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Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: CABLE FILE

Withdrawer

KDB 8/7/2017

File Folder LEBANON SITUATION (09/11/1982)

FOIA

F03-012/3

Box Number 91

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9104

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
208436 CABLE	STATE 255456	1	9/11/1982	B1
208438 CABLE	STATE 255458	1	9/11/1982	B1
208439 CABLE	STATE 255444	3	9/11/1982	B1
208440 CABLE	BEIRUT 6195	1	9/11/1982	B1
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208442 CABLE	STATE 255484	2	9/11/1982	B1
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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 105

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

HCE340
OO RUEHC
DE RUEHC #5447 2540238
ZNR UUUUU ZZH
O 110208Z SEP 82 ZEX (MSG SVC'D BY WH COMM CTR
FM SECSTATE WASHDC INCOMPLETE DUE TO LENGTH)
TO ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 0000
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 0000
BT
UNCLAS STATE 255447
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SOPN, XF
SUBJECT: SECRETARY SHULTZ TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE FOREIGN
RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SEPTEMBER 10, 1982

1. FOLLOWING IS A TRANSCRIPT OF OPENING REMARKS AND FOLLOW-ON QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FROM THE SECRETARY'S APPEARANCE BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SEPTEMBER 10, 1982.

MR. CHAIRMAN, DISTINGUISHED SENATORS,

-- I AM VERY PLEASED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE ADMINISTRATION'S RECENT POLICY STEPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE HAVE BEGUN ACTIONS OF A WIDE RANGE AND OF IMMENSE IMPORTANCE. THE POSITIVE BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PEACE INITIATIVE HAS BEEN EVIDENT TO US AND IS DEEPLY APPRECIATED. THAT SUPPORT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CONDUCT OF A VIGOROUS AND CREATIVE FOREIGN POLICY AND, ACCORDINGLY, I DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH ME ON SHORT-NOTICE.

-- A LITTLE OVER TWO MONTHS AGO, I CAME BEFORE YOU AS A NOMINEE FOR SECRETARY OF STATE. IN THOSE HEARINGS, WE WERE ALL CLEARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROBLEMS PRESENTED

BY THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE PALESTINIAN ISSUES IN PARTICULAR. I EMPHASIZED THEN OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE A CEASE FIRE IN LEBANON, AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD OUR GOAL

SENSITIVE

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

OF A UNITED, SOVEREIGN LEBANON, FREED FROM FOREIGN FORCES. I ALSO EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAELI SECURITY AND OVERALL PEACE, WHILE RECOGNIZING THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS AND THEIR JUST REQUIREMENTS.

-- SINCE THEN, NOT JUST YOUR ATTENTION BUT THE WORLD'S ATTENTION WAS FOCUSED ON THE MIDDLE EAST, AND PARTICULARLY ON OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS THERE TO END THE BLOODSHED, AND TO BRING A DEEPER AND LASTING PEACE TO THE AREA. WITH THE SUCCESSFUL EVACUATION OF THE PLO FROM BEIRUT, WE HAVE TURNED TO THE NEXT STEPS NECESSARY FOR PEACE: THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON AND THE RESTORATION OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN THAT COUNTRY, AND, OF PRIME IMPORTANCE, THE REINVIGORATION OF THE CAMP DAVID PEACE PROCESS IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE FAIRLY THE UNDERLYING ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE.

-- LEBANON, OF COURSE, HAS SUFFERED GRIEVOUSLY OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, LET ALONE THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS. PHIL HABIB'S AND MORRIS DRAPER'S SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PLO FROM BEIRUT ESTABLISHED THE FIRST PHASE OF OUR APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM IN LEBANON. THE U.S. MARINE CONTINGENT IN THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE COMPLETED ITS WITHDRAWAL FROM BEIRUT AT 2:00 THIS MORNING, WELL WITHIN THE 30-DAY PERIOD THE PRESIDENT SPECIFIED IN HIS NOTIFICATION TO YOU. THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN CONTINGENTS WILL BEGIN THEIR WITHDRAWAL SOON. THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON, MEANWHILE, IS WORKING CAREFULLY BUT SURELY TO REESTABLISH AUTHORITY OVER ALL PARTS OF BEIRUT, WITH THE LEBANESE ARMY AND POLICE INCREASINGLY ASSUMING SECURITY RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE CITY.

-- A SECOND PHASE IN OUR LEBANON DIPLOMACY IS NOW BEFORE US. AS ALL OF YOU KNOW, THE PRESIDENT IS SENDING AMBASSADOR DRAPER TO LEBANON TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM THAT COUNTRY. THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE PERSONALLY INTENDS TO STAY FULLY ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A STRONG, FREE, UNITED AND HEALTHY LEBANON, SOVEREIGN THROUGHOUT ALL ITS TERRITORIES WITHIN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BORDERS. THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES FROM LEBANON MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON TO PRESERVE ISRAELI SECURITY. IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, WE WILL SEEK A

4
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 107

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

FURTHER STABILIZATION IN THE SITUATION IN BEIRUT, WE MUST CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT IN LEBANON THAT WILL ALLOW THE NEWLY ELECTED LEBANESE GOVERNMENT -- FREE OF OUTSIDE PRESSURE OR IMPOSED SOLUTIONS -- TO CARRY ON WITH ITS TASK OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. THE DESPERATE NEED FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION CAN BE WELL SERVED THROUGH SUCH RECONSILIATION AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES.

-- THE U.S. IS A STAUNCH FRIEND OF THE LEBANESE PEOPLE AND WILL BE A GOOD PARTNER IN LEBANON'S COURAGEOUS EFFORT TO REBUILD ITS ECONOMY AND TO STRENGTHEN ITS NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. WE WILL EXERCISE OUR RESPONSIBILITY AND DUTY TO GIVE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO THE LEBANESE THEMSELVES TO RECREATE A UNITED BUT PLURALISTIC SOCIETY BEHIND STRONG LEADERSHIP FROM THEIR NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT. WE ALSO LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE EFFORT TO AMELIORATE THE DESTRUCTION CAUSED BY THE LONG AND MOST UNFORTUNATE FIGHTING. I THINK THERE IS A PRETTY GOOD INDICATION THAT TOM CLAUSEN AND THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT WILL PLAY A PART IN THIS EFFORT, AND I THINK IF THEY DO THAT WILL BE VERY HELPFUL.

-- THESE EFFORTS TO REBUILD LEBANON AND STRENGTHEN ITS INSTITUTIONS CAN ONLY BE HELPED BY PROGRESS IN THE OVERALL SEARCH FOR A MIDDLE EAST PEACE. THE PROBLEMS OF LEBANON ARE DISTINCT AND MUST BE ADDRESSED WHENEVER POSSIBLE SEPARATELY FROM OUR MIDDLE EAST PEACE INITIATIVE, BUT BOTH TASKS MUST BE CARRIED ON WITHOUT DELAY. THE PRESIDENT WILL THEREFORE DISPATCH AMBASSADOR DRAPER TO LEBANON THIS WEEKEND, WHILE WE ALSO CONTINUE TO WORK ON THE OVERALL PEACE INITIATIVE.

-- WHEN I WAS BEFORE YOU IN THE CONFIRMATION HEARINGS, I NOTED OUR COMMITMENT TO SOLVING THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM WITHIN THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK. RIGHT AFTER YOUR VOTE TO REPORT MY NOMINATION FAVORABLY TO THE FULL SENATE, THE PRESIDENT INSTRUCTED ME THAT HE WISHED HIGH PRIORITY BE PLACED ON ADDRESSING THE UNDERLYING ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE, ESPECIALLY THE PALESTINIAN ISSUES.

-- THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT LAST WEEK BEGAN A FRESH START ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED ARE OF UNIVERSAL CONCERN NOT JUST TO THE PEOPLE OF THE REGION, BUT TO THE UNITED STATES AND

SENSITIVE

5

SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 108

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL. THE EVENTS OF THE LAST MONTH HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT WE AMERICANS HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE TO THE AREA. NO ONE ELSE HAS THE CREDIBILITY -- AND THEREFORE

THE ABILITY -- TO PROVIDE THE CRUCIAL LINK TO ALL SIDES.

-- THE PRESIDENT'S MIDDLE EAST PEACE INITIATIVE IS BASED ON AN INTENSIVE AND DETAILED REVIEW OF THE PROBLEM. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE ISSUES IN DETAIL WITH MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE, AS YOU NOTED, AND OTHERS IN THE CONGRESS, WITH FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND MANY OTHER KNOWLEDGEABLE PEOPLE. THE PARAMOUNT CONCLUSIONS OF THAT REVIEW ARE THAT (1) IT IS TIME TO ADDRESS, FORCEFULLY AND DIRECTLY, THE UNDERLYING PALESTINIAN ISSUES, AND (2) GENUINE SUCCESS DEPENDS UPON BROADENING PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO INCLUDE, AS ENVISAGED IN THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, EGYPT, ISRAEL, JORDAN, AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

-- IN TAKING THIS INITIATIVE, THE PRESIDENT ESTABLISHED TWO CONDITIONS -- WE WILL REMAIN FULLY COMMITTED TO BOTH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AND TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK HAS ONE KEY ELEMENT THAT ALL OTHER PEACE PLANS LACK -- IT HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL; IT PRODUCED THE ONLY TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND AN ARAB COUNTRY, AND THE COMPLETION OF THE DISENGAGEMENT AND RETURN TO THE SINAI. MOREOVER, THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK HAS THE NECESSARY ROOM FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO FULFILL THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND TO REACH PEACE TREATIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS. AS PRESIDENT CARTER SAID A WEEK AGO, "THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NOTHING IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH...NOR IN THE INFORMATION HE SENT TO THE ISRAELIS WHICH IS CONTRAY TO EITHER THE LETTER OR THE SPIRIT OF CAMP DAVID. IT IS ABSOLUTELY COMPATIBLE WITH THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT." OUR INITIATIVE WILL GIVE THE PROVISIONS OF CAMP DAVID THEIR FULL MEANING AND A NEW DYNAMISM.

-- THIS RENEWED DYNAMISM FOR THE CAMP DAVID NEGOTIATIONS WILL ENSURE ISRAELI SECURITY, AND WE EMPHATICALLY WILL REQUIRE THE PRODUCT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS TO DO SO. AS THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH NOTED, THIS COUNTRY, THIS ADMINISTRATION, AND THE PRESIDENT PERSONALLY ARE COMMITTED TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY. THIS SAME RENEWED

SENSITIVE

SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 109

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

DYNAMISM ALSO WILL PROVIDE APPROPRIATE REGARD TO THE "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR JUST REQUIREMENTS." AGAIN A QUOTATION LIFTED RIGHT OUT OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORD. CAMP DAVID ITSELF CALLS FOR THE RESIDENTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AND OTHER PALESTINIANS AS AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATING THE TWO PRIMARY MEANS OF ACHIEVING THOSE RIGHTS -- A FIVE-YEAR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF AUTONOMOUS

SELF-GOVENMENT, AND FINAL STATUS AFTER THE FIVE-YEAR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. BY RENEWING THE PROCESS, WE SEEK TO FULFILL THE HOPE OF CAMP DAVID -- ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS, JORDAN, EGYPT AND THE PALESTINIANS ENGAGED IN FAIR, DIRECT AND SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS ON HOW THEY WILL ALL LIVE TOGETHER.

-- THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS PROVIDE THAT THESE NEGOTIATED ARRANGEMENTS ON FINAL STATUS MUST BE "JUST, COMPREHENSIVE, ...DURABLE," AND "BASED ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 IN ALL THEIR PARTS." SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 SETS FORTH THE TWO KEY PRINCIPLES: I'M GOING THROUGH THIS, MR. CHAIRMAN, JUST TO REMIND OURSELVES OF THE HISTORY, THE WORDS, AND THE COMMITMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN DOWN AND SUBSCRIBED TO:

-- (I) WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED...
(II) TERMINATION OF ALL CLAIMS OR STATES OF BELLIGERENCY AND RESPECT FOR AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA AND THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN THE SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES FREE FROM THREATS OR ACTS OF FORCE," THAT'S FROM 242. AS IT HAS OFTEN BEEN SUMMARIZED, PEACE FOR TERRITORY.

-- WE BELIEVE THESE PRINCIPLES APPLY ON ALL FRONTS, BUT OUR POSITION ON THE EXTENT OF WITHDRAWAL WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCED BY THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF THE PEACE AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS BEING OFFERED IN RETURN. ISRAEL, JORDAN, EGYPT AND THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WILL NEGOTIATE THE FINAL BOUNDARIES, RECOGNIZING PALESTINIAN LEGITIMATE RIGHTS, AND SECURING WHAT RESOLUTION 338 CALLS A "JUST AND DURABLE PEACE." WE WILL SUPPORT POSITIONS IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE FAIR. THOSE POSITIONS

SENSITIVE

7
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 110

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

INCLUDE:

-- 1. ON THE ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY/PALESTINIAN STATE DIMENSION: IT IS THE PRESIDENT'S BELIEF THAT THE PALESTINAIN PROBLEM CANNOT BE RESOLVED THROUGH ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY OR CONTROL OVER ALL THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. ACCORDINGLY, WE WILL NOT SUPPORT SUCH A SOLUTION, WE WILL ALSO NOT SUPPORT THE FORMATION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS. THERE IS NO FOUNDATION OF POLITICAL SUPPORT IN ISRAEL OR IN THE UNITED STATES FOR SUCH A SOLUTION AND PEACE CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY THAT ROUTE. THE PREFERENCE WE WILL PURSUE IN THE FINAL STATUS

NEGOTIATIONS IS SOME FORM OF ASSOCIATION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WITH JORDAN.

-- 2. SELF-DETERMINATION: IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONTEXT, THE TERM "SELF-DETERMINATION" HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED EXCLUSIVELY WITH THE FORMATION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE. WE WILL NOT SUPPORT THIS DEFINITION OF SELF-DETERMINATION, ATTRACTIVE THOUGH THOSE WORDS, AS WORDS, MAY BE. WE DO BELIEVE THAT THE PALESTINIANS MUST TAKE THE LEADING ROLE IN DETERMINING THEIR OWN FUTURE AND FULLY SUPPORT THE PROVISION IN THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA TO DECIDE HOW THEY SHALL GOVERN THEMSELVES CONSISTENT WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THEIR AGREEMENT IN THE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS.

-- 3. ON JERUSALEM: WE WILL FULLY SUPPORT THE POSITION THAT JERUSALEM MUST BE UNDIVIDED AND THAT ITS STATUS MUST BE DETERMINED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE UNILATERAL ACTS WITH RESPECT TO FINAL STATUS ISSUES.

-- 4. ON SETTLEMENTS: SENATOR PELL HAS ALREADY MENTIONED THE SUBJECT. THE STATUS OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS MUST BE DETERMINED IN THE COURSE OF THE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS. WE WILL NOT SUPPORT THEIR CONTINUATION AS EXTRATERRITORIAL OUTPOSTS, BUT NEITHER WILL WE SUPPORT EFFORTS TO DENY JEWS THE OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA UNDER THE DULY CONSTITUTED GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY THERE, AS ARABS NOW LIVE IN ISRAEL.

-- NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FINAL STATUS OF THE AREA WILL NOT START UNTIL A SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY FOR THE TERRITORIES IS FIRMLY IN PLACE. NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE

SENSITIVE

8
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 111

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

TRANSITIONAL PHASE HAVE BEEN IN PROCESS FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS. IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY EXPRESSED OUR VIEWS TO OUR NEGOTIATING PARTNERS, ISRAEL AND EGYPT, AS ISSUES AROSE. MOST RECENTLY, WE INFORMED OUR PARTNERS OF HOW THESE SEPARATE EXPRESSIONS FIT INTO OUR OVERALL VIEW OF PALESTINIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT DURING A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

-- IN OUR VIEW, THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IS THE PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY FROM ISRAELI TO THE PALESTINIAN INHABITANTS, WHILE ENSURING THAT ALL NECESSARY MEASURES ARE TAKEN TO ASSURE ISRAELI SECURITY.

-- WE HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS PERIOD IS TRANSITIONAL, NOT FINAL, AND THAT THEREFORE THE PROVISIONS RELATING TO

IT SHOULD NOT PREJUDICE THE FINAL STATUS.

-- IN LIGHT OF THOSE VIEWS, WE HAVE TOLD OUR PARTNERS THAT WE HAVE SUPPORTED AND WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT:

-- -- THE DEFINITION OF FULL AUTONOMY GIVING THE PALESTINIAN INHABITANTS REAL AUTHORITY OVER THEMSELVES, THE LAND, AND ITS RESOURCES SUBJECT TO FAIR SAFEGUARDS ON WATER.

-- -- THE INCLUSION OF ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TIES BETWEEN THE WEST BANK, GAZA AND JORDAN.

-- -- PARTICIPATION BY THE PALESTINIAN INHABITANTS OF EAST JERUSALEM IN THE ELECTION FOR THE WEST BANK/GAZA AUTHORITY.

-- -- PROGRESSIVE PALESTINIAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTERNAL SECURITY BASED ON CAPABILITY AND PERFORMANCE.

-- USING THOSE SAME STANDARDS, WE HAVE OPPOSED AND WILL CONTINUE TO OPPOSE:

-- -- DISMANTLEMENT OF EXISTING SETTLEMENTS,

-- -- PROVISIONS WHICH REPRESENT A THREAT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

-- AS THE PRESIDENT NOTED IN HIS SPEECH, WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO REINVIGORATE THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS. THAT EFFORT WOULD BE ASSISTED TO A GREAT EXTENT BY A FREEZE OF THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, WHICH WAS REQUESTED DURING THE CAMP DAVID

SENSITIVE

9

SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 112

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

NEGOTIATIONS, OUR CONCERN IS NOT WITH THEIR LEGALITY OR ILLEGALITY, BUT WITH THEIR EFFECTS ON THE PEACE PROCESS.

-- THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE FOLLOWS OVER THREE YEARS OF ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, CONTINUOUS DISCUSSIONS OF THESE ISSUES, INVOLVED OVER THE SAME PERIOD, AND, MOST RECENTLY, TWO TRIPS TO THE MIDDLE EAST BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE THIS YEAR, AND ADDITIONAL TRIPS BY AMBASSADOR FAIRBANKS AND BY OTHERS WORKING ON THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE PUT THESE IDEAS IN SOME DETAIL TO THE ISRAELIS AND THE KEY ARAB STATES, INCLUDING JORDAN AND EGYPT. THEY ARE NOT EXAMINING THE PROPOSALS. IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF THEY LIKED OR DISLIKED ALL OF THEM. WE HAVE RECEIVED REACTIONS FROM SOME OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS DIRECTLY. WE ARE STUDYING THOSE REACTIONS. WE CONFIDENTLY EXPECT TO CONTINUE OUR DISUCSSIONS, WITH THE ISRAELIS, WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES, AND WITH OTHER FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS.

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS NOW ARTICULATED A REASONABLE BASIS FOR A NEGOTIATED COMPROMISE AMONG THE PARTIES. WE

EMPHASIZE THAT ANY AGREEMENT MUST BE BASED ON THE FREE GIVE-AND-TAKE OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. WE DO NOT GUARANTEE TO ANY PARTY THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON ANY ISSUE. THE PRESIDENT HAS NOW STATED PUBLICLY SOME U.S. POSITIONS ON KEY ISSUES. WE NOW CALL FOR THE PARTIES CONTEMPLATED BY THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT TO JOIN US IN SEEKING PEACE.

-- MR. CHAIRMAN, I AM VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE WORDS OF SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT THAT YOU AND THE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE HAVE GIVEN. YOUR EMPHASIS IN SEVERAL INTERVIEWS ON THE DEEP YEARNING FOR PEACE IN THE COUNTRIES AND PEOPLE OF THIS AREA; SENATOR CRANSTON'S AND SENATOR BOSCHWITZ'S SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORT TO BROADEN THE PROCESS AND INVOLVE THE JORDANIANS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIANS; AND SENATOR MATHIAS' EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR ALL TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM OBJECTIVELY ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION ARE TOGETHER, FOCUSED ON THIS ESSENTIAL TASK. AS YOU PUT IT, "THERE JUST ISN'T AN ALTERNATIVE FOR FINDING A BASIS FOR LASTING PEACE...THINK WHAT COULD HAPPEN TO THIS AREA IN THE MIDDLE EAST IF PEACE IF FOUND, AND A BASIS FOR WORKING TOGETHER WITH ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS IS FOUND BY ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS."

SENSITIVE

10
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 113

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

-- WE NOW HAVE THE INITIAL FORMAL REACTIONS FROM THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE ARAB LEAGUE SUMMIT. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, SUPPORTED BY A VOTE OF THE KNESSET, HAS OPPOSED THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS. WHILE NOT DIRECTLY ADDRESSING THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS, THE ARAB LEAGUE SUMMIT HAS PUT FORWARD ITS OWN PROPOSALS, KEY ELEMENTS OF WHICH ARE AT VARIANCE WITH OUR PROPOSALS. THE PRESIDENT STANDS FIRMLY BEHIND HIS PROPOSALS. THE REACTIONS OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND OF THE ARAB LEAGUE ARE CLEAR AND GRAPHIC EVIDENCE THAT THE POSIOTION OF BOTH SIDES MUST BE NEGOTIATED IF WE ARE TO BRING GENUINE PEACE AND SECURITY TO THIS TROUBLED REGION.

-- THE OPENING POSITIONS HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED. NOW IS THE TIME FOR QUIET DIPLOMACY TO PURSUE THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE AND BRING IT TO FRUITATION.

-- IN LAUNCHING THIS INITIATIVE, THE PRESIDENT DETERMINED THAT HE WOULD STAY FULLY INVOLVED AND FULLY COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLES HE ENUNCIATED. WE WILL BE WORKING HARD OVER THE NEXT WEEKS IN LIGHT OF THE NEW DYNAMIC DHE INITIATIVE INTRODUCED TO BRING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. I PLEDGE TO YOU THAT WE WILL BE EXERCISING THE CREATIVITY, THE PERSISTENCE, AND THE

DOGGED DETERMINATION TO SUCCEED WHICH MARKED THE SUCCESSFUL EFFORT IN BEIRUT. I ALSO EMPHASIZE TO YOU THAT WE RECOGNIZE THAT OUR EFFORT IS TO BRING A LASTING, EFFECTIVE AND JUST PEACE TO THIS AREA. THAT GOAL CAN HARDLY BE ACCOMPLISHED IN A FEW SHORT WEEKS. WE ASK YOU TO STAY WITH THE PRESIDENT IN HIS DETERMINATION TO SUSTAIN THIS EFFORT AND TO LOOK FOR THE LONG TERM, JUST SOLUTION. WE BELIEVE, DEEPLY AND PURPOSEFULLY, THAT PEACE CAN COME BETWEEN ARABS AND JEWS. NO GREATER PURPOSE CAN BE PLACED BEFORE US ALL THAN A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.

