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WITHDRAWAL SHEET Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: KEMP, GEOFFREY: Files

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File Folder: Israel/Lebanon (Phase II) 1982 (6)

Date: 11/27/00

| DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|------------------------|---|----------------------------|-------------|
| 1. memo | Kemp, et al to Clark re Strategy 3p PArt 4/7/06 PUS 197-106/2 4/60; & 10/7/10 | 10/11/82 | P1/B1 |
| 2. memo | diplicate of document 1 3p | 10/11/82 | I PI/BI |
| 3. paper | Part " * 161; R 10/1/10 re Lebanon Phase II 5p | mo8 - 09 | P1/B1 |
| 4. cable | 162004Z Oct 82 8p P 11/25/02 F97-104/2 # 143 R 11/28/08 M 2008-098/15 # 5697 | 10/16/82 | P1/B1 |
| 5. cable | 181732Z Oct 82 4p P 11/25/02 F97-106/2 + 164 40 HELD P 11/25/08 M2 08-098/15 4 569 | 10/18/82 | P1/B1 |
| 6. eable | 190247Z Oct 82 2p R 11/25/02 F97-104/2 #165 | 10/19/82 | P1/B1 |
| 7. Washfax | 10 P 11/25/22 FE2-106/9 #111 | 10/26/82 | P1/B1 83 |
| 8. memo | R 6/29/10 MO8-098/15 # 56979 To Dur and Kemp Ip P 11/25/02 F97-106/2 #167 P 6/29/10 MO8-098/15 # 56980 re Lebanon 3p P 11/25/02 F97-106/2 #168 P 4/29/10 MO8-098/15 #56 2p P 11/25/02 F97-106/2 #168 2p P 11/25/02 F97-106/2 #169 | 10/26/82 | P1/B1- B3 |
| 9. paper | re Lebanon 3p P 11/25/02 F97-106/2 # 168 D UPHELD 6/29/10 MO8-098/15 #5 | 10/18/82 6 9 % I | P1/B1, B3 |
| 10. Washfax | 2p P 11/25/02 F77-106/2 #169 P 6/29/10 MO8-098/15 # 56982 | 10/27/82 | P1/B1-B3 |
| 11. paper | re PLO 2p D 11/25/02 F97 -106/2 # 170 | 10/27/82 | P1/B1, 83 |
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RESTRICTIONS

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA]. P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- B-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233

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4/25/2007

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ISRAEL/LEBANON (PHASE II) 1982 (6)

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1 MEMO KEMP, ET AL TO CLARK RE STRATEGY 3 10/11/1982
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UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

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MEMORANDUM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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October 11, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

GEOFFREY KEMP TO HOWARD TEICHER TO

PHILIP DUR

SUBJECT:

Strategy for the Withdrawal of Foreign Forces

from Lebanon

State's draft memorandum on Lebanon withdrawal scenarios and the back-up papers on the technical dimensions of the problem present an imaginative and realistic set of options for the President to consider. However, we believe that further discussion of the political consequences of the proposed strategy is necessary before the President decides on the options listed at the end of the summary paper.

We are most concerned that the summary paper underestimates the practical difficulties we face, the potential political problems we will have to consider in the Congress, and the realistic time frame for implementing the strategy. For what is being proposed is a very significant escalation in the degree of American involvement in the physical security of Lebanon including the possible commitment of about 4,000 additional American forces together with their support requirements. Even if Israeli, PLO and Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon occurs quickly (e.g., before Christmas), a residual, ongoing American presence of upwards of 4,000 men may be necessary to assure a secure buffer zone in Southern Lebanon.

Our more specific comments and recommendations are as follows:

A. Political

The Arab Dimension. The memo does not provide adequate specifics for dealing with the PLO and the Syrians. It is assumed that Saudi Arabia can and will negotiate successfully on our behalf without an assessment of the costs to the Saudis (vis-a-vis Syria and the PLO in the peace process) and to US-Saudi relations. Furthermore, while a separate paper deals with the complexities of PLO dispersal, a summary of the difficulties, and a proposal for key destinations (perhaps to include a focus on Jordan consistent with the peace initiative) should be part of the memo.

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- While the memo has been improved -- The Israeli Dimension. to take account of Israeli rejection of UNIFIL (by suggesting that it be our initial position with a quick fallback to the MNF), it does not address how to overcome Israel's insistence that the PLO withdraw first. This may only be an opening Israeli negotiating posture, but the problem, and possible solutions, needs to be more fully explained. Additionally, Sam Lewis has advised that preliminary consultations with the GOI would probably go a long way to increase Israeli flexibility. This could be undertaken when Shamir meets with Shultz on Thursday, October 14. Gemayel is likely to agree to whatever we propose, as long as we can deliver the GOI. Thus, we should do all we can with Israel, in advance, to ensure that they view the basic plan as meeting their security requirements.
- -- The US Dimension. The political consequences for the President must also be spelled out in more detail, primarily Congressional considerations. We also have to be careful not to present a proposal which Begin and Sharon will cast as insensitive to Israeli security. They would exploit such a US mistake to divert attention from their own problems and to erode support for the President's peace initiative.

B. Military

- -- Practical difficulties with the timetable and the expanded MNF.

 In discussing the peacekeeping options for Step One,
 the memorandum does not address the real and practical
 difficulties which attend the deployment of an expanded MNF.
 - -- The deadline established for Step One (25 October) will be difficult if not impossible to meet in terms of force deployments and providing the requisite in-country support for a three brigade-size force.
 - -- If a force of this size were deployed, and especially if it were used for both steps, the basic memorandum should at least mention the extensive and costly logistics effort necessary to sustain a multinational force through the end of November and, quite possibly, well beyond.

