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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-ØØ ADS-00 /000 W

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SECRET BEIRUT 04022

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR PTER, EAID, LE, SY

SUBJECT: SEEKING SYRIAN AND LEBANESE COOPERATION IN

CLOSING BEIRUT INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

REF: STATE 206046

1. SENTIRE TEXT.

2. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER AND CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR ELIE SALIM CALLED ON AMBASSADOR AT HIS URGENT REQUEST 1100 JULY 6 AT PRESIDENT GEMAYEL'S INSTRUCTIONS TO INFORM AMBASSADOR "OFFICIALLY AND FORMALLY" OF GOL'S INTENTION TO TAKE ITS OPPOSITION TO U.S. EFFORT TO APPLY MEASURES AGAINST BEIRUT INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT TO THE ARAB LEAGUE. AFTER HEARING SALIM OUT, AMBASSADOR IN TURN SAID THAT HE HAD MESSAGE WHICH HE WISHED FORMALLY AND OFFICIALLY TO GIVE TO SALIM TO TRANSMIT TO PRESIDENT GEMAYEL; AMBASSADOR THEN PROCEEDED TO

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MAKE POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL ABOUT MAKING BIA
RUNWAYS UNUSABLE. SALIM SAID GOL COULD NOT DO IT.
HE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT ANY SUBSEQUENT U.S.
ACTION TO MAKE RUNWAYS PHYSICALLY INOPERABLE,

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AMBASSADOR SAID HE HAD GIVEN SALIM MESSAGE HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO GIVE THE GOL AND THAT POINT WAS GOL REPEAT GOL ACTION. AFTER ENSUING EXCHANGE, SALIM SAID HE WOULD TRANSMIT U.S. MESSAGE OFFICIALLY, FORMALLY, AND IMMEDIATELY TO GEMAYEL. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT HE WAS AVAILABLE TO PURSUE THE MATTER FURTHER WITH GEMAYEL, BUT THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO RAISE THE MATTER WITH ANYONE ELSE, LEAVING IT TO PRESIDENT TO HANDLE. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

GOL APPROACH TO ARAB LEAGUE

- 3. SALIM SAID THAT BECAUSE OF GROWING PRESSURES WITHIN LEBANON, PARTICULARLY FROM "CERTAIN QUARTERS" (I.E., MUSLIM LEADERS), THE GOL WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS WOULD BE ASKING FOR A MEETING OF THE ARABLEAGUE AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL IN ORDER TO COMBAT USG MEASURES AGAINST BIA. HE SAID THAT GEMAYEL HAD ASKED HIM TO INFORM US OFFICIALLY AND FORMALLY IN ADVANCE THAT GOL WAS MOVING IN THAT DIRECTION; THE IN-ADVANCE NOTICE, SALIM SAID, WAS SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED AS "AN ACT REFLECTING THE CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LEBANON."
- 4. SALIM SAID GOL ENVISAGED GOING TO THE ARAB LEAGUE TO ASK IT TO:
- --USE ITS GOOD OFFICES WITH USG TO STOP ITS MEASURES AGAINST LEBANON. (AMBASSADOR CORRECTED: "AGAINST BIA, NOT AGAINST LEBANON." SALIM SHRUGGED AND



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-- USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES TO TRY
TO PERSUADE THEM NOT TO GO ALONG WITH USG IN THIS
EFFORT.

--PROVIDE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL HELP TO LEBANON
IF USG MEASURES ARE IMPLEMENTED AND PRODUCE ECONOMIC
AND FINANCIAL SUFFERING IN LEBANON.

SALIM STRESSED THAT THE GOL IS CURRENTLY MAKING A GREAT EFFORT TO RESTORE BIA'S INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY AS A SECURE AIRPORT.