-- CHAIRMAN PERCY: THANK YOU, MR. SECRETARY, VERY MUCH INDEED.

-- YOU MENTIONED IN YOUR TESTIMONY THAT THE PRESIDENT IS SENDING AMBASSADOR DRAPER BACK TO LEBANON TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS. HE ALSO SHOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE DONE AN OUTSTANDING JOB OVER THERE AT TREMENDOUS PERSONAL SACRIFICE.

SENSITIVE

SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 114

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

-- IS THERE ANY KIND OF A TIME SCHEDULE? WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE A PRESIDENT-ELECT WHO WILL NOT TAKE OFFICE FOR A WHILE; BUT ARE WE STARTING TO GET TIME FRAMES NOW FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FORCES? CERTAINLY, THE SYRIAN FORCES, IT'S CRUCIAL THAT THEY BE WITHDRAWN, AND THE NEED FOR THEM CERTAINLY IS DIMINISHED. IS THERE ANY FEELING THAT YOU CAN GIVE TO THE COMMITTEE AS TO WHAT WE MIGHT EXPECT IN THE WAY OF TIMEFRAMES ON WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OUTSIDE FORCES AND THE RESUMPTION OF CONTROL OF LEBANON BY LEBANESE FORCES?

-- SECRETARY SHULTZ: I THINK THE FIRST THING IS TO GIVE A LITTLE MORE BREATHING ROOM TO THE CITY OF BEIRUT, SO THAT THE NEW LEBANESE GOVERNMENT CAN ESTABLISH ITSELF, HAVE A CAPITAL CITY THAT IT CONTROLS, AND WORK FROM THERE. THEN, WE HAVE TO WORK OUT SOME SORT OF A PROGRAM FOR A SORT OF SYNCHRONIZED WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES AND ALSO TO HAVE THE PLO UNITS THAT ARE STILL IN NORTHERN LEBANON LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND BECOME PART OF A PEACEFUL POPULATION THERE, OR GET OUT. THERE IS NO PLACE IN A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY FOR AN ARMED FORCE WITH THE COUNTRY. THAT IS BASICALLY DISRUPTIVE AND HAS TO BE ENDED.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON TO HAVE THIS COME ABOUT BEFORE PEOPLE GET TOO SETTLED IN WHERE THEY ARE. SO I DON'T WANT TO SET ANY EXACT TIMETABLE OR SCHEDULE AT THIS POINT -- THAT WOULD BE

PREMATURE; BUT I DO WANT TO ASSURE YOU, WE WILL BE WORKING TO MOVE THE SITUATION BECAUSE YOU HAVE TWO HOSTILE ARMIES RIGHT THERE, UP AGAINST EACH OTHER, AND THERE IS ALWAYS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN OUTBREAK. IF THEY STAY THERE TOO LONG, I GUESS YOU'D HAVE TO SAY THERE IS THE PROBABILITY OF AN OUTBREAK. SO GETTING THEM SEPARATED IS IMPORTANT.

-- I GOT SOME ENCOURAGEMENT FROM READING THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE ARAB SUMMIT. THIS WE HAVE JUST GOTTEN AND WE WILL HAVE TO ANALYZE IT BETTER. BUT I THINK ON THIS SUBJECT, THE WORDS ARE QUITE CLEAR, AND I'M READING:

-- "THE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN NOTIFIED OF THE DECISION OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT ENDING THE TASK OF THE ARAB DETERRENT FORCES IN LEBANON, PROVIDED THAT NEGOTIATIONS BE CONDUCTED BETWEEN THE LEBANESE AND THE SYRIAN

SENSITIVE

12
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 115

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE THE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE ISRAEL WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON."

IN OTHE WORDS, THE MANDATE THAT WAS PLACED THERE, WHICH TO SOME EXTENT WAS POINTED TO AS THE REASON WHY THE SYRIANS HAD TO STAY, THAT'S BEEN TAKEN AWAY. SO NOW THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT HAS A LITTLE BETTER ABILITY TO EXPRESS ITSELF, AND I THINK THERE IS A GREATER FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE SYRIANS. SO THAT'S A GOOD STEP.

-- CHAIRMAN PERCY: I WONDER IF YOU COULD COMMENT ON THE UNITED STATES ROLE IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LEBANON. THE DESTRUCTION IS TERRIBLE. I DIDN'T SEE A SINGLE BUILDING THERE THAT WASN'T JUST POCKETED WITH SHELL HOLES. THE LIVING AND PHYSICAL CONDITIONS WERE DESCRIBED VIVIDLY TO ME BY SOME OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS. WHEN I ASKED THEM WHAT CONCERNS THEY HAD ABOUT PERSONAL SAFETY, THEY SAID, "THE ONLY CONCERNS WE REALLY HAVE ARE SLEEPING AT NIGHT. LOOK AT THAT BUILDING OVER THERE" -- AND THEY POINTED TO A BUILDING. "THAT'S WHERE WE SLEEP. IT'S FILLED WITH RATS BECAUSE OF THE GARBAGE THAT'S BEEN AROUND."

-- HE SAID, "EVERY NIGHT SOMEONE WILL HAVE A RAT JUMP RIGHT ON THEM AS THEY ARE TRYING TO SLEEP THERE." THE CITY HAS TO BE CLEANED UP.

-- WHAT ROLE IS THE UNITED STATES GOING TO PLAY IN THIS? AND CAN WE ALSO PLAY A ROLE, AS I DISCUSSED WITH THE OUTGOING PRESIDENT -- AND I'M DELIGHTED HE IS GOING TO DEVOTE HIMSELF TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN REBUILDING THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN BEIRUT -- IS THE ROLE THE PRIVATE

SECTOR CAN PLAY IN COMING BACK TO A STABLE COUNTRY ONCE AGAIN AND MAKING BEIRUT A CENTER OF COMMERCE AS IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST.

-- SECRETARY SHULTZ: I THINK WE MUST PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN HELPING THE LEBANESE TO REBUILD THEIR PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AS WELL AS THEIR SOCIETY. IT SEEMS TO ME WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING STEPS: FIRST OF ALL, THERE IS THE HUMANITARIAN AID THAT IS COMING FORTH AND IS NEEDED ON A KIND OF AN IMMEDIATE BASIS. WE ARE DOING OUR PART IN THAT, AND THERE ARE MANY OTHER AGENCIES, THE RED CROSS IN PARTICULAR, BUT OTHERS WHO ARE PLAYING A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND THOUGHTFUL ROLE HERE.

SENSITIVE

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

-- SECOND, WE NEED TO HELP IN ASSESSING JUST WHAT THE EXTENT OF THE DAMAGES ARE AND WHAT IT TAKES TO RECONSTRUCT. THIRD, IT SEEMS TO ME, WHILE BEING WILLING TO PLAY OUR PART, WE SHOULD BUILD ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONCERN AND WILLINGNESS TO HELP IN LEBANON. THAT IS ONE REASON WHY IT SEEMED TO ME OF GREAT INTEREST TO ENGAGE THE WORLD BANK IN THIS, AND LET THEM TRY TO DRAW FUNDS FROM MANY SOURCES, IDENTIFY PROJECTS AND USE THE SKILLS THAT THEY HAVE. SO THAT'S A NEXT STEP.