-- Options Not Addressed in the State Memo

The options for Step One and Step Two discussed in the basic memorandum are too limited. Specifically, we should consider UNIFIL for the interposition role along the highway in Step One. Moreover, if the UNIFIL options in both Steps One and Two prove unworkable, we might want to preserve a role for UNIFIL in such things as dissolving Haddad's militia and providing security for the Palestinian refugees in the South.





The mission of military forces in Step Two. The military options for Step Two ignore the CIA assessment regarding the high probability of Palestinian reinfiltration into Lebanon across the northern and eastern borders following Syrian withdrawal. Until such time as the LAF is able to patrol and secure these frontiers, we should consider using a portion of the expanded MNF (or the PKF) to undertake a deterrent presence / patrol in the Bekaa.

Recommendation

That if you approve these comments, we forward a blank copy of this memo to State.

| Approve | Disapprove | |
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| Per WC: Dicurred & Thurs. | with the | President |

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MEMORANDUM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 11, 1982

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Recommendation

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| Approve | Disapprove | |
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TO MCFARLANE FROM SEMERAD, K

DOCDATE 08 OCT 82

RECEIVED 12 OCT 82 13

KEYWORDS: LEBANON

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

SUBJECT: US PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES FOR LEBANON

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National Security Council The White House

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October 8, 1982

MEMORANDUM TO ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

KATE SEMERAD

Before Peter McPherson left for Lebanon he indicated he had discussed the attached with you.

It is his suggestion that the event be staged the day before President Gemayel arrives in Washington, if possible.

If you have further questions I can be reached at 632-7364.

All logistics will be handled by Rich Miller, Director of Public Affairs, AID. His office number if 632-4200 and home number is (301) 262-0983.

CC: M. Peter McPherson, A/AID
Rich Miller, D/OPA
Mort Allin, Deputy Press Secretary
White House
Mike Baroody

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE WILLIAM P. CLARK

Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

The White House

SUBJECT: U.S. Private Sector Initiatives for Lebanon

DISCUSSION: Diverse private sector individuals and organizations have become involved in helping with the U.S. efforts for relief and rehabilitation in Lebanon. Considerable money, supplies, technical services, etc., have already been raised by these groups and reached Lebanon. With the formation of two new groups, it is anticipated that further significant U.S. resources will be leveraged for Lebanon.

THE GROUP'S PURPOSES:

Voluntary Agencies: The private and voluntary groups, such as Save the Children, Catholic Relief Service, etc., which were already on the ground when fighting broke out, have substantially contributed to the relief effort in their dispersement of food, medical supplies, etc. At the request of AID these groups have formed a clearinghouse of information in the U.S. to funnel donations to those voluntary agencies in Lebanon.

American/Lebanon Private Sector Cooperation, Inc. (ALPSCI): A newly formed organization composed of U.S. businessmen who plan to provide a rapid dispersal system for U.S. companies that want to give financial or in-kind contributions to rebuild Lebanon. It is ALPSCI's intent to form a counter-part group in Lebanon composed of Lebanese private businesses. All resources, including office space, are donated. John M. Nugent, Vice President, Timmons & Company, is the Chairman of the Board.

U.S. Business Commission on Lebanon: Formed at the suggestion of AID, this group will be composed of approximately 20 CEO's of major U.S. companies. The group would determine potential for U.S. private sector participation in Lebanon. Also, this group will act as the Honorary Board of Directors of ALPSCI. Lew Preston, CEO of J. P. Morgan and Company, is chairing this group.

Ralph Davidson, President of Time, Inc. orchestrated the raising of over \$1M from 27 U.S. companies for relief in Lebanon. Much of that money has already been dispersed through voluntary agencies and to the University of Beirut. No further involvement is planned.

OPERATIONS: All of the above named groups are cooperating with each other. All will receive active support by the U.S. Government but are expected to determine their own agenda, terms of reference, and much, if not all, of their own funding.

U.S. Business Commission on Lebanon and Honorary Board of Directors of ALPSCI

Lewis Preston Morgan Guarantee Trust Hans Angermueller Citicorp

Donald Rumsfeld G.D. Searle Company

Dick Debs Morgan Stanley

W. Clement Stone Combined International Robert Fomon E.F. Hutton

James Robinson American Express Max Fischer

J.P. Sticht R.J. Reynolds

Irving Shapiro Shapiro, Inc.

William Marriott Marriott Corporation

Bob Basil

Rand Araskog (CEO)

Robert Basil International, Inc.

ITT

Edward Telling Sears

George M. Keller SOCAL

Roy A Anderson Lockheed Corporation

Lee Morgan Catepillar

Frank Borman Eastern Air Lines, Inc.

Bill Ruckelshaus Weyerhauser

Thomas Joseph Feehan Brown and Root Company

Ralph Parsons (Owner) Parsons Construction

James Roche General Motors (former CEO)

Board of Directors of ALPSCI

Chairman of the Board John Nugent

John Nugent //////////
Timmons and Company

Washington, D.C.

Board Member & Treasurer Joseph D. Baroody

Wagner & Baroody Washington, D.C.

Board Members James M. Roberts

Lockheed Corporation

Washington, D.C.

Edward Forgotson Shea & Gould Washington, D.C.

Ralph J. Perk Perk & Associates Cleveland, Ohio

President Bradley Palmer

c/o Brown & Root, Inc.

Washington, D.C.

Vice President John C. Archer

Halliburton, Inc. Washington, D.C.

Secretary Edward L. Weidenfeld

McKenna, Conner, Cuneo

Washington, D.C.

