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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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September 25, 1982

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ
The Secretary of State

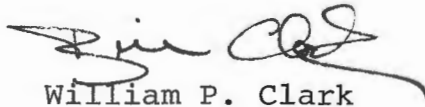
THE HONORABLE CASPAR W. WEINBERGER
The Secretary of Defense

THE HONORABLE JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK
The United States Representative to
the United Nations

GENERAL JOHN W. VESSEY, JR.
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT: Public Affairs Guidance on Lebanon

Attached for your use are the themes and Q's and A's that have been developed by the interagency community for use in public appearances. It is very important that all of our statements be consistent over the next few days.



William P. Clark

Attachment

NSC #8206688

BUREAU OF NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFING PACKAGE FOR
ADMINISTRATION PRINCIPALS

September 24, 1982

CONTENTS:

- Press Themes: Lebanon and the Middle East
- Themes on Middle East Peace Proposal
- Questions and Answers on the Peace Process and Lebanon
- Texts of remarks by USG officials on issues related to the President's Middle East Peace Plan

9/24/82

PRESS THEMES: LEBANON AND THE
MIDDLE EAST

— THE LATEST TRAGEDY IN LEBANON UNDERLINES THAT COUNTRY'S NEED FOR THE CONTINUING SUPPORT OF ITS FRIENDS. OUR SHOCK AND REVULSION AT THE MASSACRE OF INNOCENT PALESTINIANS SHOULD SPUR US TO A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO THE SEARCH FOR PEACE.

— THE PRESIDENT HAS REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO EARLY PROGRESS TO SOLVE THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE U.S. ON SEPTEMBER 1. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE U.S., AS A NATION WITH AN HISTORIC COMMITMENT AND NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST, TO WORK WITH OTHERS IN THE AREA TO BRING A JUST AND LASTING RESOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS. WHILE ACCOMODATING THE SECURITY CONCERNS OF ISRAEL, THE SOLUTION MUST ALSO SATISFY THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS, WHO ARE ALL TOO OFTEN THE VICTIMS OF THIS TERRIBLE CONFLICT.

— IT IS WITHIN THIS BROAD FRAMEWORK OF INTEREST AND RESPONSIBILITY THAT THE U.S. ROLE IN LEBANON FITS. OUR OBJECTIVES IN LEBANON REMAIN:

- RESTORATION OF STRONG, STABLE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.
- WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES.

- EXPANSION OF LEBANESE CENTRAL AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT ALL ITS TERRITORY.
- ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSURE THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL'S NORTHERN BORDER.
- RESUMPTION OF EFFORTS TO END THE WIDER CONFLICT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS WHILE ACCOMMODATING LEGITIMATE PALESTINIAN RIGHTS.

-- ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ENTIRE BEIRUT AREA IS IMPERATIVE. THE LEBANESE ARMY AND POLICE MUST BE ALLOWED TO ASSERT CONTROL IN LEBANON'S CAPITAL.

-- AT LEBANESE REQUEST, THE PRESIDENT DECIDED TO BOLSTER LEBANESE EFFORTS TO RESTORE AUTHORITY AND CONTROL IN BEIRUT AND PROVIDE SAFETY TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY BY JOINING FRANCE AND ITALY IN CREATING A MULTINATIONAL PRESENCE IN BEIRUT. ALMOST ALL GOVERNMENTS WELCOMED THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION.

-- PARTICIPATION OF AMERICAN FORCES IN THIS EFFORT WILL BE FOR A LIMITED PERIOD BUT REPRESENTS OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO LEBANON'S SECURE AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE. WE ARE DOING THIS BOTH BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT AND BECAUSE IT SERVES OUR NATIONAL INTEREST FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN LEBANON AND THE REGION.

-- WE HAVE CALLED UPON ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM BEIRUT AND TO GIVE ITS FULL SUPPORT AND COOPERATION TO THE MNF.