-- I THINK PUBLIC FUNDS THAT WOULD GO TO RECONSTRUCTION, UNDOUBTEDLY, WOULD CONCENTRATE ON MATTERS OF INFRASTRUCTURE. BUT IS IS MY FEELING AND OBSERVATION THAT LEBANON HAS BEEN OVER THE YEARS A VERY ATTRACTIVE COUNTRY FOR PRIVATE CAPITAL. IT SEEMS TO ME THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE THING THAT CAN BE DONE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LEBANON IS TO GET CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL STABILITY ESTABLISHED SO THAT PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS WILL FEEL THAT IT IS A PLACE WHERE THEY CAN MAKE INVESTMENTS, BUILD HOMES, AND BUILD FACILITIES OF ONE KIND OR ANOTHER SO THAT LEBANON'S COMMERCIAL, FINANCIAL, AND CULTURAL STRENGTH CAN COME FORWARD. THOSE ARE AMONG THE THINGS.

-- I WAS VERY INTERESTED TO RECEIVE A LETTER YESTERDAY FROM RALPH DAVIDSON, THE PRESIDENT OF TIME, SAYING THAT A PRIVATE GROUP OF AMERICAN FIRMS HAD BEEN FORMED. THEY HAVE RAISED DOLD 1.5 MILLION AS OF NOW, AND THEY ARE ORGANIZING THEMSELVES TO HELP PURELY AS A PRIVATE INITIATIVE. THEY JUST DID THAT. NOBODY ASKED THEM TO DO IT. IT'S JUST THE AMERICAN INSTINCT FOR HELP COMING FORWARD, AND I HOPE THAT THERE WILL BE A GOOD BIT OF THAT. IT IS TO BE COMMENDED.

-- CHAIRMAN PERCY: I WOULD CERTAINLY ENCOURAGE IT AND I WOULD SAY TO ANY GROUPS THINKING OF GOING BACK AND DOING THAT AND WANTING TO REBUILD THAN THE LEBANESE OF ALL FACTIONS THERE. I WAS DELIGHTED AT THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S DESIRE TO REACH OUT TO THE MOSLEM COMMUNITY AND BE PRESIDENT OF ALL OF LEBANON AND PULL THIS COUNTRY TOGETHER.

-- THOSE PEOPLE YEARN -- THREE MILLION OF THEM -- TO BE A UNITED COUNTRY ONCE AGAIN NOW.

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

-- SECRETARY SHULTZ: MR. CHAIRMAN, AS A FORMER ECONOMIST, I WAS INTERESTED IN ONE LITTLE INDICATOR I HEARD OF FROM OVER THERE. THE PRICE OF CEMENT, I AM TOLD, HAS DOUBLED. I'M SURE SUPPLY WILL COME ON AND THE PRICE WILL BE MODERATED, BUT I THINK IT'S A VERY INTERESTING MARKER IN THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEOPLE.

-- CEMENT IS A REBUILDING COMMODITY AND PEOPLE ARE WANTING IT. THAT IS A VERY HEALTHY INDICATOR, IT SEEMED TO ME.

-- CHAIRMAN PERCY: I WANT TO ASK YOU ABOUT THE CRITICISM THAT WAS LEVELED BY ISRAEL. THEY WERE SURPRISED AT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL. THEY WERE NOT ADEQUATELY CONSULTED. THEY WERE CONSULTED BEHIND OTHERS. I'M PARTICULARLY INTERESTED BECAUSE SOME OF THE IDEAS GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT SENATOR JAVITS, OR SENATOR PELL HAD MENTIONED. WE DISCUSSED THEM IN DETAIL (DURING JUNE) WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, SUCH AS NO FURTHER SETTLEMENTS SO LONG AS FULL AUTONOMY TALKS ARE GOING ON.

-- THESE IDEAS ARE NOT STARTLING NEW IDEAS. THEY ARE IDEAS CONSISTENT WITH CAMP DAVID. HOW HAVE YOU HANDLED THAT MATTER WITH THE ISRAELIS AND HOW HAVE YOU ANSWERED THE CHARGES THEY MADE, THAT OTHERS WERE GIVEN A FULL BRIEFING BEFORE THEY WERE?

-- SECRETARY SHULTZ: I CAN ONLY DESCRIBE WHAT HAPPENED, AND THEN YOU CAN PLACE WHATEVER INTERPRETATION ON IT YOU WANT ON IT.

-- WE CONSULTED EXTENSIVELY AND, AS A MATTER OF FACT, ONE CAN GO WAY BACK TO ALL OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN GOING ON AND NOTE WHAT YOU SAID, THAT THERE ISN'T ANY PROPOSAL IN HERE THAT IS NEW IN THE SENSE THAT NOBODY HAS EVER THOUGHT OF IT BEFORE OR TALKED ABOUT IT.

-- BASICALLY, THE POSITIONS ARE POSITIONS THAT AMBASSADOR FAIRBANKS HAS ADVANCED AND SECRETARY HAIG AND OTHERS. I THINK YOU CALLED THEM "BRIDGING IDEAS," DICK. IT ISN'T AS THOUGH THERE HAVEN'T BEEN AN AWFUL LOT OF LISTENING, AND INCLUDING IN THE LAST MONTH OR SO AS VISITORS CAME HERE FROM ARAB COUNTRIES AND FROM ISRAEL AND WE ASKED THEM THEIR OPINIONS AND SO FORTH.

15
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 118

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

-- OF COURSE, THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF WRITTEN MATERIAL PUT FORWARD BY MINISTER SHARON, MINISTER SHAMIR, WHEN THEY WERE HERE AND SUBSEQUENTLY. SO THERE'S BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF CONSULTATION OF THAT KIND.

-- WHEN IT CAME TO ACTUALLY PUTTING FORWARD THESE POSITIONS AND SAYING, WE ARE GOING TO PUT THESE FORWARD AS PUBLIC POSITIONS, THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL SIMPLY SAY WE'LL STAND BY THESE POSITIONS. THERE WE HAD TO SCRATCH OUR HEADS A LOT.

-- A VERY HIGH PROPORTION OF THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM WE CONSULTED, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, SAID TO US, THE KEY HERE, IF WE'RE GOING TO GET ANYWHERE, IS TO GET JORDAN AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AS IT SAYS IN CAMP DAVID TO COME IN AND TALK. WE SAID, WELL, THAT BEING THE CASE, WE AGREE WITH THAT.

-- PERHAPS THE FIRST THINK WE DUGHT TO DO IS VERY QUIETLY AND PRIVATELY TALK TO KING HUSSEIN AND WE DID THAT, TO SEE IF WHAT WE GOT OUT OF THIS WAS JUST A NEGATIVE OR WHAT. WE COULDN'T EXPECT THAT HE WOULD JUST CLIMB ON BOARD, BUT FIND OUT HOW THE MOOD IS AND WHETHER OR NOT WE COULD CONTEMPLATE GOING FORWARD OR WHAT HIS ATTITUDE WOULD BE AS WE CONTEMPLATED GOING FORWARD. WE DID THAT.
HAVING DONE THAT, AND THINKING ABOUT IT FURTHER, WE FELT THAT WE SHOULD PROCEED. IT SEEMED TO US WELL THEN TO TALK TO EACH OF THE KEY GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED THROUGH OUR AMBASSADORS LOCATED IN THOSE COUNTRIES, THOSE AMBASSADORS HAVING BEEN BACK HERE AND HAVING BEEN CONSULTED ABOUT THIS AND READ INTO OUR MATERIAL AND HAD THEIR VIEWS BROUGHT IN, AGAIN, A KIND OF CONSULTATION,

WE DEVELOPED A SET OF TALKING POINTS, AND A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE HEAD OF STATE OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, AND EACH OF THE AMBASSADORS HAD THAT, AND THE TALKING POINTS ARE BASICALLY IDENTICAL AND THOSE MATERIALS WERE GONE OVER WITH EACH HEAD OF STATE PRIVATELY,

ONE OF THE THINGS THAT I GUESS YOU HAVE TO FACE IN ANYTHING IMPORTANT IN PUBLIC LIFE IS THAT IT DOESN'T REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL FOR VERY LONG. LIKE I MEAN THREE OR FOUR MINUTES. IT'S VERY QUICK. PEOPLE FIND OUT ABOUT IT VERY QUICKLY. WE SAW THAT WHAT THE PRESIDENT WAS PROPOSING WAS

SENSITIVE

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

COMING OUT VERY FAST.

