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1164 - 1

OO WASHINGTON
PP UKMIS NEW YORK
GRS 531
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FM FCO 181345Z NOV 83
TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1948 OF 18 NOVEMBER
AND TO IMMEDIATE EC POSTS
INFO PRIORITY AMMAN, BEIRUT, DAMASCUS, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, TUNIS
JEDDA, UKMIS NEW YORK.

MIPT : LEBANON/MNF

1. PREAMBLE THE TEN WOULD:

(A) RECALL PREVIOUS STATEMENTS BY THE TEN, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 509 AND SUBSEQUENT CALLS BY THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES:

(B) RECOGNISE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO SECURITY FOR HER NORTHERN BORDER AND LEGITIMATE SYRIAN SECURITY CONCERNS, BUT EMPHASISE THAT NEITHER CAN BE MET AT THE EXPENSE OF LEBANESE SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE:

(C) EMPHASISE THAT THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL CONDITIONS IN LEBANON IS ESSENTIAL, NOT ONLY FOR ITS OWN SAKE, BUT ALSO TO REMOVE A PRIMARY OBSTACLE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST, LASTING AND COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

2. IN THE TEN'S VIEW, THE RESTORATION OF PEACE IN LEBANON REQUIRES THAT ALL PARTIES CONCERNED AGREE TO A BALANCE OF CONCESSIONS ON THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:

(A) WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES.

STABILITY IN LEBANON CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WHILE FOREIGN FORCES OCCUPY THREE QUARTERS OF LEBANESE TERRITORY. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THESE FORCES IS THEREFORE REQUIRED, IN A PHASED SEQUENCE, PREFERABLY WITH SET TIME-LIMITS. DUE REGARD WILL HAVE TO BE PAID TO INTERNATIONAL VERIFICATION OF THE WITHDRAWALS AND AGREED SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS: THE TEN WOULD ALSO CALL UPON ALL SIDES TO RELEASE ANY PRISONERS

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1164 - 1

HELD BEFORE OR WHEN THEY WITHDRAW, AND ON THE ARAB LEAGUE TO ORGANISE THE RECEPTION OF PALESTINIAN FIGHTERS FROM LEBANON IN THE TERRITORIES OF ARAB STATES:

(B) NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

THE TEN WOULD CALL UPON THE PARTIES IN LEBANON TO PRESS FORWARD THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION TO A CONCLUSION PERMITTING THE ESTABLISHMENT IN BEIRUT OF A GOVERNMENT EXERCISING AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT THE TERRITORY OF LEBANON AND SPEAKING FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE. THE TEN WOULD ALSO ASK THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT, AS AN INTERIM MEASURE PENDING RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, THAT ALL PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS NOW IN LEBANON HAVE THE RIGHT TO REMAIN AND ENJOY APPROPRIATE RIGHTS, WHILE REMAINING FULLY SUBJECT TO LEBANESE LAWS:

(C) WITHDRAWAL OF THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE WOULD TAKE PLACE ~~BY AGREEMENT BETWEEN MNF CONTRIBUTORS AND THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT,~~ NOT REPEAT NOT LATER THAN THE LAST STAGE OF WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES. URGENT CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A WIDER MANDATE FOR UNIFIL WHICH MIGHT BE USED FIRSTLY IN THE DISENGAGEMENT OF ISRAELI AND SYRIAN FORCES AND THEN IN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS NEEDED TO ENSURE THEIR SWIFT WITHDRAWAL.

3. SUBSEQUENT ARRANGEMENTS.

THE TEN WOULD MAKE CLEAR THEIR READINESS TO PARTICIPATE WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THEIR POSSIBILITIES IN SUBSEQUENT ARRANGEMENTS NECESSARY TO CONSOLIDATE THE RESTORATION OF PEACE IN LEBANON. THESE WOULD INCLUDE GUARANTEES FOR THE SECURITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF LEBANON AND HER NEIGHBOURS FOLLOWING THE COMPLETION OF THE WITHDRAWAL PROCESS AND HELP FOR RECONSTRUCTION.