-- UNIFIL CONTINUES TO PLAY A ROLE OF POTENTIALLY GREAT IMPORTANCE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, AND THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN BEIRUT WILL COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE EXPANDED UN OBSERVER FORCE ESTABLISHED BY UNSC RESOLUTION 521.

-- THE PRESIDENT WILL SUBMIT A REPORT TO CONGRESS, CONSISTENT WITH THE REPORTING REQUIREMENTS OF THE WAR POWERS RESOLUTION, WHEN U.S. FORCES AGAIN ENTER BEIRUT. (IF ASKED: IT IS OUR FIRM INTENTION THAT U.S. FORCES WILL NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN HOSTILITIES; BUT THE PRESIDENT WILL, OF COURSE, REVIEW THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH EXIST AT THE TIME OF HIS REPORT TO CONGRESS, AND WILL MAKE HIS JUDGMENT CONCERNING THE CONTENTS OF HIS REPORT IN THAT LIGHT.)

-- A NEW PRESIDENT TOOK OFFICE THIS WEEK IN LEBANON. HE WAS ELECTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ESTABLISHED CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURES. THE VOTE FOR AMIN GEMAYEL WAS VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS, INDICATING A DEEP DESIRE AMONG THE LEBANESE FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION STRENGTHENED BY THE CONFIDENCE GENERATED BY THE COMMITMENT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN TO AN ACTIVE AMERICAN ROLE. WE

WILL WORK TO GIVE AMIN GEMAYEL ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT AS HE BEGINS THE DIFFICULT TASKS ENTRUSTED TO HIM BY THE LEBANESE PEOPLE.

-- WE WILL ALSO HELP THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE REBUILDING OF CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS INCLUDING THE ARMY.

-- WE ARE DETERMINED NOT TO ALLOW THE MISFORTUNES OF LEBANON TO DETRACT ATTENTION FROM THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WORK IS CONTINUING ON THE PRESIDENT'S FRESH START INITIATIVE.

-- AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN HIS SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON MONDAY, "IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR US TO VIEW THIS AS SOME REMOTE EVENT IN WHICH WE OURSELVES ARE NOT INVOLVED." THE U.S. AND THE VALUES THAT WE ESPOUSE SET A STANDARD THAT WE MUST UPHOLD. PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST SERVES THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE AND THUS THE SECURITY OF THE U.S.

THEMES ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROPOSAL

Context for the President's Policy

-- There are few areas in the world of such great importance to the United States and her allies as the Middle East, both in terms of its strategic position and its natural resources.

-- Time and again, however, the fragility of the region has been demonstrated by war -- most recently in Lebanon.

-- There are many reasons for this but one important reason is the Arab-Israeli conflict, centered on the Palestinian problem.

-- The United States has major strategic interests involved on both sides of this conflict.

-- Hostilities, regardless of the results, entail significant costs which outweigh any positive benefits for the United States, particularly in terms of the suffering of our friends on both sides.

-- The cost in human terms is unacceptable.

Israel's Security

-- Today, Israel's security, which we are committed to preserve, must be provided by overwhelming military force. We have seen once again in Lebanon the cost in terms of human anguish on all sides of the need to rely heavily on military force to provide security.

-- This must not be our ultimate answer. As weapons become more sophisticated, human and financial costs will escalate as the ability to strike quickly. Temptations for pre-emptive actions will multiply.

-- Recently, however, we were witness to a different example of how to provide for Israel's security -- Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai and a peace treaty with Egypt that survived the heavy strains of the Lebanon war.

The Choice for the Parties

-- The President's purpose is to put to the various parties the same question which Egypt and Israel confronted when they tried to conclude a Peace Treaty.

-- For Israel: is security and economic well-being better

provided by retention of territory and maintenance of a large army, or through normal, peaceful relations with the other states of the region?

-- For the Arab states: are their strategic and economic situations better in a state of confrontation with Israel or in a state of peaceful relations with Israel?