SO IT SEEMED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT HE OUGHT TO PUT FORWARD HIS PROPOSALS IN HIS WAY FOR HIMSELF. THEREFORE, HE MADE HIS ADDRESS; HE MADE IT A LITTLE BIT QUICKER THAN HE MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE DONE HAD THE LEAKS NOT HAPPENED SO FAST.

BUT RATHER THAN HAVE OTHER PEOPLE PUT HIS PROPOSAL FORWARD FOR HIM, ASSIGN THEIR REACTIONS TO IT, WE FELT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD PUT ITS FOOT FORWARD AND DO IT QUICKLY, SO THAT IS THE PROCESS THAT TOOK PLACE, AND I THINK IT'S A PRETTY GOOD PROCESS.

CHAIRMAN PERCY: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, INDEED. I CONCUR WITH IT ALSO.

SENATOR PELL: I WAS WONDERING IF YOU THOUGHT THERE WAS ANY WAY OF ACHIEVING THIS FREEZE ON THE SETTLEMENTS ABOUT WHICH THE CHAIRMAN SPOKE AND ABOUT WHICH I SPOKE EARLIER, AND WHETHER, IN APPROACHING IT, WE COULD PERHAPS DUST OFF AND RESURRECT THE ALLON PLAN WHICH, TO MY MIND, HAD A GOOD DEAL OF MERIT A FEW YEARS AGO?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: OUR APPROACH TO THIS IS TO EMPHASIZE ALWAYS, FIRST AND FOREMOST, THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACE AND TO HOLD THAT UP IN FRONT OF PEOPLE AS THE GRAND OBJECTIVE. I DO THINK GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE POSITIONS BEING PUT FORWARD BY THE PRESIDENT, ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES, THAT CONTINUED EXPANSION OF THE SETTLEMENTS IS NOT A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE, AND WE OUGHT TO SAY THAT AND BE CLEAR ABOUT IT AND NOT MINCE ANY WORDS.

WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAS PUT FORWARD HAS BEEN COMPARED TO A VARIETY OF OTHER PLANS. I THINK THAT IS FITTING IN THE SENSE THAT, AGAIN, IT SHOWS THERE IS A LOT OF CONTINUITY HERE IN DEVELOPMENT OF THESE IDEAS WHICH GIVES THEM STRENGTH.

FUNDAMENTALLY, WHAT THE PRESIDENT DID WAS NOT TO TRY TO SPLIT THE DIFFERENCE OR DUPLICATE SOME OTHER PLAN BUT TO PUT FORWARD SOME POSITIONS OF HIS OWN THAT HE THINKS ARE FAIR AND HAVE A GOOD CHANCE OF LEADING TO PEACE.

SENATOR PELL: TO DRAW YOU OUT A LITTLE BIT FURTHER ON THIS, DO YOU FEEL THAT THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT CAN BE PERSUAD-

17
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 120

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

ED TO HALT THE SETTLEMENTS POLICY WHILE THIS PROCESS IS GOING ON; DO YOU HAVE ANY CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM IN THIS REGARD?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: ONLY MY CONVICTION THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE WILL BE A VERY STRONG MOTIVATING FACTOR ANYWHERE, INCLUDING IN ISRAEL--ESPECIALLY IN ISRAEL PERHAPS-- AND WE NEED TO BRING THAT OPPORTUNITY FORWARD.

OF COURSE, A LOT WILL DEPEND ON WHETHER OR NOT IN THE END KING HUSSEIN OR OTHER QUALIFIED REPRESENTATIVES SAY, YES, WE'LL COME AND SIT DOWN WITH ISRAEL AND TRY TO WORK THIS OUT. I THINK THAT IS A CRITICAL ELEMENT IN THIS PICTURE,

SENATOR PELL: I NOTICE IN YOUR EARLIER RESPONSE ABOUT YOU INVOLVING KING HUSSEIN IN THIS PROCESS--RUNNING IT BY HIM--YOU PERHAPS INTENTIONALLY DID NOT SAY WHAT HIS REACTION HAD BEEN TO IT. WOULD YOU FEEL AT LIBERTY TO TELL US HOW FAR YOU FEEL KING HUSSEIN WOULD BE WILLING TO GO IN THIS REGARD.

I KNOW I HAD A TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH HIM SOME WEEKS BACK, AND I WAS JUST CURIOUS WHY YOU FEEL HE WOULD WILLING TO TAKE A VERY ACTIVE ROLE?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I WOULD SAY THAT HE CONSIDERS THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS AS VERY SERIOUS AND IMPORTANT PROPOSALS, AND HE IS STUDYING THEM CAREFULLY. THEY ARE BY NO MEANS BEING REJECTED OUT OF HAND AT ALL, SO THE QUESTION IS VERY MUCH OPEN.

SENATOR PELL: I'M VERY GLAD TO HEAR THAT. IN REGARD TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LEBANON, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT

ALL THE DAMAGE WAS DONE BY AMERICAN WEAPONS IN OTHER PEOPLES' HANDS, IS THERE ANY ANTI-AMERICANISM ON THE PART OF THE LEBANESE BECAUSE OF THIS?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: OBVIOUSLY, THERE HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUS REACTIONS THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD TO THE WHOLE LEBANON OPERATION, AND THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT NEGATIVE FALLOUT ON THE UNITED STATES. AT THE SAME TIME, SENATOR, I THINK IT'S ALSO APPARENT TO EVERYBODY THAT IN THE END IT WAS THE UNITED STATES THAT PLAYED THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THAT BROUGHT PEOPLE TOGETHER, THAT DEVELOPED THE PLAN THAT SAVED THE CITY OF BEIRUT AND THE OTHER CITIZENS OF BEIRUT,

SENSITIVE

18
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 121

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82/1264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON HAS BEEN VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THAT AND CONSCIOUS OF THAT. SO I THINK OUR CAPACITY TO BE HELPFUL IS STRONG.

SENATOR PELL: I'M GLAD TO HEAR THAT, AND YOU FEEL THAT THE AMERICAN PRESENCE THERE--NOT PRESENCE, BUT POSITION THERE IS ONE OF RESPECT?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: YES, SIR, I DO. SENATOR PERCY HAS JUST BEEN THERE. PERHAPS HE WOULD WANT TO COMMENT. THERE'S NOTHING LIKE A VIEW FROM BEING THERE. I ONLY READ THESE CABLES. I GO CRAZY WITH THESE THINGS. YOU'VE BEEN THERE; YOU'VE TALKED TO THE INCOMING PRESIDENT.

CHAIRMAN PERCY: I WAS SKEPTICAL, AND TOLD THEM SO AT THE BEGINNING OF OUR CONVERSATIONS. I LEFT VERY ENCOURAGED BY WHAT I HEARD, AND WHAT HE INTENDS TO DO. FOR INSTANCE, HE INTENDS TO GO RIGHT DOWN SOUTH AND LIVE A COUPLE OF NIGHTS RIGHT IN THE AREA. HE INTENDS TO FACE UP TO A LOT OF THE PROBLEMS THAT HE IS WELL AWARE OF.

