGADE. NOTED THAT SUCH A BRIGADE HAD IN FACT BEEN FORMED ON PAPER BY LEGAL ACTION TAKEN IN THE FIRST WEEK OF APRIL. DRAPER ALSO ADDED THAT IT WAS NOT ONLY POLITICALLY ESSENTIAL FOR THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES TO BE SEEN AS ESTABLISHING THEIR OWN BRIGADE, IT WAS ALSO ESSENTIAL FOV LEGAL REASONS. HAMDAM NOTED THAT THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES COULD THEO-RETICALLY BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR PAYING ALL THE BACK SALARIES OF MEMBERS OF HADDAD'S FORCES IF IT ACCEPTED THE ISRAELI CONCEPT AND LEGITIMIZED HADDAD'S SO-CALLED BRIGADE. BT

#1398

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DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

EHA349

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DE RUEHJM #1398/03 1121322

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5144

INFO RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 0409

RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO VRIORITY 9151

RUEHRH/USELO RIYADH PRIORITY 1559

RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY 3234

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY 5921

RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY 3463

BT

SECRET SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 01398

EXDIS

FROM HABIB AND DRAPER

E.O. 12356: DECL: DADR

TAGS: PREL, IS, SY, LE, PLO. MOPS, XF

SUBJ: HABIB-DRAPER MISSION: NEAR CRISIS AT 21 APRIL 9. AFTER A LONG WRANGLE IN WHICH EVERYONE AT THE TABLE JOINED, A FRAGILE CONSENSUS EMERGED TO THE EFFECT THAT THE OUTCOME OF EITHER THE LEBANESE OR ISRAELI CONCEPT WOULD BE A TERRITORIAL BRIGADE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE SECURITY REGION WHICH WOULD HAVE AS ITS NUCLEUS MANY OR MOST OF THE MEN OF HADDAD'S FORCES. IT WAS AGREED THAT ALL OF US WOULD TAKE A NEW STAB AT DRAFTING AN ISRAELI-LEBANESE UNDER-STANDING OF THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, KIMCHE IN A SIDE TALK WPTH DRAPER REJECTED THE USE OF THE VERB "TO INTEGRATE" WHEN DESCRIBING WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN TO HADDAD'S FORCES. 10. A SIMILARLY LONG WRANGLE TOOK PLACE OVER THE QUESTION OF "HOT PURSUIT" INTO LEBANESE TERRITORIAL WATERS. THIS INCLUDED A STERILE EXCHANGE ON DEFINITIONS UNDER INTERNA-TIONAL LAW OF "HOT PURSUIT" IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS. TO COMPRESS A LONG EXCHANGE, A CONSENSUS EMERGED TO THE EFFECT THAT LEBANON WOULD TACITLY ACCEPT ISRAELI "HOT PURSUIT" IN LEBANON'S TERRITORIAL WATERS IN RESPONSE TO TERRORIST ATTACK BY SEA AGAINST ISRAEL, AS LONG AS ISRAEL DID NOT ABUSE SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING. SINCE IT WS CLEAR THAT LEBANON UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES COULD AGREE OR ACQUIESCE IN WRITING, IT WAS DECIDED THAT THIS SENSITIVE ISSUE MIGHT BE HANDLED IN THE SAME WAY AS WE MIGHT HANDLE THE EQUALLY SENSITIVE ISSUE OF ISRAELI AERIAL SURVEILLANCE OF THE

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION: SECURITY REGION.

11. FINALLY, WE TURNED TO THE JOINT SUPERVISORY PATGMLS, THEIR NUMBER, SCOPE, AND DURATION. HAMDAM AND FAOTAL STRONGLY GREED THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BE DONE TO REDUCE THEIR VISIBILITY. HAMDAM URGED THAT A PROPORTIONATELY GREATER CUMBER OF SUCH TEAMS CARRY ON THEIR ACTIVITIES BY AIR RATHER THAN ON THE GROUND. HZ AND FATTAL ALSO URGED THAT A SCHEDULE BE AGREED UPON UNDER WHICH THE TEAMS WOULD GRADUALLY BE PHASED OUT OVER TWO YEARS. KIMCHE AND EINAM ARGUED EXTENSIVELY THAT THESE TEAMS WERE AT THE HEART OF THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, AND PLAYED DOWN HAMDAM'S ARGUMENT THAT BETTER SECURITY SURVEILLANCE COULD BE ACCHIEVED THROUGH CODPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE INTELLIGENCE FIELD WHICH LEBANON HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED.