-- For the Palestinians: In the past 12 years the Palestinians have been subject to three bloody military defeats: 1970 in Jordan; 1975-76, in Lebanon by Syria; and 1982 in Lebanon by Israel. How can a losing military struggle abandoned by all putative friends in repeated crisis be a better path toward identity than the path of negotiation and peace with Israel?

-- The problem has been that after thirty years of conflict, Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab states each have come to believe that the other is incapable of compromising for peace.

-- Israel does not believe the majority of the Arabs want peace when they reject negotiations and Israel's very existence. The Arabs will not enter negotiations when Israel rejects any indication that it is prepared to discuss, much less accept, less than its maximum stated positions.

-- Based on our consultations, we concluded that neither side was willing to make a major step forward to break this cycle of mistrust.

Role of the U.S.

-- In these circumstances, the President has decided to put forward a position on the Palestinian issue which, hopefully, all parties will come to realize is in their long-term interests.

-- He did not make this decision precipitously; it has been preceded by three years of quiet diplomacy including 18 months of Administration efforts and discussions with all concerned.

-- He did not make the decision lightly; it was preceded by intensive consultation, inside and outside the government.

-- We fully recognize that the United States has heavy responsibilities in the region -- responsibilities which mean life and death for many -- and we cannot fulfill these obligations simply by reacting to events or carrying messages for others.

-- Historically, when U.S. policy has been successful in this region, it is because the U.S. spoke out for the principles it believed in . . . and followed through on its convictions.

-- For example, at Camp David it was an American draft that provided the breakthrough to agreement.

-- This was the background of our review which led the President to the course he outlined.

Where We Are Headed

The overriding issues the President has placed on the Middle East agenda is the prospect of genuine peace with real security based on a resolution of the Palestinian problem.

-- For three years, the United States government has been engaged in the closest and deepest form of consultation on the peace process with Israel and Egypt in the context of the autonomy negotiations.

-- It had become painfully clear that there were no magic formulas and no artful diplomacy which could bridge the essential and critical differences between the parties, particularly in the absence of those most directly affected by the conflict.

-- The issues had to be addressed squarely and this is what the President has done.

-- The President's program can bring the genuine peace and security Israel has dreamed of since its foundation. It can bring the Palestinians the identity for which they have aspired over this same period and it can bring the Arab states peace with honor.

-- Initial reactions notwithstanding, the President's proposals merit the serious consideration of all parties. We believe that this process is underway.

MIDDLE EAST QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

September 24, 1982

Q's and A's on the Peace Process:

- Another Rogers Plan?
- Prejudging the Negotiations
- Is the U.S. Still a Valid Mediator?
- Violation of Camp David
- Prior Consultation with Israel
- Raising Palestinian Hopes
- Why a Public Statement?
- New Negotiator
- Settlements Freeze
- Legitimate Rights of the Palestinian People
- Resumption of the Autonomy Talks
- Palestinian Participation
- Association with Jordan
- Resolution 242
- Jerusalem
- Golan Heights
- Transitional Arrangements
- Settlements Freeze--Consistent with Camp David?
- U.S. Participation in Final Status Talks
- Annexing the West Bank and Gaza
- Jerusalem and Camp David
- Internal Security
- Refugee Aspect of Peace Initiative

Q's and A's on Lebanon:

- Lebanon: President's Speech
- Weapons in West Beirut
- PLO Fighters in Beirut
- U.S. Advanced Knowledge of the Massacre
- Lebanon: Massacre's Effect on Middle East Peace Initiative
- Next Steps in Lebanon
- Lebanon: Status of the IDF Withdrawal
- IDF Patrols in West Beirut
- Israel: West Bank Violence
- Israeli Communique and MNF Deployment
- Israel: Possible Violation of Arms Control Act
- Israel: Commission of Inquiry
- IDF Arrests in Beirut
- Lebanon: Bank Raids
- Israel: Embassy Interfering in Internal Affairs?
- Size of U.S. Force
- Duration of MNF Deployment
- MNF: Mission and Operational Details
- How Will U.S. Forces be Equipped?
- War Powers Resolution
- Bahrain: U.S. Arms Package
- Proposed UN General Assembly Emergency Special Session on
Beirut Massacres and Security Council Investigation

ANOTHER ROGERS PLAN?