Private Voluntary Agencies Representatives

The following seven voluntary organizations, presently active in Lebanon, will be sending representatives. Their names will be provided under separate cover.

Cooperative League of the U.S.A.
International Committee for the Red Cross
Catholic Relief Services
America Mid-East Educational and Training Services, Inc.
Save the Children Federation
World Vision Relief Organization
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

REQUEST: The positive aspects of these ventures are numerous. It is consistent with the President's initiative in private volunteerism. It will complement A.I.D. efforts.

We propose that President Reagan hold a Rose Garden ceremony to congratualte and encourage the groups. No more than 10 minutes of the President's time should be involved.

SCENARIO: The Rose Garden would be preset with a large set of risers, enough to accommodate 40 people. All private sector representatives will be seated behind the podium. Standing will be M. Peter McPherson, AID Administrator, Lewis Preston, John Nugent, Ralph Davidson, and one representative from the voluntary agencies.

The President would come to the podium and make brief remarks (suggested remarks attached). He introduces McPherson, Preston, Nugent, Davidson, and one representative from the voluntary agencies to answer questions from the media. The President would leave the podium after his remarks.

McPherson would give a brief explanation of the Private Sector efforts and their relationship to the U.S. Government. The media would then be allowed questions of McPherson, Preston, Nugent, Davidson, and one representative from the voluntary agencies.

Good morning (afternoon). I am happy to welcome here today these fine people who have assembled non-profit private business organizations to help in the difficult task of rebuilding war-torn Lebanon.

As the people of Lebanon begin to rebuild their nation, the United States stands behind their efforts. These people represent organizations created out of the selfless American principles of helping our friends in a time of need. They also exhibit confidence in the resiliency of the Lebanese private sector and its ability to restore a strong Lebanese economy.

I am pleased that we could bring you all here today as evidence that Americans are caring and compassionate people. Certainly the spirit of volunteerism that your organizations reflect is a remarkable tribute to the altruism found in America.

I wish you every success - GOD SPEED!!

REQUEST/RECEIPT FOR TRANSMISSION

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DRAFT WORKING PAPER

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3157-3156 Series

DECLASSIFIED, NLS <u>=97-106/z #167</u> C/1 NARA, DATE 4/7/06

LEBANON PHASE II

MILITARY CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

- 1. OBJECTIVE. Disengagement and withdrawal of opposing forces in Lebanon. The objective is to be accomplished in two steps:
 1) disengagement and an initial substantial withdrawal to agreed positions, followed by 2) complete withdrawal from Lebanon.
- 2. MISSION OF MNF.* To occupy key selected positions in the areas from which forces have been withdrawn such that, by the presence of the MNF on these key selected positions, neither of the opposing forces will have an opportunity to occupy that terrain and thereby gain a tactical advantage over the other side.
- 3. CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS. Following a negotiated agreement and the beginning of withdrawal to positions specified in the agreement, the expanded MNF will occupy selected key terrain features such that neither of the opposing forces will have an opportunity to occupy that terrain and thereby gain a tactical advantage over the other side.

 MNF elements will be positioned at the selected key terrain features with due consideration for the security of the force and in such a manner that these positions can be defended. The GOL will exercise control in the areas vacated by opposing forces; international observers will monitor and confirm the withdrawal; and surveillance, intelligence and warning systems will be used to cover gaps and provide reassurance to opposing forces of the status of withdrawal.
 - a. In addition, the MNF will, from their occupied positions, observe and report any violations of the withdrawal agreement. In the event violations of the withdrawal agreement are noted, the MNF will promptly inform the LAF, who will then inform the Syrians and the Israelis.
 - b. The MNF will not be responsible for internal security or anti-infiltration measures in areas vacated by the withdrawing forces. The MNF will not be responsible for reconstruction. These tasks will be the responsibility of the Lebanese security forces.
 - c. The MNF will be assisted by appropriate detection and surveillance systems and by appropriate intelligence information.
 - * The MNF discussed in this paper is in addition to the MNF now in Beirut.

CLASSIFIED BY DIRECTOR, J-5

- d. The rules of engagement for Phase II are the same as those for Phase 1.
- . e. If hostilities occur between Israeli and Syrian/PLO forces or if either attacks MNF, the ROE will apply. The NCA will address the issue of withdrawal of MNF elements.
- 4. <u>COMMAND AND CONTROL</u>. Because of increased size and scope of envisioned operations, single commander of MNF is recommended. MNF should be composed of national components with commanders, thereof subordinate to the Commander of the MNF.

5. DISPOSITION OF FORCES

- a. Positions to which prosing forces should be withdrawn in connection with initial disengagement:
 - (1) IDF: South of the Awalli River east to a point northwest of Jazzin; direct to Jazzin; following the road south to the Qir awn Dam, thence along the road east to Rashayya, and then directly east to the Syrian border. (Note: this proposal essentially conforms to the 40 KM line north of Israeli northern border).
 - (2) SYRIAN: From the Syrian-Lebanon border along the southside of the Beirut-Damascus highway to a point south of Zahlah, then north along the Sannin Ridge line and continuing north along the Lebanon Mountains to a point east of Al Batrun then west to Al Batrun on the coast.
- b. Potential positions/placement of the MNF (Note: key terrain features/locations are grouped by GOL administrative mectors). (Note: See Appendix 1 for the basis for selection of key terrain features/location).
 - (1) SECTOR 1: Metn Region
 - (2) SECTOR 2: Southern Bekaa Valley

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- 6. USE OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVES FORCE (IOF) (UNTSO or newly constituted international observer group.).
 - a. The IOF must be agreed to, organized and in place prior to commencement of Phase II.
 - b. IOF would monitor Syrian and Israeli movements and activities through the use of mobile patrols and check points to insure compliance with the negotiated agreement.
 - c. IOF would also operate in close cooperation with the LAF in the areas vacated by the opposing forces to monitor and report any activities of significance.
 - d. The use of an IOF in Step 1 of the withdrawal would facilitate the transition to Step 2 (complete withdrawal) since the force would be in place and could extend their function to cover the areas vacated by the withdrawing Israeli and Syrian forces.