I THINK AMBASSADOR FAIRBANKS KNOWS THE NATURE OF THOSE PROBLEMS. I WAS IMPRESSED WITH THE VIGOR WITH WHICH HE'S APPROACHING THEM.

SENATOR PELL: FINALLY, MR. SECRETARY, THE ISRAELI CABINET SEEMS VERY CONCERNED IN ALLOWING ARABS IN EAST JERUSALEM TO VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS FOR THE SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY COULD LEAD, AS THEY PUT IT, TO A REPARTITION IN JERUSALEM. IS THERE GROUNDS FOR WORRY IN THIS REGARD? I CAN SEE THE POLITICAL GROUNDS FOR IT BUT WONDER WHAT YOU THOUGHT?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: IF THEY THINK THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR WORRY. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, WHAT WE HAVE SAID IS--OUR POSITION IS THERE SHOULD BE AN UNDIVIDED JERUSALEM. WE

HAVE BEEN VERY STRAIGHTFORWARD ABOUT THAT. WE HAVEN'T MINCED ANY WORDS. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE ARE PEOPLE THERE WHO AREN'T CITIZENS OF ISRAEL; THEY DON'T VOTE IN ISRAELI ELECTIONS. THEY'RE THERE, AND THERE IS GOING TO BE A SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY, WE HOPE, DURING A TRANSITION PERIOD. SO IT SEEMS REASONABLE TO US THAT THEY OUGHT TO HAVE A CHANCE TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON THAT SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY. THAT IS THE SIMPLICITY OF IT. I

SENSITIVE

19
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 122

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

DON'T SEE THAT THAT DOES CONSTITUTE A GROUNDS FOR CONCERN ABOUT A DIVIDED JERUSALEM.

SENATOR PELL: FINALLY, MR. SECRETARY, THE MIDEAST PEACE PLAN ADOPTED BY THE ARAB LEADERS IN FEZ, AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS, INCLUDED THE IMPLICIT RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. DO YOU AGREE WITH THIS INTERPRETATION, AND WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TO THE ARAB PEACE PLAN AND HAVE YOU HAD A CHANCE TO STUDY IT YET?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: WE HAVE JUST GOTTEN IT THIS MORNING, AND I THINK BEFORE TRYING TO GIVE ANY EXTENSIVE INTERPRETATION I WANT TO STUDY IT AND TALK TO PEOPLE AND HEAR PEOPLE TELL ME ABOUT WHAT LIES BEHIND IT AND SO ON.

ON ITS FACT, OF COURSE, THE POSITIONS TAKEN ARE AT CONSIDERABLE VARIANCE FROM POSITIONS THE PRESIDENT HAS TAKEN ON KEY AND IMPORTANT ISSUES; AND THAT'S CLEAR. SO WE'LL HAVE TO SEE WHAT IT MEANS.

MANY HAVE INTERPRETED POINT 7 AS BEING AN IMPLICIT RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL; AND SIMILAR TO PHRASEOLOGY IN THE FAHD PLAN THAT WAS AROUND ABOUT A YEAR AGO, IT WAS INTERPRETED AS RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL BY SOME SAUDI ARABIAN OFFICIALS. SO PERHAPS THAT'S SO; I HOPE THAT'S SO.

I THINK THE KEY THING HERE, AGAIN, IS: WILL SOMEBODY SHOW UP AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE? THEN YOU CAN START TALKING, AND THE FACT THAT PEOPLE HAVE POSITIONS THAT VARY IS NOT SO IMPORTANT AS: WILL THEY COME AND TALK ABOUT THEM AND TRY TO RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES? THAT'S WHAT WE HAVE TO FIND OUT.

SENATOR HAYAKAWA: FIRST OF ALL, I WANT TO SAY THAT I WAS DEEPLY MOVED AND IMPRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN WHICH HE ANNOUNCED HIS PLAN FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST; AND I DO HAVE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT IT, HOWEVER, ESSENTIALLY FOR CLARIFICATION, NOT FOR THE SAKE OF ARGUMENT.

HOW LONG HAS KING HUSSEIN BEING KING IN JORDAN?

SENATOR SHULTZ: ABOUT 30 YEARS.

SENATOR HAYAKAWA: HOW STRONG IS THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN LEBANON? AND IF THE PLO IS INVITED TO MOVE IN ITS POPULATION TO THE GAZA AND THE WEST BANK, TO WHAT DEGREE WILL

SENSITIVE

20
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 123

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

LEBANON BE ABLE TO CONTROL THAT POPULATION--THAT IS TO SAY, THE PLO IS INVITED TO HAVE ITS OWN FORM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT--BUT NOT AS AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT, BUT UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF LEBANON; IS IT NOT?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: SIR, I THINK THERE ARE MANY LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM THE TRAGEDY OF LEBANON OVER THE LAST, SAY, SEVEN YEARS, LET ALONE THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS OR SO. AND ONE OF THE LESSONS, SURELY, IS THAT THE EXISTENCE OF AN ARMED STATE WITHIN A STATE IS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH STABILITY. SO WHETHER YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT LEBANON OR WHETHER YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST OR ANYWHERE, THAT'S A CONDITION THAT CAN'T BE TOLERATED, AND THE EMERGENCE OF A STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON CERTAINLY CARRIES WITH IT THE IDEA THAT THE STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO BE THE ARMED FORCE IN THAT COUNTRY AND THERE ARE NOT GOING TO BE ANY OTHERS. THE SAME THING WILL BE TRUE IN OTHER AREAS.

SENATOR HAYAKAWA: SO LEBANON WILL HAVE THE WILL AND THE FORCE AND THE STRENGTH TO ENFORCE AN ORDER, AN AUTHORITY, OVER THE PLO AND ANYBODY ELSE WITHIN ITS BORDERS,

SECRETARY SHULTZ: CERTAINLY THAT IS THE OBJECTIVE, AND I DON'T SEE ANY REASON WHY THAT CAN'T BE SO IF WE SUPPORT IT PROPERLY AND OTHERS HELP TO BRING THAT TO PASS.

IT'S A BIG JOB BECAUSE IT ISN'T JUST A QUESTION OF ARMAMENTS AND THINGS LIKE THAT. THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS HERE ARE THAT YOU HAVE MANY DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES AND THEY NEED TO BE RECONCILED TOGETHER AND BROUGHT TOGETHER, AND ITS'S A VERY COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT TASK OF GOVERNMENT.

AND WE SPEAK OF POLITICS OFTEN IN THIS COUNTRY SOMETIMES IN A DEROGATORY WAY, BUT IT'S THE HIGHEST ART TO CREATE THE POLITICS AND THE SENSE OF GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES TO RECONCILE PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT VIEWS AND BRING THEM INTO SOMETHING THAT HAS STABILITY TO IT; AND THAT'S THE TASK THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON FACES.

IT'S A DARN HARD TASK, MEN. THEY NEED ALL THE HELP THEY CAN GET AND ALL THE SYMPATHY THEY CAN GET. IT'S NOT JUST A QUESTION OF MUSCLE.

SENATOR HAYAKAWA: DO YOU THINK IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WITH OUR HELP AND WITH THE HELP OF OTHERS THAT LEBANON CAN

SENSITIVE

21
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 124

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82/1264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATEGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MAINTAIN THAT ORDER?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: YES, SIR; I DO.

