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INTERNATIONAL

SECURITY AFFAIRS

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Authority: E0 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date:

SEP 1 8 2018

MEMORANDUM FOR RADM DON JONES

SUBJECT: Lebanon

In Lebanon, we faced three tasks:

- withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian and PLO forces;

- submission of militia, especially Phalange and Haddad, to GOL control and sovereignty;

- prevention of PLO reinfiltration and terrorist attacks against northern Israel.

The prime issues are as follows:

- 1. Gemayel seems leaning toward accommodation with, not disarmament or integration of, the Phalange. This in turn encourages a Haddad enclave also. So the goal of a strong, sovereign Lebanon within a short time frame looks difficult. Initially at least, Gemayel may settle for a de facto confederation.
- 2. Syrian withdrawal rests on the threatening Israeli posture, which can be relieved only by simultaneous withdrawal, and on Saudi financial leverage. The latter has not been forceful. Assad, as of 5 October, has insisted upon full Israeli withdrawal before Syrian withdrawal.
- 3. PLO reinfiltration and substantial forces around Tripoli are a problem. Gemayel has said he will use force against them, if necessary. Conventional wisdom has it that a Syrian pullback would expose the PLO flank and most would then be forced to pull back to Syria (which is not anxious to receive them). Gemayel's threat of attacking the remaining PLO would, in that case, be credible.
- 4. Israel will demand a simultaneous Syrian pullback and a secure northern border. Israel may well negotiate either for U.S. troops or for shared patrolling rights in southern Lebanon, plus a Haddad enclave.
- 5. To move LAF and some sort of GOL sovereignty from Beirut to the borders will require a "moving buffer" of MMF troop. The JCS are reluctant to have U.S. troops in this MMF buffer. If we refuse, our credibility and the pace of Israeli/Syrian force withdrawals will suffer.

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- We will cable to you any pertinent update before your arrival in Beirut.

FRANCIS J. WITTERNSE DEFENSE MATERNATIONAL DECUMENT AFFARS

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