7. OTHER CONSIDERATION.

- a. If an MNF is used in Step 1 and U. S. ground forces participate in this MNF, U. S. forces external to the MNF will be required in a support role. Similarly, contingency air support may be required for period MNF is ashore, and demands for airlift support will result in increased requirements for both inter-theater and intra-theater airlift missions.
- b. The use of the MNF in Step 1 of Phase II involves inherently higher risks of sustaining casualties.

8. FORCE SIZE AND COMPOSITION.

- a. Total MNF force size for Step 1 of Phase II is estimated to be 5,000 15,000.
 - (1) The lower figure is based on an austere force manning the minimum number of selected key positions. Support considerations were minimized.
 - (2) The larger number was based on theater commander estimates which involved a larger number of positions to be manned by the MNF and a more thorough examination of support requirements.
- b. Force composition will be light infantry with helicopter and vehicular support and other requisite CS/CSS units.

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9. US CONTRIBUTION TO THE MNF. The US prefers to limit its contribution to the MNF to the use of technical means; i. e., detection and surveillance and providing intelligence information. Such support could cover gaps in MNF presence and provide reassurance to opposing forces of the status of withdrawal.

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APPENDIX 1 - SELECTION OF KEY TERRAIN FEATURES/LOCATIONS

- 1. Long range monitoring posts were selected based on:
 - a. Available line of sight.
 - b. View of likely routes or avenues of approach into vacated areas such that early warning of movement into the area is likely.
- 2. Close range monitoring josts were selected based on:
 - a. Location adjacent to known roads/highways/routes used by either IDF or Syrian forces in the past.
 - b. Used by Syrians or IDF to control/monitor access into a region, or on routes used by the IDF during invasion.
 - c. Use of the monitoring post would demonstrate a visible presence and provide early indication of any movement through the area.
- 3. Other considerations:
 - a. It would be advantageous for purposes of liaison with the LAF for the selectd terrain features/locations to correspond to the three GOL administrative districts in which the monitoring posts are located.
 - b. The MNF headquarters should be collocated with the LAF at MOD Yarze.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRIORITY DE RUEHC #1608 2892016 P 162004Z OCT 82 ZEX

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TO ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 0000 AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY 0000 AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0000 AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0000 AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 0000 AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY 0000 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 0000 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0000

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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: MOPS, PEPR, PINT, MILI, SY, XF, LE, US SUBJECT: UPDATE ON LEBANON AND THE PEACE PROCESS

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. BEGIN FYI: AMBASSADOR HABIB RETURNED TO THE U.S. ON OCTOBER 5 FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS IN LEBANON, ISRAEL, SYRIA, SAUDI ARABIA AND JORDAN ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. MORRIS DRAPER ALSO RETURNED

BY And NARA DATE 11/28

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FOR CONSULTATIONS HERE ON OCTOBER 12. SUBSEQUENTLY. ISRAEL! FONMIN SHAMIR VISITED WASHINGTON FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECRETARY ON OCTOBER 14; HE WILL MEET AGAIN WITH THE SECRETARY ON OCTOBER 16. THE ISRAELIS PRESENTED TO US A PLAN FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON THAT FOCUSES HEAVILY ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN LEBANON AND ISRAEL, WITH A VIEW TO MOVING TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AND AN EVENTUAL PEACE TREATY. A PEACE TREATY. HOWEVER, IS NOT A PRECONDITION FOR ISRAELL WITHDRAWAL. PRESIDENT AMIN GEMAYEL WILL BE VISITING WASHINGTON ON OCTOBER 19 AND THESE ISSUES WILL FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN THE DISCUSSIONS. THE LEBANESE WILL BE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED TO AVOID CONCESSIONS THAT WOULD THREATEN LEBANON'S INTERNAL CONSENSUS OR ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD. MEANWHILE. THERE CONTINUES TO BE

CONSIDERABLE MEDIA ATTENTION ON THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON. PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAS ASSUR**ED** US THAT THE IDF WILL TAKE INCREASED SECURITY PRECAUTIONS AROUND THE CAMPS IN THE AREAS STILL UNDER THEIR CONTROL. UNRWA BEGAN CLEARING OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN CAMPS ON OCTOBER 4 TO SET UP TENTS. AMIN GEMAYEL HAS BEEN RESPONSIVE TO OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE WAY THE LEBANESE POLICE ARE CONDUCTING THEIR SWEEPS THROUGH BEIRUT: THOSE BEING ARRESTED SEEM TO BE LARGELY ILLEGAL ALIENS AND CRIMINALS. END FYI.

- WE DO NOT WISH TO INITIATE BRIEFINGS ON LEBANON. ASKED. HOWEVER, YOU MAY DRAW UPON THE POINTS IN PARA 4 FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS ON LEBANON.
- 4. TALKING POINTS:
- THE PRESIDENT HAS REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO EARLY

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PROGRESS TO SOLVE THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE U.S. ON SEPTEMBER 1.