SENATOR HAYAKAWA: ALL RIGHT. AND, SIR, YOU STATE THAT WE'LL NOT RECOGNIZE THE PLO AS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIANS UNLESS THEY GET OFF THIS GUERRILLA KICK AND RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST,

WELL, I'VE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH PALESTINIAN AMERICANS AND THEY WERE A GROUP OF VERY NICE LADIES WHO LOOKED LIKE --WELL, CHARACTERISTIC WOMEN OR LADIES WHO MIGHT BE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS. AND I ASKED IF THERE COULDN'T BE A DISTINCTION BE MADE BETWEEN A POLITICAL PALESTINIAN GROUP AS OPPOSED TO THE PLO THAT WAS A GUERRILLA GROUP, AND THEY SAID TO ME: "WE ARE THE PLO."

SO MY QUESTION IS SOMETHING LIKE THIS: WHOM ARE WE TO RECOGNIZE AS REPRESENTING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE--THE PLO OR ONE OF ITS MANY BRANCHES OR THOSE WHO CLAIM NOT TO BE PART OF THE PLO AT ALL, IF THERE ARE SUCH?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: OF COURSE YOU IDENTIFY ONE OF THE PROBLEMS--THAT THERE ARE MANY BRANCHES AND THEY DIFFER IN THEIR OUTLOOK. AND SO YOU'RE NOT TOO SURE THEN PRECISELY WHAT IT IS YOU'RE DEALING WITH.

OUR APPROACH AND THE PRESIDENT'S APPROACH IN HIS PROPOSALS IS TO SAY JORDAN IS ISRAEL'S NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR AND IT'S GOING TO BE INVOLVED IN THIS PROCESS, AND JORDAN HAS A VERY STRONG PROPORTION OF PALESTINIAN ARABS IN ITS POPULATION--I THINK ON THE ORDER OF 60 PERCENT OR SO--SO LET KING HUSSEIN TO COME INTO THIS PROCESS AND LET US FIND PEOPLE WHO CAN REPRESENT PALESTINIAN INTERESTS, AND THERE MUST BE SOME ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA LIVING THERE--AFTER ALL, THAT'S THE TERRAIN THAT'S MOST IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED--AND DEVELOP A PROCESS OF REPRESENTATION SOMEHOW. THAT'S THE OBJECT.

SENATOR HAYAKAWA: I THINK IT'S A VERY, VERY DIFFICULT TASK THAT THE ADMINISTRATION CONFRONTS ON THIS. IT ISN'T ONLY THE ADMINISTRATION, AND I THINK THAT'S REALLY THE POINT OF ALL THE DISCUSSION WE'VE HAD HERE AND THE STATEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE BY MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE AND MANY, MANY OTHERS. THE ADMINISTRATION CAN'T DO ANY-

SENSITIVE

22
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 125

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

THING UNLESS IT'S BASED ON A BROAD FEELING OF SUPPORT. I THINK PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST APPEALING THINGS ABOUT

WHAT'S HAPPENED IS THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN OUTPOURING OF SUPPORT IN THIS COUNTRY FROM ALL DIRECTIONS.

SENATOR HAWAKAYA: I CERTAINLY FEEL THAT THERE IS SUCH SUPPORT BEING GENERATED RIGHT NOW AND SPREADING TODAY AS WE DISCUSS THIS MATTER.

SENATOR GLENN: FOLLOWING UP ON THE STABILITY OF LEBANON-- WHICH I THINK IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL IF YOU'RE GOING TO MAKE ANY PROGRESS BECAUSE THAT'S GOING TO BE VITAL TOWARD GIVING VARIOUS PARTIES THE WILLINGNESS TO PULL OUT OF THAT SITUATION THERE--DO YOU ENVISION US HELPING TO BUILD THE INTERNAL MILITARY CAPABILITY OR THE INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES OF LEBANON SO LONG OR IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHER NATIONS OR WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS ALONG THAT LINE. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT'S KEY BEFORE WE CAN MOVE ON TO ALMOST ANYTHING ELSE.

SECRETARY SHULTZ: SENATOR, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT IS BASICALLY UP TO THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON TO DEVELOP THEMSELVES. THAT'S WHERE THE PRIME RESPONSIBILITY HAS TO BE. AND THE ROLE THAT WE SEEK TO PLAY IS THE ROLE OF PARTNER AND HELPFUL FRIEND AND TO BE RESPONSIVE WHERE WE THINK IT'S APPROPRIATE IN HELPING TO CONSTRUCT THAT CENTRAL AUTHORITY.

WE'VE HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM OVER THE YEARS, AND THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE IN THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AND IN THE LEBANESE MILITARY, FOR EXAMPLE, WHO'VE BEEN TRAINED IN THIS COUNTRY. SO THAT GIVES US A CERTAIN TIE.

WHAT PRECISELY IS NEEDED PROBABLY ISN'T KNOWN RIGHT NOW. WHAT IS KNOWN IS THAT EVEN AFTER YOU TAKE THE ISRAELI FORCES OUT AND THE SYRIAN FORCES OUT AND THE PLO FORCES OUT--I UNDERSTAND THERE ARE MORE ARMAMENTS PER CAPITA IN LEBANON--EVEN, AFTER ALL THAT HAVE BEEN REMOVED, THAN IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY--THAT DOESN'T MEAN THEY'RE THE RIGHT ARMAMENTS IN THE RIGHT HANDS FOR A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO OPERATE. BUT PART OF THE PROBLEM MAY BE TO HAVE MORE, BUT SURELY PART OF THE PROBLEM IS TO HAVE LESS OR IN DIFFERENT PROPORTIONS IN DIFFERENT PLACES.

SENATOR GLENN: WELL, WHAT'S OUR ESTIMATE NOW OF GEMAYEL'S

SENSITIVE

23
SENSITIVE

PAGE 1 - 126

SITUATION LISTING

DATE 09/21/82//264

SITUATION: LEB
SUBJECT CATAGORY: SIT XIX

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

ABILITY TO CONTROL HIS OWN INTERNAL SITUATION? DOES HE HAVE SUFFICIENT SECURITY FORCES OR MILITARY FORCE TO CONTROL LEBANON NOW?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT HE IS A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE INDIVIDUAL AND HE HAS A VERY GOOD CHANCE OF BECOMING A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE LEADER IN LEBANON.

SENATOR GLENN: WHAT ABOUT THE ACTUAL MILITARY FORCES THOUGH THAT HE HAS AVAILABLE TO HIM?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: OF COURSE, THERE ARE DIFFERENT MILITIA GROUPS, AND HIS OWN IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE, BUT THE PROBLEM IS TO KIND OF MERGE THESE THINGS INTO SOMETHING THAT YOU MIGHT CALL A NATIONAL FORCE THAT'S NOT BELONG TO ANY PARTICULAR FACTION.

SENATOR GLENN: DO WE HAVE ANY PLAN FOR CONTINGENCY FUNDING FOR MILITARY FORCES OR SUPPORT?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THERE HAVE BEEN REQUESTS, AND WHAT WE ARE GOING TO DO AND HAVE AGREED TO DO IS TO SEND A TEAM OF PEOPLE FROM OUR DEFENSE DEPARTMENT TO SURVEY THE SITUATION WITH THEM AND HELP THEM UNDERSTAND WHAT THEIR SITUATION IS FROM A MILITARY STANDPOINT AND ANALYZE WHAT IS NEEDED AND WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE.

SENATOR GLENN: ARE WE GOING TO DO THAT SURVEY IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES THAT WE THINK MIGHT BE INTERESTED OR WILL THIS BE A SOLD US OPERATION?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THIS PARTICULAR THING--THAT'S A REQUEST THAT THEY MADE OF US AND WE SAID, "YES, WE'LL CONSULT
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