Q: Don't the U.S. positions imply a return to the Rogers Plan which Israel considered threatening to its security?

A: There have been many significant and positive developments in recent years, most notably the conclusion of the Camp David Accords and the achievement of peace between Egypt and Israel. The President's initiative is a forward looking one and cannot be compared to any past initiatives. As for the possibility that this initiative may constitute a threat to Israeli security nothing could be further from the truth. The President made clear that Israeli security remains uppermost in our minds and that we are determined to achieve a genuine peace in the region precisely because that is the only guarantee of Israel's long-term security.

PREJUDGING THE NEGOTIATIONS

Q: Isn't the U.S. prejudging the outcome of the negotiations in a way which reduces Israel's interest in participating?

A: The United States is by no means prejudging the negotiations and has on numerous occasions expressed its opposition to attempts by any other party to do so. The United States is simply articulating those positions which we are prepared to support. It is not guaranteeing to any party the outcome of the negotiations as regards any issue. Agreement must be based on the free give-and-take of the negotiating process.

9/24/82

IS THE U.S. STILL A VALID MEDIATOR?

Q: By asserting its own positions, isn't the United States disqualifying itself from playing a mediating role?

A: As the President said, the U.S. is the only outside power who can deal with all of the parties of the conflict on the basis of trust. The fact that the President has endorsed a very fair and balanced set of positions should, if anything, enhance our ability to assist the parties in reaching a just and durable peace.

9/24/82

VIOLATION OF CAMP DAVID

Q: Isn't the U.S. re-interpreting Camp David and at least violating its spirit?

A: On the contrary. As the President's statement made clear, we consider the Camp David Framework the only workable and available basis for successful negotiations. The positions enunciated by the President are completely consistent with the Framework.

9/24/82

PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH ISRAEL

Q: Was Israel consulted prior to the President's speech?

A: The President's initiative follows over three years of active negotiations, continuous discussions of the issues involved over the same period and, most recently, two trips to the Middle East by the Secretary of State this year. The views of all the parties are well-known. Those views were taken fully into account as the President formulated his initiative. We will be having close and continuous consultations with Israel and all other concerned states as the peace process unfolds.

9/24/82

RAISING PALESTINIAN HOPES

Q: Won't this initiative raise Arab expectations that they can accomplish their goals without participating in the negotiations?

A: There is no reason why this should be the case. No party can expect to achieve any of its objectives except through participation in the negotiations.

WHY A PUBLIC STATEMENT

Q: The U.S. has always stressed the value of private diplomacy. Why is this initiative being publicly announced?

A: There was no practical way for this initiative to be undertaken privately. One of the President's primary purposes, in fact, is to demonstrate for all to see the fair and balanced nature of the positions he has adopted.

9/24/82

NEW NEGOTIATOR

Q: Is a new negotiator going to be named for the Middle East?

A: No decision has been made as yet.

9/24/82

SETTLEMENTS FREEZE

Q: I thought that the President's view was that the settlements were not illegal?

A: The United States has consistently maintained its position that settlement activity is damaging to the peace process.

Q: What will the United States do if settlement activity is continued?

A: The President has stated that settlement activity is damaging to the peace process. More than anything else, a cessation of settlement activity would help create an atmosphere which might attract broader participation in the process. We will persist in seeking Israel's understanding and acceptance of this view.

Q: What is meant by a freeze on settlement activity? Is the President asking Israel to halt construction of buildings, moving additional people into already existing settlements, or simply to refrain from seizing additional land for settlement purposes?

A: The President specifically called upon Israel to refrain from using additional land for settlement purposes ^{during the transitional period.} Any further settlement activity is very harmful to the prospects of peace.

LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

2: The President said that he agrees that the Palestinian cause is more than a question of refugees, and endorsed the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements. What does the United States understand the phrase "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people" to include?

4: The Camp David process is intended to achieve a comprehensive peace through a negotiated settlement of the status of the West Bank and Gaza and peace treaties between Israel and each of its neighbors. The United States believes that it is a legitimate right of the Palestinians that the final status of the West Bank and Gaza be freely acceptable to them. This is incorporated in Camp David.

In his first major foreign policy address, President Reagan stated that the principle of self-determination was the cornerstone of US foreign policy. Do the legitimate rights of the Palestinians include the right of self-determination?

In the context of the Arab-Israeli dispute, the phrase self-determination has come to mean that the final status of the West Bank and Gaza must be an independent State. The United States does not support that definition of self-determination. The United States does support the proposition that the final status of the West Bank and Gaza must be acceptable to the Palestinians, and as provided in Camp David, they will have the final say.

9/24/82

- 2 -

Q: But does the United States accept that the Palestinians have the right to seek an independent State in the final status negotiations?

A: We anticipate that a variety of positions will be advanced in these negotiations and that one of these might be an independent Palestinian State. However, as the President said, we do not believe that either an independent State or Israeli sovereignty in the West Bank and Gaza are likely to promote peace, and the United States will not support either.

Q: Was the President calling for the immediate resumption of the autonomy talks?

A: We look forward to the resumption of the peace process initiated at Camp David as soon as possible. We will be following up the President's remarks with all of the concerned parties in order to ascertain the best manner for bringing this about.

Q: Is King Hussein willing to join the process on the basis of the President's remarks?

A: The King's most recent public remarks speak for themselves. The President's initiative clearly continues to generate interest among Arab leaders.

Q: Do Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Israel support the approach of the United States?

A: As the President stated, we are aware that neither Israel nor the Arab States will be totally pleased with the U.S. approach. However, we believe it contains the essential elements for progress toward a comprehensive peace, and we will be working to obtain their support.

Q: Will our European allies support the Camp David process on the basis of the President's remarks?

A: Our European allies have been very supportive, as have been most nations.

PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION

Q: The President called for the participation of Jordan and Palestinians. Which Palestinians was the President inviting?

A: The President endorsed the Camp David negotiating process, and it provides for the participation of either inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza or other Palestinians who are mutually agreeable to the negotiating parties. Within this context it is up to the Palestinians themselves to decide who can most effectively represent them.

Q: How does the PLO fit into the President's plans for the peace process?

A: Our position on the PLO is unchanged.

Q: If the PLO accepted the US conditions, would the US press Israel to accept the PLO as a negotiating partner in the Camp David process?

A: This is very hypothetical.

ASSOCIATION WITH JORDAN

Q: What did the President mean when he said that the United States favors "association" of the West Bank and Gaza with Jordan?

A: The President indicated that we do not support an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank or Gaza, and that we do not support Israeli sovereignty over the territories. Instead, we support a solution which would link the territories to Jordan.

Q: Does this mean that Jordan would be sovereign in the West Bank and Gaza?

A: It could mean that, although this would not necessarily mean that the Government of Jordan would choose to exercise its authority in the same way in the territories as it does now in Jordan. The nature of the link or association between the territories and Jordan would be an issue in final status negotiations, and we would not want to prejudge that question at this stage.

Q: What would preclude Jordan from subsequently granting independence to the West Bank and Gaza?

A: The negotiations on the final status of West Bank and Gaza will need to address the issue of how to ensure that changes in the agreed final status, particularly in regard to security, are not unilaterally introduced.

RESOLUTION 242

Q: Where does Security Council Resolution 242 call for withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza?

A: Security Council Resolution 242 calls for withdrawal from "territories occupied" in the 1967 war. The West Bank and Gaza were occupied in that conflict.