12. TO COMPRESS AN EQUALLY LENGTHY DEBATE, THE OUTCOME WAS THAT ISRAEL REJECTED ANY MOVE AWAY FROM THE DOSITION.

TO COMPRESS AN EQUALLY LENGTHY DEBATE, THE OUTCOME WAS THAT ISRAEL REJECTED ANY MOVE AWAY FROM THE POSITION OF "UP TO EIGHT" TEAMS, BUT THE ISRAELIS ALSO AGREED THAT THE INFORMAL PAPER GIVEN TO THE LEBANESE AND UNITED STATES SIDES BY THE ISRAELIS IN THE LAST SESSION - DESCRIBING THE ISRAELI CONCEPT OF THE MISSION AND ACTIVITIES OF THESE TEAMS - HAD BEEN UNFELICITOUSLY DRAFTED IN SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS AND COULD BE CHANGED FOL928, & !745#34 \$3?-53.

13. KIMCHE ALSO FINALLY AGREED TO DRAPER'S PROPOSAL THAT WE CONSIDER THE CONCEPT OF TARGETTING DATES FOR PHASING OUT THE SUPERVISORY TEAMS, IF SECURITY CONDITIONS SO PERMIT, AND PROVIDED THE MILITARY COMMITTEE ALSO AGREES. DRAPER POINTED OUT THAT THE ISRAELIS WOULD STILL HAVE A

VETO ON THE CONTINUATION OF THE TEAMS UNDER THIS APPROACH, BUT THAT TALKING ABOUT TARGET DATES WOULD EASE SEVERALL OF LEBANON'S POLITICAL CONCERNS. GROVE BT #1398

#139:

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 06/29/83//180

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION: MESSAGE:

EHA350

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DE RUEHJM #1398/02 1121325

ZNY SSSSS ZZH

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5143

INFO RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 0408

RUEADWWXWHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 9150

RUEHRH/USELO RIYADH PRIORITY 1558

RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY 3233

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSX DAMASCUS PRIORITY 5920

RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY 3462

BT

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 01398

CORRECTED COPY (PARA 7 - TEXT)

EXDIS

FROM HABIE AND DRAPER

E.O. 12356: DECL: DADR

TAGS: PREL, IS, SY, LE, PLO, MOPS, XF

SUBJ: HABIB-DRAPER MISSION: NEAR CRISIS AT 21 APRIL

(2) THE LEBANESE CONCEPT FOR THE INTEGRATION OF HADDAD'S

FORCES INTO THE TERRITORIAL BRIGADE;

(3) LEBANESE RESISTANCE TO THE CONCEPT OF "HOT PURSUIT"

IN LEBANON'S TERRITORIAL WATERS; AND

(4) THE LEBANESE VIEW THAT WE SHOULD RETURN TO THE CON-CEPT OF ONLY THREE TO FIVE SUPERVISORY TEAMS (ORIGINALLY A UNITED STATES IDEA) IN LIEU OF THE AGREED FORMULA OF "UP

TO EIGHT TEAMS."

OF DRAPER PROPOSED THAT NEGOTPATORS NOT FALL ON A SWORD OVER THE NAME OF A COMMITTEE BUT LEAVE THIS MINOR ISSUE UNTIL LATER. KIMCHE WENT INTO A LONG EXPOSITION TO THE EFFECT OHAT THE LEBANESE HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN ASSOCIATION BEOWEEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES ON OHE ONE HAND OR WITH SYRIA ON THE OTHER AND THAT LEBANON SHOULD RESIST ALLEGED ARAB PRESSURES, INCLUDING ON NAMES OF COMMITTEES.