- -- 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.
- NORTHERN BORDER.
- -- RESUMPTION OF EFFORTS TO END THE WIDER CONFLICT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS WHILE ACCOMMODATING LEGITIMATE PALESTINIAN RIGHTS.
- -- THE TRAGEDY OF THE PALESTINIAN MASSACRES UNDERLINES LEBANON'S NEED FOR THE CONTINUING SUPPORT OF ITS FRIENDS.
- -- 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. THE MNF IN BEIRUT HAS BEEN CARRYING OUT ITS DUTIES. WHILE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE

BEEN REASSERTING THEIR AUTHORITY IN BEIRUT.

-- PARTICIPATION OF AMERICAN FORCES IN THIS EFFORT WILL BE FOR A LIMITED PERIOD BUT REPRESENTS OUR CONTINUING

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COMMITMENT TO LEBANON'S SECURE AND PROPEROUS FUTURE.

- -- AMBASSADOR HABIB HAS RETURNED FROM A TRIP TO THE AREA, WHERE HE CONDUCTED PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS ON THE WHITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN, ISRAELI AND REMAINING PLO FORCES FROM LEBANON. AMBASSADOR MORRIS DRAPER ALSO HAS RETURNED TO THE U.S. FOR CONSULTATIONS ON NEXT STEPS IN OUR POLICY. DRAPER WILL BE RETURNING TO THE AREA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WEEK.
- -- WE ARE CONSULTING WITH ISRAEL AND LEBANON TO SEEK
 THEIR VIEWS ON THE APPROPRIATE NEXT STEPS. WITH A VIEW
 TOWARD ENSURING THE PROMPT WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON OF ALL
 FOREIGN FORCES, ISRAELI, SYRIAN AND PLO.
- -- ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR HAD TALKS WITH SECRETARY SHULTZ ON OCTOBER 14. WE EXPECT ALSO TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES WITH PRESIDENT GEMAYEL ON OCTOBER
- 19. THESE TALKS WILL GIVE US A BETTER APPRECIATION OF ALL PARTIES' POSITIONS.
- -- ISRAEL INSISTS THAT PALESTINIAN FORCES MUST BE THE FIRST TO LEAVE. ISRAELI CABINET STATEMENTS INDICATE THAT A PEACE TREATY WITH LEBANON IS NO LONGER A PRECONDITION FOR WITHDRAWAL. ALTHOUGH CLEARLY ISRAEL HOPES EVENTUALLY FOR A TREATY. ADDITIONALLY. FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR, IT IS CLEAR THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO PROVIDE ASSURANCES TO ISRAEL OF PROTECTION FOR THEIR NORTHERN BORDER.
- -- UNIFIL CONTINUES TO PLAY A ROLE OF POTENTIALLY GREAT IMPORTANCE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON. THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN BEIRUT WILL COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE EXPANDED UNOBSERVER FORCE ESTABLISHED BY UNSC RESOLUTION 521.

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-- SYRIA INSISTS THAT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON MUST PRECEDE SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL. SYRIA STRESSES THAT ITS PRESENCE IN LEBANON IS LEGAL, BASED ON AN ARAB LEAGUE

MANDATE AND LEBANESE INVITATION.

- -- DESPITE THESE DIFFERENCES, WE BELIEVE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE RIGHT FOR US TO MOVE RAPIDLY FOR A FULL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES. WE WILL BE CONSULTING ON THE APPROPRIATE NEXT STEPS WITH PRESIDENT AMIN GEMAYEL ON OCTOBER 19.
- -- WITH REGARD TO THE PALESTINIANS, THE U.S. IS WORKING CLOSELY WITH UNRWA. AS WELL AS THE LEBANESE AND ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS. TO ENSURE THAT PALESTINIANS IN THE SOUTHERN CAMPS HAVE SHELTER FROM WINTER WEATHER.
- -- IN BEIRUT, WE ARE WORKING WITH THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT, IN PARTNERSHIP WITH OUR MNF PARTNERS, TO ENSURE THE PROTECTION OF ALL CIVILIANS, INCLUDING PALESTINIANS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE LEBANESE POLICE ARE ARRESTING AND DEPORTING MOSTLY ILLEGAL ALIENS AND LONG SOUGHT AFTER CRIMINALS. WE HAVE MADE KNOWN OUR VIEW THAT ALL THOSE ARRESTED SHOULD RECEIVE DUE PROCESS OF LAW IN ACCORDANCE WITH LEBANESE PROCEDURES.
- -- WHILE LEBANON HAS GRAVE INTERNAL PROBLEMS, WE BELIEVE THERE IS 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

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CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING THE ARMY.

- 5. PEACE PROCESS: THE DOMESTIC REACTION TO THE PRESIDENT'S SEPTEMBER 1 INITIATIVE REMAINS VERY SUPPORTIVE. FURTHERMORE, OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE MORE INCLINED TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE FOR MANY YEARS. THE BRITISH, IN PARTICULAR, HAVE BEEN HELPFULLY ACTIVE IN TRYING TO CONVINCE THE ARABS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE AFFORDS THEM AN OPPORTUNITY WHICH THEY SHOULD NOT LOSE. OF PERHAPS GREATEST SIGNIFICANCE. THERE IS WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR THE INITIATIVE ON THE WEST BANK AND AMONG PALESTINIANS IN JORDAN.
- 6. BEGIN FYI. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE FEZ SUMMIT. THE MODERATE ARABS CONTINUE TO HAVE A TYPICALLY DIFFICULT TIME FORMING THE KIND OF CONSENSUS THAT HUSSEIN NEEDS IN ORDER TO MAKE AN OVERT MOVE TOWARD THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. HUSSEIN HIMSELF SEEMS WILLING--ALMOST ANXIOUS--TO MAKE SUCH A MOVE BUT UNDERSTANDS THE NEED FOR A MODERATE CONSENSUS BEHIND HIM. HIS FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS. HOWEVER, IS TO ATTEMPT TO WORK OUT AN ARRANGEMENT WITH ARAFAT WHEREBY JORDAN CAN TAKE THE LEAD IN NEGOTIATING FOR THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WITHOUT EXPLICITLY OVERTURNING THE 1974 RABAT DECISION CONFERRING THAT MANDATE ON THE
- PLO. TO THAT END, ARAFAT WAS IN AMMAN LAST WEEK FOR TALKS.
- 7. WE WERE NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT HUSSEIN AND ARAFAT WOULD BE ABLE TO REACH A MEETING OF THE MINDS DURING THESE INITIAL TALKS, AND THEY DID NOT. THERE IS GREAT CONFUSION WITHIN THE PLO LEADERSHIP AS TO HOW BEST TO PROCEED. WITH ARAFAT OBVIOUSLY TORN BETWEEN THE TEMPTATION TO MAKE DECISION ON HIS OWN AND THE NEED TO