5. SALIM SAID HE WISHED TO SPEAK ALSO MORE GENERALLY ABOUT U.S.-LEBANESE RELATIONS. ONE LEVEL THE USG AND THE GOL REMAIN GOOD FRIENDS AND CONTINUE CLOSE COORDINATION AND BUSINESS AS USUAL. ON ANOTHER LEVEL, SALIM FELT, THE TWO COUNTRIES WERE DRIFTING APART MORE THAN EITHER WOULD WISH. HE FEARED THAT THE MEASURES THE U.S. WAS TAKING AGAINST BIA MIGHT CREATE A "POLITICAL DYNAMISM" IN THE U.S. AGAINST LEBANON, AND CREATE THE SAME "POLITICAL DYNAMISM" IN LEBANON AGAINST THE U.S., SIMILAR TO THE EXISTING ANTI-ISRAELI "DYNAMISM." SALIM STRESSED THAT IF THAT OCCURRED. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR GEMAYEL TO FUNCTION AS HE HAS IN THIS POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN LEBANON. SALIM STRESSED THAT BOTH COUNTRIES NEED TO COORDINATE TO CONTAIN AND CHANNEL THE DAMAGE THAT WILL RESULT FROM U.S. MEASURES AGAINST THE AIRPORT AND WHICH, IF NOT CONTAINED, WILL SPILL OVER AND CREATE ANTI-LEBANESE FEELINGS IN THE U.S. AND ANTI-AMERICAN FEELINGS IN LEBANON. HE NOTED THAT SUCH FEELINGS ARE ALREADY BEGINNING TO ARISE EVEN IN THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.



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- 6. THAT IS ONE REASON WHY, SALIM SAID, GEMAYEL TOLD HIM TO TELL AMBASSADOR ABOUT THE STEPS GOL IS TAKING.
- 7. SALIM SAID THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT IN THE U.S. MIND THAT GEMAYEL DOES INDEED FULLY UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION AT THE AIRPORT. SALIM SAID THAT GEMAYEL HAS IN THE LAST TWO DAYS DISCUSSED AT LENGTH WITH SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASSAD THE SITUATION AT THE AIRPORT AND IN WEST BEIRUT. GEMAYEL HAD STRESSED TO ASSAD THE NEED AND OPPORTUNITY FOR HIS HELP TO SPEED UP A RESUMPTION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND TO BRING SECURITY TO WEST BEIRUT.
- 8. IN SHORT, SALIM SAID, THE PRESIDENT IS DOING EVERYTHING HE CAN TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION AND TO CONTAIN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND ITS ANTI-AMERICAN OVERTONES. HE CITED SPECIFICALLY HARSH STATEMENTS BY PRIME MINISTER KARAMI AND EDUCATION MINISTER HUSS, AND COMPARED THEM WITH GEMAYEL'S STATEMENT EXPRESSING "REGRET" BUT NO CONDEMNATION ABOUT THE U.S. MEASURES.
- 9. SALIM SUMMED UP BY SAYING HE HAD COME TO ALERT US TO THE GOL DECISION TO GO TO THE ARAB LEAGUE AND TO DISCUSS HOW WE CAN CONTAIN AND LIMIT THE IMPACT OF CURRENT USG MEASURES AGAINST BIA FROM DEVELOPING INTO A BIGGER PROBLEM THAN EITHER SIDE WANTED.

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10. AMBASSADOR THEN SAID THAT HE TOO HAD SOMETHING TO SAY TO SALIM OFFICIALLY AND FORMALLY THAT HE

WISHED SALIM TO TRANSMIT TO GEMAYEL.



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PAGE 06 OF 12 BEIRUT 04022 00 OF 05 061455Z C02/02 006446 AFTER SUMMARIZING FOR SALIM PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO GEMAYEL WHICH AMBASSADOR HAD DELIVERED JULY 5. AMBASSADOR TOLD SALIM THAT HE HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS TO GOL ON CLOSING BEIRUT INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. DRAWING UPON REFTEL, "HE STRESSED NUMBER OF INCIDENTS AT BIA WHICH MAKE IT CLEAR THAT BIA HAS BEEN AND IS A CENTER FOR TERRORIST ACTIVITIES. AND THAT REINFORCE THE BELIEF THAT BIA WILL BE USED AGAIN IN THE FUTURE BY HIJACKERS IN THE SAME WAY. HE STRESSED THAT U.S. WOULD PREFER THAT LEBANESE AUTHORITIES. WITH SYRIAN SUPPORT NOTING THE GEMAYEL-ASSAD EXCHANGE, GET FIRM CONTROL OF BIA AND SEAL IT OFF: WHEN AND IF THIS IS DONE, HE SAID, THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION AUTHORITIES TO HELP THE GOL ESTABLISH MEASURES TO PREVENT TERRORISTS FROM EXPLOITING BIA.