Q: But 242 does not call for withdrawal from all occupied territories, and Israel has already withdrawn from the Sinai.

A: At the time that Resolution 242 was adopted, it was understood by all the States concerned that the Resolution required withdrawal on all three fronts, which means Sinai, West Bank, and the Golan. However, the extent of withdrawal is to be negotiated. This remains the position of the U.S.G.

Furthermore, Camp David itself indicated that the negotiations on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan will be based on all the provisions and principles of 242."

Is the United States violating an undertaking to Israel not to state its position on 242?

As the President indicated, Egypt and Israel have both expressed their views on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and so the United States has found it desirable to put forward its own views. We are not violating any commitment in

this regard. To the contrary, the United States has made a commitment to Egypt and Israel that it would serve as a "full partner" in the search for a successful conclusion of the Camp David process.

Q: Does the Government of Israel agree with the United States' interpretation of the requirements of Resolution 242?

A: The Government of Israel has taken a different view, and certain Arab states and groups do not accept the validity of our view, but the President has called upon Israel and Arab States to re-examine their former positions in the interest of peace.

[NOTE TO BRIEFER: No attempt should be made to go beyond this guidance. This is a highly complex subject full of legal complications and very precise formulations.]

JERUSALEM

Q: Does the President include West Jerusalem when he says that the status of Jerusalem must be negotiated?

A: The United States has consistently taken the position that the status of Jerusalem, West and East, can only be resolved through negotiations.

Q: But don't we deal routinely with the Israeli Government in West Jerusalem?

A: That is true. In fact, most countries carry out their diplomatic activity with Israel in West Jerusalem, while retaining the position that the ultimate status of Jerusalem is subject to negotiation.

Q: What will be the position of the United States in those negotiations?

A: It would be premature at this time for the United States to put forward views on the final status of Jerusalem.

Q: What is the view of the United States concerning the status of East Jerusalem during the transitional period -- will it be considered part of the West Bank and be accorded full autonomy?

A: It is important that no significant number of Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank be excluded from the Camp David process. The Camp David accords specifically provide that for peace to endure, it must involve all those who have been most deeply affected by the conflict. We believe the Arab

Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem fall into this category. The United States therefore believes that it is essential that a role in that process be given the Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem. The nature of this role will need to be defined in the negotiations.

NOTE TO BRIEFER: No attempt should be made to go beyond this guidance. This is a highly complex subject full of legal complications and very precise formulations.]

GOLAN HEIGHTS

Q: Is the United States calling for Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights?

A: We are now dealing with the question of a settlement of the Palestinian issue. However, the President said that the United States is seeking peace between Israel and each of its neighbors. This includes Syria. The basis for peace between Israel and Syria is Security Council Resolution 242, which includes a provision on withdrawal from occupied territories. This obviously includes the Golan.

Q: Has the United States given a commitment to Israel that it would not support Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights?

A: No.

TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Q: What does the United States mean by "full autonomy"? Does it include Palestinian control of land, natural resources and water?

A: As the President stated, the purpose of the transitional period is the peaceful and orderly transfer of authority from Israel to the Palestinian inhabitants. While Camp David provides that the meaning of full autonomy will be defined by negotiations between the parties, it highlights the principles of security and self-government for the transitional period. It is the view of the United States that full autonomy should give the Palestinian inhabitants maximum control over their daily lives, consistent with Israel's legitimate security needs and the fact that autonomy is a transitional state, not a final status. Control of their daily lives would definitely require that the inhabitants exercise responsibilities with respect to land and natural resources. This would also apply to water, subject to appropriate safeguards which are necessitated by the fact that many of the water resources of the area underlie both Israel and the West Bank and Gaza.

9/24/82

SETTLEMENTS FREEZE -- CONSISTENT WITH CAMP DAVID

Q: Various Israeli officials have said that the President's call for a settlements freeze is inconsistent with Camp David. Would you comment?

