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INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

SEC DEF
HAS SEEN

04 AUG 1982

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AUG 9 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THROUGH: THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY 7 05 AUG 1982

SUBJECT: Secretary of Defense Weinberger - Foreign Minister Shamir Meeting -
ACTION MEMORANDUM

Attached proposed message provides details on significant issues discussed during
the subject meeting to interested parties.

Recommend approval and release of message.

Attachment
a/s

FWest
FRANCIS J. WEST, JR.
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
(INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS)

ISRAEL

W
Caspar W. Weinberger
9 AUG 1982

Office of the Secretary of Defense
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 21 AUG 2018 Authority: EO 13526+5 U.S.C.
Declassify: X Deny in Full: § 552
Declassify in Part: _____
Reason: _____
MDR: 18-M-1293

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330-84-0004, b6, Israel (Jul-Aug)

Open removal of attachments
this document because

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SUBJECT: SECDEF WEINBERGER - FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR MEETING (U)

1. (U) SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WEINBERGER MET WITH ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR ON 2 AUGUST FOR ABOUT ONE HOUR. ALSO ATTENDING WERE DEPSECDEF CARLUCCI, AMBASSADOR LEWIS AND AMBASSADOR ARENS AMONG OTHERS. THE FOLLOWING ARE SIGNIFICANT ISSUES DISCUSSED DURING THE MEETING.

2. ~~CONF~~ AFTER AN EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS, SECRETARY WEINBERGER OPENED BY SAYING WE WERE ALL CONCERNED WITH THE SEEMING LACK OF PROGRESS IN ESTABLISHING A LASTING CEASEFIRE, WHICH WILL FACILITATE THE DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AND THE MOVEMENT OF ALL MILITARY ELEMENTS

USDP

COL MCKIN, NESA, COUNTRY DIRECTOR
FOR ISRAELI, X74592, 3 AUG 82

JAMES P. CORMACK
Captain, U.S. Navy
Military Assistant to the
Secretary of Defense

9 AUG 1982

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OUT OF LEBANON. HE WENT ON TO SAY THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DAMAGED AREAS, TO MAKE THEM HABITABLE, WILL BE A LENGTHY TASK, BUT THAT THE FIRST STEP WAS THE CEASEFIRE TO LET EVERYONE CONCENTRATE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. ~~THE~~ FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR STATED THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WAS CLOSELY FOLLOWING THE WORK OF AMBASSADOR HABIB, BUT HE WAS NOT SURE THE PLO HAD DECIDED TO LEAVE BEIRUT. THERE WERE MANY REASONS FOR THEM TO STAY. THE PLO HAD BECOME A STATE WITHIN A STATE AND COULD OPERATE FREELY AGAINST ISRAEL WHILE RECEIVING ASSISTANCE ACROSS LEBANON'S OTHER BORDERS. THUS, THEY COULD CONDUCT TERRORISM WITHOUT BEING BOTHERED AT HOME. THERE ARE NO OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE THEY HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY. SECRETARY WEINBERGER REPLIED THAT WITH THE CURRENT ISRAELI MILITARY POSITION THE PLO DID NOT NOW REALLY HAVE THE OPTION TO STAY AND HAD AGREED TO LEAVE. HE NOW NEEDED TO CONCENTRATE ON THE ARMS POSSESSION ISSUE, TIMING AND DESTINATIONS SINCE THE BASIC CONCEPT OF WITHDRAWAL HAD BEEN AGREED TO BY THE PLO. FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR STATED HE DID NOT BELIEVE THERE HAD BEEN A FORMAL AGREEMENT BY THE PLO TO DEPART, AND FURTHER, AS LONG AS THE

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ISRAELIS DID NOT KEEP THE MILITARY PRESSURE ON. THE PLO WOULD CONTINUE TO DELAY. SECRETARY WEINBERGER THEN STRONGLY ENCOURAGED THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE. AMBASSADOR HABIB WAS HAVING TO SPEND CONSIDERABLE TIME ARRANGING CEASEFIRES AND KEEPING THE UTILITIES TURNED ON. ADDITIONALLY, THE MECHANICS OF ARRANGING MEETINGS WITH ARTILLERY FIRE AND ROADBLOCKS INTERFERING EACH TIME WAS DELAYING PROGRESS. HE WENT ON TO SAY THE US WAS VERY CONCERNED BY MASSIVE RETALIATION USED BY THE IDF FOR VIOLATIONS.