- 12. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THE PROBLEM IS THAT UNTIL THE GOL CAN EFFECTIVELY CONTROL THE AIRPORT AND THE SURROUNDING AREAS, THE ONLY EFFECTIVE PROTECTION IN THE SHORT TERM FOR PEOPLE TRAVELING ANYWHERE WITHIN RANGE OF BIA IS FOR BIA TO BE CLOSED DOWN AND ITS RUNWAYS MADE TEMPORARILY UNUSABLE BY AIRCRAFT.
- 13. SALIM IMMEDIATELY INTERJECTED, "YOU WANT TO STRIKE IT."
- 14. AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT WHAT THE GOL MIGHT AND SHOULD DO. NOT ABOUT WHAT WE MIGHT OR SHOULD DO.
- 15. AMBASSADOR SAID THE ONLY EFFECTIVE SHORT TERM

MEANS TO PREVENT ANOTHER TWA 847 EPISODE AND TO PROTECT INTERNATIONAL TRAVELERS IS TO MAKE BIA



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- 16. AMBASSADOR SAID WE HOPED GOL WILL AGREE TO TAKE SUCH ACTION. HE NOTED GEMAYEL'S TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH ASSAD CITED BY SALIM, AND SAID WE HOPE SYRIA WILL ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST.
- 17. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT IF THE GOL HAD ANY ADDITIONAL IDEAS ON HOW TO PREVENT AIRCRAFT FROM LANDING UNTIL IT COULD EXERT EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER THE AIRPORT AND WORK WITH US AND INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION AUTHORITIES TO ESTABLISH ADEQUATE SECURITY AT BIA. WE WOULD WELCOME THEM.
- 18. SALIM RESPONDED THAT FOR THE GOL TO DO WHAT WE WERE SUGGESTING IMPLIES THAT THE GOL HAS EFFECTIVE CONTROL AT THE AIRPORT. SALIM STRESSED IT DOES NOT HAVE IT AND THEREFORE, HE ASKED, HOW CAN WE SAY THE GOL SHOULD DO THOSE THINGS?
- 19. AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT WE DID NOT SEE ANY OTHER WAY EXCEPT BY MAKING THE AIRPORT PHYSICALLY INOPERABLE AS LONG AS THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE CONTROL.
- 20. SALIM OBSERVED THAT WHAT YOU ARE SAYING IS

THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT DO IT, THEN SOMEONE ELSE WILL. AMBASSADOR RESPONDED, "YOU SAID THAT, NOT ME." SALIM SAID THAT IT WAS HIS OWN DEDUCTION FROM WHAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD SAID THAT "YOU OR YOUR FRIENDS MIGHT INTERFERE TO MAKE THE AIRPORT



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SALIM SAID THAT ONE THING THE USG MUST DO IS TO SENSITIZE AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION TO THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TEHRAN HOSTAGE AFFAIR AND THE TWA HIJACKING. HE SAID HE FEARED THAT AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION IS "TRAUMATIZED" BY THIS COMPARISON IT SEES BETWEEN THE TEHRAN AND BIA EPISODES. AS A RESULT, HE SAID, A MINOR PROBLEM IN LEBANON HAS BEEN PROJECTED AS A MAJOR PROBLEM OF THE SAME TYPE AND MAGNITUDE AS THE SITUATION SALIM STRESSED THAT GOL WANTED THE SAME OBJECTIVES THE USG WANTED--SECURITY AT THE HE SAID THAT THE USG MUST EMPHASIZE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT LEBANON IS NOT IRAN. AND HERE THE LEBANESE PEOPLE, GOVERNMENT, AND STUDENTS ARE NOT AGAIN THE U.S.: THE DISTINCTION MUST BE MADE. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY, HE SAID, TO SEPARATE THE LEBANESE PEOPLE AND LEBANON ON THE ONE HAND FROM A SMALL GROUP ACTING IN LEBANON ON BEHALF OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENT. SALIM SAID IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE USG COULD MENTION OTHER COUNTRIES: HE SAID U.S. KNEW WHO ORGANIZED TERRORISM IN LEBANON, WESO FINANCED IT, SUPPORTED IT.