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MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN LEBANON (MNF)

LIMITED
NENAD
MED
DEFENCE DEPT
PUSD
NEWS DEPT
UND
NAD
WED
SED
ECD(E)
FINANCE DEPT
PROTOCOL DEPT
PS

PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
SIR J LEAHY
MR WRIGHT
MR CARTLEDGE
MR MACINNES
MR ADAMS
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YOUR TELEGRAM NO 3452 AND TELECON THOMAS/BULLARD:- LEBANON/MNF

1. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN REPORT OF DISCUSSION IN ATHENS ON 14-15 NOVEMBER OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A PUBLIC STATEMENT AND FOR SOME FORM OF DIPLOMATIC ACTION BY THE TEN (FCO TEL NO 497 TO ATHENS). THE AMERICANS WILL NO DOUBT BE WONDERING WHAT THE TEN MIGHT COME UP WITH AT THE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BRUSSELS ON 22 NOVEMBER, OR AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN ATHENS ON 4-6 DECEMBER.

2. WE HAVE CONSIDERED THESE IDEAS FURTHER. AS FAR AS THE MEETING ON 22 NOVEMBER IS CONCERNED, WE ARE NOW THINKING IN TERMS OF A SET OF PRINCIPLES WHICH THE TEN MIGHT BE INVITED TO AGREE AND WHICH MIGHT BE ISSUED AS A PUBLIC STATEMENT. AN OUTLINE OF WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND IS IN MIFT.

3. WE ARE VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED NOT TO PRESENT THE AMERICANS WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI ON AN ISSUE ON WHICH THEY ARE CLEARLY IN THE LEAD. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ARE NOT REASSURED BY US EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO STICK TO THE ISRAEL/LEBANON AGREEMENT, NOR BY THEIR APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO LET THINGS DRIFT UNTIL GEMAYEL'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON IN EARLY DECEMBER. AS YOU KNOW, WE ALSO CONSIDER THEIR SOMEWHAT SIMPLISTIC APPROACH TO QUOTE CUTTING THE SYRIANS DOWN TO SIZE UNQUOTE UNLIKELY TO PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS. WHAT WE ARE PROPOSING IS NOT DESIGNED TO CUT ACROSS THE US ACTION, BUT TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO JOIN US IN PUSHING THE PARTIES IN LEBANON AND THE ISRAELIS AND SYRIANS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. THERE WOULD BE NO HARM IN HINTING THAT THE

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1159 - 1

FASTER THINGS CAN BE PUSHED ALONG THE LESS SPACE THERE WILL BE FOR INITIATIVES BY THE TEN.

4. PLEASE THEREFORE GIVE A COPY OF THE TEXT IN MIFT TO MURPHY OR PELLETRQAU. YOU SHOULD TELL HIM THAT THE MIDDLE EAST WILL CERTAINLY BE ON THE AGENDA OF BOTH THE 22 NOVEMBER AND 4-6 DECEMBER MEETINGS OF THE TEN. IT IS CLEAR THAT ALL THE TEN ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN LEBANON AND THE MIDDLE EAST. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER A MAJORITY WILL WANT TO CONCENTRATE ON THE LEBANON ONLY OR ON THE WIDER ISSUES. NOR DO WE KNOW AT THIS STAGE, WHETHER THEY WILL BE CONTENT TO CONFINE THEMSELVES TO A STATEMENT OR WHETHER THERE WILL BE A FEELING THAT ANY STATEMENT SHOULD THIS TIME BE ACCOMPANIED OR FOLLOWED UP BY SOME COLLECTIVE ACTION BY THE TEN. WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND AT THIS STAGE IS SIMPLY A SET OF PRINCIPLES DESIGNED TO FOCUS THE ATTENTION OF ALL CONCERNED ON THE KEY ISSUES, ON WHICH CONCESSIONS FROM ALL SIDES ARE REQUIRED IF A SOLUTION IS TO BE FOUND. WE WANTED TO SHARE OUR THOUGHTS FIRST WITH THE AMERICANS. THEIR COMMENTS WOULD BE WELCOME.

5. PLEASE ENSURE THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT SEND A COPY OF THE TEXT TO RUMSFELD(AFTER THE MEETING IN LONDON ON 12 NOVEMBER, HE ASKED US TO FOLLOW UP IN WRITING IDEAS TOUCHED ON THEN).

6. EC POSTS SHOULD GIVE THE TEXT TO GOVERNMENTS EARLY ON MONDAY, 21 NOVEMBER, BUT NOT BEFORE.

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