7. DRAPER COUNTERED THAT LEBANON HAD ALREADY MADE ITS CHOICE OF FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATIONS AND IT WAS EXAGGERATION TO SUGGEST THAT SELECTION OF A NAME FOR A COMMITTEE WOULD HAVE SUCH MONUMENTAL SIGNIFICANCE. FATTAL ALSO HEATEDLY INSISTED THAT LEBANON HAD CHOSEN ITS PATH WITH THE WEST. EINAN REVEALED IN EFFECT THAT HE WAS FEARFUL OF GOING BACK TO HIS SUPERIORS WITH A LEBANESE-PROPOSED CHANGE OF NAME

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SITUATION LISTING

SITUATION: LEB SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT

#### MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

AFTER THE LEBANESE HAD GONE THROUGH 26 SESSIONS WITHOUT POSING OBJECTIONS. HE SAID THAT EVERYONE IN THE ROOM KNEW THAT THE REAL REASON WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE LEBANESE PRIME MINISTER. WHILE NO ONE DISAGREED WITH THIS LAST ASSERTION, WE MAY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN COMLING TENSIONS TEMPORARILY ON THIS MINOR ISSUE.

8. THE QUESTION OF THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION OF THE HADDAD FORCES WAS ANOTHER MATTER, HOWEVER. KIMCHE AND EINAN MADE CLEARER THAN EVER THE ISRAELI VIEW THAT THE PRESENT HADDAD FORCES, ADMITTEDLY FORMED BY ISRAEL, SHOULD BE LEGITIMIZED AS THE ONLY REAL BRIGADE IN THE SOUTHERN SE-CURITY ZONE. ONCE THAT OCCURRED, THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES MIGHT THEN RECRUIT INHABITANTS OF THE SECURITY REGION TO FILL IN THE GAPS IN THIS BRIGADE, WHILE ALSO BRINGING CERTAIN REGULAR LAF OFFICERS TO FLESH OUT THE BRIGADE LEADERSHIP FROM EXISTING LAF UNITS, ASSUMING ONCE AGAIN THAT ALL SUCH OFFICERS HAVE BEEN INHABITANTS OF THE SE-CURITY REGION. THE LEBANESE CONCEPT OF COURSE HAS BEEN THAT THEY HAE FORMED A TERRITORIAL BRIGADE ON PAPER EARLIER THIS MONTH. WITH DESIGNATED OFFICERS FROM VARIOUS LAF UNITS. THEY

WOULD PLAN TO INTEGRATE MEMBERS OF THE HADDAD FORCES INTO THIS BRIGADE WHENEVER POSSIBLE ON A UNIT-BY-UNIT BASIS (E.G., PLATOONS, COMPANIES, AND EVEN BATTALIONS). DRAPER INSISTED THAT WHILE ISRAELI INTENTIONS HAD ALWAYS BEEN CLEAR ON THIS ISSUE, THERE NEVER HAD BEEN ANY AGREEMENT FROM THE LEBANESE SIDE TO THE ISRAELI CONCEPT. MOREOVER, CITING THE UNITED STATES NON-PAPER GIVEN TO THE ISRAELIS IN WASHINGTON AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES COMMENTS TO THE ISRAELI REACTION TO THAT NON-PAPER, DRAPER SAID IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD ALWAYS ACCEPTED THE LEBANESE APPROACH. IN OTHER WORDS, HADDAD'S MEN WOULD BE INTEGRATED INTO A LEGALLY FORMED LEBANESE BRIGADE. NOTED THAT SUCH A BRIGADE HAD IN FACT BEEN FORMED ON PAPER BY LEGAL ACTION TAKEN IN THE FIRST 33( 9! -048). DRAPER ALSO ADDED THAT IT WAS NOT ONLY POLITICALLY ESSENTIAL FOR THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES TO BE SEEN AS ESTABLISHING THEIR OWN BRIGADE. IT WAS ALSO ESSENTIAL FOR LEGAL REASONS. HAMDAM NOTED THAT THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES COULD THEO-RETICALLY BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR PAYING ALL THE BACK SALARIES OF MEMBERG OF HADDAD'S FORCES IF IT ACCEPTED THE ISRWELI CONCEPT AND LEGITIMIZED HADDAD'S SO-CALLED BRIGADE. BT

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