22. IN ADDITION, SALIM SAID, THE U.S. WAS "USING A HUGE TANK TO KILL A BIRD," AND IN DOING SO WILL KILL MUCH ELSE TOO. ANY SUCH ACTION BY THE U.S., HE SAID, WOULD ENHANCE THE "POLITICAL DYNAMISM" IN LEBANON AGAINST THE U.S. AND WILL MAKE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT

FOR GEMAYEL, HIMSELF, AND FRIENDS OF THE U.S. IN WEST BEIRUT, TO WITHSTAND ALL THE ANTI-U.S. PRESSURE. SALIM SAID THAT THIS COMPLEX SITUATION MUST BE HANDLED WITH GREAT WISDOM IN ORDER NOT TO DESTROY EXISTING LEBANESE GOOD WILL TOWARD THE U.S.



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- 23. THE PROBLEM IS, SALIM SAID, ONCE YOU START ANY SUCH ACTION, HOW DO YOU STOP THE DETERIORATION.
 WILL IT LEAD TO CLOSING OF THE EMBASSY, FOR EXAMPLE, HE ASKED. SALIM STRESSED WE WOULD BE ENTERING INTO A DARK TUNNEL WHERE THINGS CAN GET OUT OF HAND.
 SALIM SAID HE FEARED IN THIS PROCESS THAT THE ENEMY OF THE U.S. WOULD BECOME THE FRIEND OF THE U.S., AND AMERICA'S FRIENDS ITS ENEMIES.
- 24. IN THE BROADEST SENSE, SALIM SAID, HIS CONCERN WAS NOT ABOUT THE GOL GOING TO THE ARAB LEAGUE OR EVEN ABOUT THE U.S. ACTIONS AGAINST BIA. HIS CONCERN WAS WHERE THIS PROCESS WOULD STOP. HE SAID THAT DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM IN LEBANON ARE BEING PUNISHED AND ONCE THE PROCESS HAD STARTED IT COULD NOT BE REVERSED.
- 25. AMBASSADOR SAID HE HAD GIVEN SALIM THE MESSAGE HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO GIVE GOL AND THAT CONCERMED ACTIONS WE BELIEVED GOL REPEAT GOL SHOULD AGREE TO TAKE. AMBASSADOR SAID HE WANTED TO ADDRESS SIMPLY THE POINTS HE HAD MADE TO SALIM ABOUT NEED FOR GOL ACTIONS, NOT THE DEDUCTIONS AND INFERENCES SALIM Was MAKING ABOUT POSSIBLE FUTURE ACTIONS BY UTHERS.
- 26. IN THE FIRST PLACE, AMBASSADOR SAID, THERE

HAD BEEN A NUMBER OF U.S. STATEMENTS, AS REFLECTED IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO GEMAYEL, WHICH SAID SPECIFICALLY THE HIJACKERS DID NOT REPRESENT LEBANESE OR LEBANON; DISTINCTIONS HAVE BEEN DRAWN BETWEEN LEBANESE AND THOSE WHO WERE TERRORISTS.

27. HAVING SAID THAT, HE HAD TO SAY THAT DURING



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THE HIJACKING CRISIS HE HAD ARGUED AND PLEADED
WITH LEBANESE LEADERS TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE
HIJACKING AND THE HIJACKERS. "I HAVE TO TELL YOU,"
AMBASSADOR SAID, "MY SCORE CARD WAS NOT VERY GOOD."

28. AMBASSADOR WENT ON TO SAY THAT WHILE HE COULD UNDERSTAND SALIM'S DISMAY ABOUT THE IMPACT IN THE U.S. OF THE TWA HIJACKING, COULD SALIM IMAGINE WHAT THE IMPACT OF ANOTHER ONE WOULD BE? HE ASKED, "DO YOU KNOW WHAT THE STAKES ARE FOR LEBANON; I MEAN FOR EVERYONE?" HE STRESSED THAT HE WAS SPEAKING NOT ONLY FOR THE U.S., BUT FOR THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HE STRESSED THAT IT WAS IN LEBANON'S INTERESTS ABOVE ALL THAT THERE NOT BE ANOTHER HIJACKING. HE SAID GEMAYEL HAD TO GO TO BARRI AND TO JUMBLATT TO STRESS THAT LEBANON COULD NOT AFFORD ANOTHER HIJACKING, AND THEREFORE MUST MAKE THE BLOCKING ARRANGEMENTS AT BIA TO PHYSICALLY BLOCK THE AIRPORT.

29. SALIM CAME BACK STRONGLY, STATING THAT "IF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT WERE TO TAKE THESE MEASURES, IT WOULD MEAN THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTING THE VERY POLICY IT OPPOSES; IT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTING U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY, I.E., CLOSKIG THE AIRPORT. OBVIOUSLY THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT DO IT."