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GET HIS ORGANIZATIONAL HOUSE IN ORDER. IN ADDITION, THE SAUDIS HAVE NOT BEEN AS FORCEFUL AS WE MIGHT HAVE LIKED IN ENCOURAGING ARAFAT TO ACQUIESCE IN HUSSEIN'S STEPPING FORWARD. PART OF THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN THE AGONIZINGLY SLOW REALIZATION BY THE SAUDIS AND OTHERS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ARE NOT REPEAT NOT SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION IN ADVANCE OF OR AS A PRECONDITION FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

- THE NEXT MAJOR EVENT ON THE ARAB SIDE WILL BE A VISIT TO WASHINGTON OCTOBER 22 BY A FOLLOW-UP COMMITTEE FROM THE FEZ SUMMIT, LED BY KING HASSAN, AND INCLUDING THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF TUNISIA, SYRIA AND SAUDI ARABIA. WE SEE THAT AS A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY, BOTH TO CLARIFY OUR INITIATIVE TO THEM AND TO HAVE THEM CLARIFY FOR US THE IMPLICATIONS OF FEZ AND WHAT HAS TRANSPIRED SINCE THE SUMMIT. WE DO NOT INTEND. HOWEVER, TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THEM, BUT RATHER TO TRY TO CONVINCE THEM THAT NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE WITH ISRAEL. WE DO NOT EXPECT A BREAKTHROUGH AT THAT TIME, HOWEVER, THEY AND WE WILL NEED TO DIGEST THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING. AS WELL AS ON-GOING JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN DISCUSSIONS, BEFORE DECIDING HOW TO PROCEED.
- THE OFFICIAL ISRAELI POSTURE TOWARDS THE PRESIDENT'S INTITIATIVE REMAINS COMPLETELY AND OUTSPOKENLY NEGATIVE. BEGIN. FOR EXAMPLE, REFUSED TO EVEN DISCUSS THE

INITIATIVE WHEN JOE SISCO SAW HIM SEVERAL DAYS AGO. SHARON HAS TAKEN THE SAME TACK WITH OTHER VISITORS. THE SAME TIME, MIDDLE-LEVEL ISRAELI OFFICIALS--PARTICULARLY THOSE WITH WHOM WE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS THUS FAR--ARE DEMONSTRATING GREAT INTEREST IN DISCUSSING WITH US THE INITIATIVE AND HOW IT RELATES TO NEXT STEPS IN THE PEACE

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PROCESS. THEY ARE QUITE ANXIOUS TO FIND A WAY TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS AND, WHILE THEY SHARE THE LEADERSHIPS MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE SEPTEMBER 1 INITIATIVE IS ON THE PUBLIC RECORD AND MUST BE DEALT WITH. OUR BASIC POSTURE TOWARD THE ISRAELIS ON THE PEACE PROCESS IS TO AVOID

STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS WHICH WOULD PROVIDE TARGETS TO FOCUS ISRAEL! ATTENTION ON THE U.S., THEREBY DIVERTING IT FROM THE SOUL-SEARCHING CURRENTLY UNDERWAY IN ISRAEL AS A RESULT OF THE BEIRUT MASSACRES. WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF OUR IMPACTING SIGNIFICANTLY ON OFFICIAL GOI THINKING IN THE ABSENCE OF ANOTHER CREDIBLE ARAB NEGOTIATOR WILLING TO SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS PEACE. WHILE THE PEACE PROCESS WAS NOT THE CENTERPIECE OF THIS WEEK'S MEETINGS WITH ISRAELI FONMIN SHAMIR, THE SECRETARY REVIEWED FOR SHAMIR OUR FIRM INTENTENTION NOT TO NEGOTIATE SEPARATELY WITH THE ARABS BUT TO BRING JORDANIANS AND PALESTINIANS TO THE TABLE. END FYI. SHULTZ BT

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EXDIS E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PEPR, IS, LE, US, XF
SUBJECT: ARENS MEETING WITH DAM ON PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON

1. Z - ENTIRE TEXT.

- DEPSEC DAM MET WITH AMBASSADOR ARENS FOR MORE THAN ONE HOUR EARLY AFTERNOON OCTOBER 15 TO DISCUSS NORMALIZATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON, SPECIFICALLY IN THE CONTEXT OF A PEACE TREATY. WITH ARENS WERE MFA DEPDIRGEN BAR-ON AND DCM NETANYAHU, SABEL AND MEROM OF ISRAELI EMBASSY. ON THE U.S. SIDE WERE VELIOTES, KOZAK (L), WALKER (D), KIRBY (NEA/IAI) AND TEISCHER (NSC).
- 3. ARENS BEGAN BY EXPRESSING HIS GRATITUDE TO DAM FOR TAKING THE TIME TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN TAKING THE TIME TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ISRAELI-LEBANESE PEACE TREATY. HE SAID HE WAS ANXIOUS TO ESTABLISH THE MERITS OF A TREATY AND THE ROLE THE U.S. MIGHT PLAY IN BRINGING IT ABOUT. IN MANY WAYS, THE CONCLUSION OF A TREATY IS THE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL THE PROBLEMS BEING DISCUSSED, SINCE IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A TREATY IT MIGHT HELP US ATTAIN OUR OTHER GOALS IN LEBANON AND BEYOND IN THE BROADER PEACE PROCESS. THE REVERSE IS ALSO TRUE, THAT FAILURE TO CONCLUDE A TREATY MIGHT FRUSTRATE OUR ACHIEVEMENT OF OTHER GOALS.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

BY SAN NARA DATE 11/28/08

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- 7. DAM THANKED ARENS FOR HIS PRESENTATIONSTRESSING THAT WE WERE ENGAGING IN EXPLORATION, NOT NEGOTIATION. HE SAID THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH A CALCULUS OF FACTORS RATHER THAN WITH SPECIFIC POSSIBILITIES. HE SAID WE MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO AUTOMATICALLY EQUATE PEACE WITH A PEACE TREATY. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS AN IMPORTANT LEGAL ELEMENT INVOLVED, BUT IF A TREATY CONCLUDED AT THE WRONG TIME WEAKENS THE CENTRAL LEBANESE AUTHORITY, THEN THAT WOULD BE A MOVE IN THE WRONG DIRECTION.
- 8. DAM SAID HE WISHED TO RESPOND TO ARENS' PRESENTATION WITH TWO MAIN POINTS. FIRST, WE WOULD NOT WANT THE NEGOTIATIONS ON A PEACE TREATY TO DELAY THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. SECONDLY, WE MUST NOT GO SO FAR AS TO GENERATE INTERNAL PROBLEMS FOR LEBANON WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO DOMESTIC INSTABILITY OR EXTERNAL PRESSURES THAT WOULD PRECLUDE OUR PURSUING THE PATH WE DESIRE.

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11. DAM OBSERVED THAT THERE IS NO REAL DISAGREEMENT ON THE DESIRABILITY OF A PEACE TREATY. WE ARE DISCUSSING TIMING AND WHETHER A PEACE TREATY AT THIS TIME IMPROVES

THE SECURITY SITUATION OR WHETHER IT SERIOUSLY UNDERCUTS THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. IF IT DETRACTS FROM THE AUTHORITY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, THEN IT IS PROBABLY NOT A POSITIVE STEP.

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SECRET STATE 292811

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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PEPR, LEUS, IS, SY SUBJECT: WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS DECLARS FIED / RELEASED

REACTION TO ISRAELI POSITION

REF: STATE 289780

NLS F97-106/2 #165

1. B - ENTIRE TEXT)

BY _ Am/ , NARA, DATE 11/25/02

- SUMMARY: GEMAYEL REJECTS THE ISRAELI CONDITIONS FOR WITHDRAWAL BUT IS WILLING TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ON HIS
 OWN TERMS. NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE AT MILITARY LEVEL, AND
 GEMAYEL WANTS AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE TO BE PRESENT. END SUMMARY.
- AMBASSADOR DRAPER, ACCOMPANIED BY NEA/ARN DIRECTOR MACK, CALLED ON PRESIDENT GEMAYEL AT HIS HOTEL SUITE IN NEW YORK ON OCT. 17, GEMAYEL WAS JOINED BY FOREIGN MINISTER SALIM AND PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORS HADDAD AND MADI.
- DRAPER PROVIDED GEMAYEL WITH ISRAELI PLAN FOR WITHDRAWAL WHICH SHAMIR HAD PROVIDED AND EXPLAINED U.S. RESERVATIONS ALONG LINES OF SECRETARY'S RESPONSE (REFTEL). DRAPER STRESSED THAT WE HAD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH ISRAELIS BUT DID NOT OURSELVES TAKE POSITIONS.

DRAPER ALSO DESCRIBED ISRAEL'S PROPOSED FIRST STAGE DISENGAGEMENT LINES AND ISRAELI WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT CONTINUED UNIFIL PRESENCE AT NORTHERN EDGE OF SECURITY REGARDING ISRAELI INSISTENCE ON DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, DRAPER NOTED THAT THE MILITARY CHANNEL FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS ALREADY EXISTS.

GEMAYEL SAID THAT ISRAELIS HAD ALREADY COMMUNICATED THEIR POSITIONS THROUGH CHANNEL OF LEBANESE FORCES. THE ISRAELIS ARE BEHAVING AS OCCUPIER TO OCCUPIED. THEY ARE TRYING TO PROVOKE SPLITS IN LEBANESE SOCIETY AND WANT TO

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SET UP A PUPPET GOVERNMENT. GOI USES SAAD HADDAD AS ITS AGENT AND IS FLOODING LEBANESE MARKET WITH ISRAELI EXPORTS WHICH PAY NO CUSTOMS FEES. IF HE WERE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WHICH ISRAELIS DEMAND. GOL WOULD LOSE INTERNAL CONSENSUS AND RELATIONS WITH OTHER 4R4B STATES.