A: The President pointed out that an immediate settlements freeze would facilitate our and Israel's efforts to broaden the peace process. There is nothing inconsistent with Camp David in his urging any State to take an action which he believes will facilitate the peace process.

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NEA:CHILLW
NEA/IAI:WAKirby
NEA/P:THoman

U.S. PARTICIPATION IN FINAL STATUS TALKS

Q: Camp David stipulates that the negotiations on final status of the West Bank and Gaza will be conducted between Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians. As the United States is not included, isn't it inconsistent for the United States to be putting forward its own positions on the outcome of those negotiations?

A: At the time that the Egypt/Israel peace treaty was signed, President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin sent a joint letter to President Carter in which they recommitted themselves to the Camp David process. In that letter they confirmed their mutual understanding "that the United States will participate fully in all stages of negotiations."

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Cleared: NEA: NValiotes

NEA: CH11EK

NEA/IAI: WKirby

NEA/P: JHogan

9/24/82

ANNEXING THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

Q: What will the United States do if Israel responds to the President's initiative by annexing the West Bank and Gaza?

A: The question of what the U.S. would do in such a case remains a hypothetical one. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza would be a violation of the Camp David Framework and of Security Council Resolution 242. Each of those documents calls for the status of the territories to be resolved through negotiations, not unilateral actions.

9/24/82

JERUSALEM

Q: Israel is claiming that the President's statements regarding Jerusalem were inconsistent with Camp David. What is your response?

A: The President's statement that Jerusalem should remain undivided and that its final status should be negotiated is completely consistent with Camp David and, I might add, is a position which the United States has publicly advanced for over thirty years. In fact, the U.S. position on Jerusalem, together with those of Egypt and Israel, was included in an exchange of letters which accompanied the Camp David Framework.

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NEA/IAI:WAKirby
NEA/P:Thoman

INTERNAL SECURITY

Q: There are reports from Israel that the President's letter to Prime Minister Begin included a suggestion that the Palestinians control internal security in the West Bank and that this was both inconsistent with Camp David and a threat to Israel's security. Can you comment on that?

A: The President's letters to Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia did contain some greater detail than his speech concerning U.S. views on the nature of arrangements for the transitional period. Those details are part of confidential diplomatic exchanges, and I am not going to comment on them specifically. However, I do want to emphasize that all of the positions supported by the President are completely consistent with Camp David and, in our view, they in no way endanger the security of Israel.

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NEW YORK

REFUGEE ASPECT OF PEACE INITIATIVE

Q: How does the President's Middle East initiative provide for the refugee dimension of the Palestinian problem?

A: As the President made clear in his September 1 address, the Camp David Agreements remain the foundation of our Middle East policy. Those agreements are aimed in significant part at resolving the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. Specifically, they provide for the constitution of a Continuing Committee during the transitional phase to decide on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. They also specify that Egypt and Israel will work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures for a prompt, just and permanent implementation of the resolution of the refugee problem. It is our conviction that this difficult issue can only be fairly resolved through free give-and-take negotiations in an agreed context.

LEBANON: PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Q: Who are the "outsiders" who, the President says, have fanned the flames of civil war in Lebanon?

A: It is common knowledge that for years various outside powers have encouraged, supplied and trained warring factions within Lebanon.

Q: When the President speaks of relying "solely" on the Lebanese Armed Forces, does this rule out the possibility of an MNF or UNIFIL presence in southern Lebanon?

A: No. Under the current circumstances, the Government of Lebanon has requested MNF deployment in Beirut to assist it in establishing its authority throughout Beirut and to provide for the safety of the people of the city.

Q: The President is now demanding Israeli withdrawal from "Beirut" rather than "West Beirut." What is the reason for this apparent change? When was it communicated to the Israelis, and what has been their response?

A: Obviously the Government of Lebanon intends, and we support its efforts, to exercise authority throughout its capital city.

Q: The President says we succeeded in our earlier effort. In view of what has happened in Beirut, isn't it obvious we and the other participants in the MNF left prematurely, and doesn't this mean we bear some responsibility for the carnage?