30. SALIM ALLUDED AGAIN TO GEMAYEL'S DISCUSSIONS

WITH ASSAD ABOUT THE NEED FOR SECURITY IN WEST BEIRUT AND AT THE AIRPORT, EXPRESSING HIS HOPE THAT ASSAD IN THE UPCOMING MEETINGS WITH LEBANESE MUSLIM LEADERS WILL RESTART THE POLITICAL PROCESS WHICH COULD PRODUCE SECURITY AT THE AIRPORT. HE SAID GOL WAS NOW IN A "FUNNY SITUATION"; IT RECOGNIZES THE DANGEROUS SITUATION A1 BIA AND YET IT HAS TO OPPOSE THE USG PUBLIC STAND, "WE



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AMBASSADOR STRESSED AGAIN THAT WE PREFER THAT LEBANON, THE GOVERNMENT, THE AUTHORITIES, WITH SYRIAN HELP, GET FIRM CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT, SEAL IT OFF, PREVENT INFILTRATION OF TERRORISTS, AND WITH HELP FROM US AND THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION AUTHORITIES, ESTABLISH A SECURE AIRPORT. THAT IS WHAT WE PREFER, AMBASSADOR STRESSED. UNTIL THAT IS THE CASE AND IN THE SHORT RUN, AMBASSADOR SAID, THE ONLY EFFECTIVE PROTECTION FOR TRAVELERS ON PLANES WITHIN RANGE OF BIA IS TO PHYSICALLY CLOSE IT OFF. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT THE U.S. CAN ASK THE GOL TO AGREE TO TAKE THESE MEASURES BECAUSE OF THE STAKES INVOLVED: THE PROTECTION OF INTERNATIONAL TRAVELERS, AND THE STAKES FOR THE INTERESTS OF LEBANON AND OF THE LEBANESE THEM* SELVES, INCLUDING BARRI AND JUMBLATT, WHO HAVE <-AS MUCH TO LOSE AS ANYONE IF NOT MORE.

32. SALIM ASKED HOW THE U.S. PLANNED TO HANDLE THE PROBLEM OF TERRORISTS MORE GENERALLY, OBSERVING THAT STRIKING AT ITS MANIFESTATIONS AT BIA WAS SIMPLY AN INFINTESIMAL PART OF THE TERRORIST

THREAT. AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT WE ARE WORKING ON A WHOLE RANGE OF MEASURES, AND THAT BIA WAS ONLY PART OF A WIDER ACTION AGAINST TERRORISTS. HE CITED SUCH MEASURES AS INCREASING SECURITY AT AIRPORTS, STRICTER MEASURES AGAINST HIJACKERS, ESTABLISHING BETTER INTELLIGENCE, ETC. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS A REAL IMMEDIATE PROBLEM AT BIA THAT MUST BE DEALT WITH. HE NOTED THAT MANY LEBANESE RECOGNIZE THAT BIA IS TOTALLY OUT OF CONTROL AND IS A SAFE HAVEN FOR TERRORISTS. HE STRESSED THAT WE ARE NOT LOOKING AT MEASURES TO



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- 33. SALIM ASKED TO WHOM ELSE THE AMBASSADOR PLANNED TO DELIVER THIS MESSAGE. AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT HE WAS IN THIS CONVERSATION FORMALLY AND OFFICIALLY PASSING IT TO THE PRESIDENT OF LEBANON, THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO DISCUSS IT FURTHER DIRECTLY WITH GEMAYEL IF GEMAYEL SO WISHED, BUT THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO RAISE IT WITH ANYONE ELSE. SALIM RESPONDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AND WOULD IMMEDIATELY PASS THE MESSAGE TO GEMAYEL.
- 34. COMMENT: I PLAN NO FURTHER DEMARCHES TO THE LEBANESE ON THIS SUBJECT UNLESS THEY CONTACT ME. THE MESSAGE HAS BEEN DELIVERED TO THE GOL AND IT IS FOR THEM, STARTING WITH GEMAYEL, TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO IN RESPONSE AND WHO ON THE LEBANESE SIDE SHOULD BE INVOLVED. AS SALIM'S RESPONSE INDICATES, GOL ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL

NOT BE ABLE TO AGREE AND IMPLEMENT THE PROPOSED MEASURES AND WILL FEAR MILITARY ACTION AGAINST BIA. BARTHOLOMEW