- 6. THE BIG QUESTION. SAID GEMAYEL. IS THE LEVEL OF USG BACKING FOR HIS GOVERNMENT. GOL HAS ONLY ONE POSITION—WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES. WHAT PRESSURE IS THE USG PREPARED TO BRING TO BEAR ON OCCUPIERS. ESPECIALLY THE ISRAELIS? IF U.S. PRESSURE IS INADEQUATE, IT MIGHT BE BETTER FOR GOL TO REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAELIS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR PROPOSALS. IF ISRAEL WANTS TO USE AMIN GEMAYEL TO CREATE NEW RELATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND TO GAIN CONFIDENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD. HE IS READY TO COOPERATE.
- 7. DRAPER SAID THAT GEMAYEL SHOULD BE OPEN TO NEGOTIATIONS. ISRAELIS HAVE STRESSED THAT THEIR POSITIONS WERE NEGOTIABLE. AND THEY ALWAYS STAKE OUT A HARD FIRST POSITION. THAT DOES NOT MEAN GOL MUST ACCEPT ANY CONDITIONS HARMFUL TO LEBANON. GEMAYEL SAID THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO USE ISRAELI-LEBANESE MILITARYCOORDINATIN COMMITTEE WITH ADDITION OF FOREIGN MINISTRY PARTICIPATION. BUT HE WAS NOT READY FOR FACE-TO-FACE OR TETE-A-TETE TALKS. HE WOULD WANT U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO BE PRESENT. GEMAYEL FURTHER THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF ISRAELIS MADE AN INITIAL MOVE, SUCH AS WITHDRAWAL TO THE 40 KM ZONE. TO HELP GOL ENTER TALKS WITHOUT LOSING INTERNAL CONSENSUS. USG ROLE WOULD BE CENTRAL TO OBTAINING SUCH A MOVE BY ISRAEL.
- E. DRAPER SUGGESTED THAT IF GOL FELT AN ISRAELI PULLBACH TO 40 KM ZONE WAS FIRST STEP IT MUST HAVE, THEN GOL COULD START NEGOTIATIONS BY SEEKING THIS CONCESSION. GEMAYEL SAID GOL WOULD FIRST NEED TO KNOW IT HAD AMERICAN BACKING. BUT HE WAS PREPARED TO USE MILITARY COMMITTEE HE ALSO INTENDS TO APPOINT A HIGH-LEVEL PRESIDENTIAL

COORDINATOR FOR THE WITHDRAWAL NEGOTIATIONS.

- 9. GEMAYEL WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT HIS PROSPECTS WITH SYRIA AND PLO. PLO HAD ALREADY TOLD HIM THEY WERE READY TO WITHDRAW, AND HE WAS EXPECTING A VISIT THAT NIGHT FROM 4 TRUSTED EMISSARY. THE SYRIANS SAY THEY ARE READY TO COOPERATE AND HAVE SHOWN DESIRE FOR NEW RELATIONS BY RETURNING PHALANGE PRISONERS
- 10. DRAPER AND GEMAYEL ALSO DISCUSSED THE POSSIBLE ROLE FOR UNIFIL, GEMAYEL MAKING CLEAR THAT GOL WANTS AND NEEDS BOTH UNIFIL AND AN EXPANDED MNF. DRAPER SAID WE AGREED WITH ISRAELIS THAT SOME KIND OF SECURITY ZONE IS NECESSARY IN THE SOUTH AND GEMAYEL FELT THAT LAF PLUS UNIFIL COULD DO THE JOB.
- 11. GEMAYEL SAID THAT GOL VERY MUCH PREFERS U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THAT FROM OTHER SOURCES. HE EXPECTS THAT LEBANESE FORCES MILITIA WILL COOPERATE WITH GOL IN REBUILDING THE LAF. SHULTZ

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26 October Please LDX the attached to: Philip A. Dur NSC Room 389 Old EOB TEL: 395-7353 Geoffrey Kemp NSC/ME Room 351 Old EOB TEL: 395-3491 Please call for hand pick-up. 1. Attached is a study of peacekeeping options in northern Lebanon which was sent to PM, NEA, ISA, and JCS on 19 October. It is germane to your current deliberations. Per discussions with Cdr. Dur this morning, I am separately sec. 3.5 LDXing our comments on other pertinent issues under discussion. Charles E. Naterman **DECLASSIFIED IN PART** NIO/NESA NLRR_MO8-098/15 #56980 BY KML NARA DATE 6/29/10

18 October 1982

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SUBJECT: Peacekeeping Options in Northern Lebanon

- 1. The Setting: The only PLO-controlled Palestinian refugea camps remaining in Lebanon are in two situated in Tripoli (Lebanon's second largest city and a traditional Muslim/leftist stronghold) and one outside Baalbek in the northern Biqa' Valley. Approximately hardcore PLO fighters and an equal number of militiamen are in these areas and the central Biqa. Most are Fatah members but a sizable amount are PLFP and DFLP. Syrian forces number around 7,000 and the area is a traditional Syrian zone of influence (the Akkar plain north of Tripoli is populated by many Alawites).
- 2. Syrian Withdrawal and the PLO: Should Syria withdraw its forces from Lebanon a majority of the hardcore PLO forces probably would initially leave as well.

Many local militia groups are pro-PLO or pro-Syrian and would assist reinfiltration.

A key factor will be the status of Syrian-PLO/Fatah relations which have been badly strained. Damascus will be hesitant to take all the Palestinians and may demand another US-negotiated dispersal arrangement to other Arab states. Such talks would likely be very time consuming. Should

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moreover.

Fatah may seek to keep its forces in the north and Damascus might seek to reinfiltrate its own Palestinian allies (Saiqa/PLA) into the area to rein in Fatah. Assad might also try to stir up trouble in Lebanon using his Palestinian proxies to derail PLO-Jordanian involvement in the peace process, and keep the Lebanese crisis alive.

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