A: -- Following the departure of the PLO from Beirut, the Lebanese central authorities were moving effectively to reassert their control over the city and maintain civil order.

9/24/82

PLO FIGHTERS IN BEIRUT

Q: Do you agree with Israeli sources which say that 2,000 PLO fighters were left behind following the evacuation?

A: We have seen no evidence that any PLO fighters were left behind, although we would not rule out the possibility that some remained.

9/24/82

LEBANON: U.S. ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE OF MASSACRE

Q: Can you tell us how and when the US became aware that there may have been something amiss in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps?

A: -- On Friday, September 17, we started to receive fragmentary information that something was amiss in the Shatile/Sabra refugee camp areas of Beirut. We did our best to find out what was happening. It was not until Saturday morning, September 18, that an Embassy Officer was able to enter the Shatila Camp and observe directly the evidence of a massacre. A report of this eye-witness account was sent to the State Department and received there at about 0500 EDT the same day.

-- In short, we had no advance word, and when we heard that something might be happening, we acted upon it immediately.

9/24/82

LEBANON: MASSACRE'S EFFECT ON MIDEAST PEACE INITIATIVE

Q: What effect does the US anticipate that Arab outrage over the massacres in Beirut will have on the President's peace initiative?

A: -- The President is determined to press forward vigorously with the peace initiative he launched on September 1.

-- The tragic events in Lebanon should only underscore the need to move rapidly in the peace process.

NEA/P: PSCovington
TAHoman

Clearance: NEA:CHill
P: LEagleburger

NEXT STEPS IN LEBANON

Q: What steps is the US taking in the UN concerning Lebanon, following the latest events in Beirut?

A: The US supported Resolutions 520 and 521 adopted by the UN Security Council. We considered these resolutions to be appropriate expressions of the international community's deep concern about the events in Beirut.

Q: Are there American citizens among the UN observers now deployed, or about to be deployed, in Beirut?

A: Thirty-six American military officers and one senior enlisted man are seconded to the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), the UN's Middle East observer group headquartered in Jerusalem. We understand that several of these officers are among those whom the UN has assigned to Beirut.

9/24/82

LEBANON: STATUS OF IDF WITHDRAWAL

Q: What is the status of the IDF's withdrawal from Beirut and the transfer of authority within the capital to Lebanese authority?

A: IDF forces continue to be reduced in number in West Beirut. The Lebanese Army is increasing its control over that part of the capital. Ambassadors Habib and Draper have been meeting with Lebanese and Israeli officials.

Q: What comment do you have on the reported IDF statement that, once the troops are withdrawn, armed patrols may be sent back in if necessary?

A: That will be a topic of the meetings I mentioned above.

9/24/82

IDF PATROLS IN WEST BEIRUT

Q: Israeli has said it will continue to conduct patrols in West Beirut even following takeover of areas by the Lebanese army.

A: This would be contrary to U.S. support for the rapid resumption of authority throughout Beirut by the Government of Lebanon. It is the wish of the GOL that the IDF should withdraw from Beirut completely. As President Reagan said, "The Lebanese government must be permitted to restore internal security in its capital. It cannot do this if foreign forces remain in or near Beirut." Ambassadors Habib and Draper will be discussing ways to help implement this policy.

ISRAEL: WEST BANK VIOLENCE

9/24/82

Q: What is the U.S. reaction to the reports of violence on the West Bank?

A: We urge all parties, throughout the area, to do everything in their power to prevent further violence and loss of life. We are pleased that the violence now seems to have eased.

9/24/82

ISRAEL: POSSIBLE VIOLTATION OF ARMS CONTROL ACT

Q: Has the State Department determined whether Israel's move into West Beirut is a violation of the conditions under which US arms are furnished and will you file a report under the Arms Export Control Act?

A: As part of the over-all and continuing process of assessing the facts and determining what US actions should be taken in these circumstances, we are considering this question.