4. ~~SECRET~~ SECRETARY WEINBERGER THEN ELICITED THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S OPINION ON HOW CLOSE THEY WERE TO A PERMANENT CEASEFIRE AND THE START OF A WITHDRAWAL, STATING THAT THESE WERE PREREQUISITES FOR THE NEXT MAJOR STEP OF MOVEMENT ON THE CAMP DAVID TALKS. FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR REPLIED IT WAS HARD TO REALLY ESTIMATE WHEN THE PLO WOULD WITHDRAW BUT OF COURSE HE WAS ANXIOUS TO SEE ALL MILITARY FORCES LEAVE LEBANON, INCLUDING THOSE OF ISRAEL. HE STATED THAT WHEN THIS OCCURRED, THE PLO INFLUENCE OVER THE PALESTINIANS AND OTHER ARABS WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY LESSENED, MAKING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS MUCH EASIER. ISRAEL WANTED THE PALESTINIANS TO ELECT LEGITIMATE OFFICIALS, BE OUT FROM UNDER THE PLO THREAT AND LIVE IN PEACE.

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Date: AUG 21 2018

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5. ~~THE~~ SECRETARY WEINBERGER THEN ADDRESSED THE "SHARON PLAN" FOR JORDAN, AND THE WORRIES OF KING HUSSEIN AND OTHERS THAT A PALESTINIAN STATE WOULD BE FORCED UPON THEM. HE WENT ON TO SAY HE HAD NO DOUBTS JORDAN WAS WILLING TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR SECURITY, AND ESTABLISHED BORDERS WITH ISRAEL, BUT THE SHARON PLAN WAS UNDERMINING THESE POSITIONS. FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR STATED THIS WAS A MISUNDERSTANDING. JORDAN IS A PALESTINIAN STATE, WITH A PALESTINIAN MAJORITY. ISRAEL VIEWED THE PALESTINIANS AS PART OF THE OVERALL ARAB WORLD, WHO SHOULD HAVE A MUCH LARGER ROLE IN PARTICULAR STATES THAN THEY NOW PLAY. HE WENT ON TO SAY THE ARABS MUST FIND A PLACE FOR THE PALESTINIANS, BUT ISRAEL IS NOT AGAINST HUSSEIN. HE MUST BE BROUGHT INTO THE CDA PROCESS. WHEN THE PLO LEAVE LEBANON THEY WILL NOT BE A MILITARY THREAT TO ANY GOVERNMENT AND WITH THEIR LEADERSHIP IN SYRIA THEIR POLITICAL CAPABILITY SHOULD BE DIMINISHED. SECRETARY WEINBERGER THEN STATED AMBASSADOR HABIB SEEMED TO HAVE FOUND DESTINATIONS FOR MOST OF THE FIGHTERS IF WE CAN WORK OUT SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO EGYPT'S CONCERNS. HUBARAK WANTED EGYPT'S ACCEPTING ANY PLO TO BE THE BEGINNING OF NEW CAMP DAVID DISCUSSIONS TO GET A PERMANENT

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Date: AUG 21 2018

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HOME FOR THE PALESTINIANS. FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR REPLIED HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BAD TO CONNECT THE PLO WITHDRAWAL AND THE CAMP DAVID TALKS IN THAT THE WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE DELAYED. AFTER WITHDRAWAL THE PLO WOULD BE WEAKER AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PALESTINIANS WOULD BE EASIER THUS FACILITATING A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION FOR ALL CONCERNED.

L. ~~135~~ SECRETARY WEINBERGER THEN ASKED FOR THE ISRAELI VIEWS ON THE TIMING OF THE PROPOSED MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE (MNF) INSERTION INTO BEIRUT. FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR STATED THE ORIGINAL PLAN WAS TO HAVE THE MNF SUPERVISE THE WITHDRAWAL, THEN PROVIDE SECURITY FOR THE REMAINING FAMILIES AND REFUGEES. THIS MAY HAVE CHANGED NOW THAT THE FRENCH HAVE CHANGED THEIR MINDS. SECRETARY WEINBERGER STATED HE HAD NOT HEARD THE FRENCH HAD BACKED OUT, BUT THAT HE DID NOT YET HAVE A FIRM COMMITMENT FROM THEM EITHER. CONCERNING THE PLO, HE CAN UNDERSTAND THEIR CONCERN FOR THEIR FAMILIES BEING LEFT IN BEIRUT AND THEIR NEED FOR A REAR GUARD. THE TENTATIVE TIMING PLAN DEVELOPED BY HABIB FOR THE EVACUATION AND MNF DEPLOYMENT SOUNDED REASONABLE, WITH 10 DAYS ALLOWED FOR THE EVACUATION AND A LITTLE MORE FOR THE LAF TO ESTABLISH STABILITY IN THE CITY. HE

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EMPHASIZED THAT 30 DAYS WAS THE OUTSIDE LIMIT FOR US PARTICIPATION IN THE MNF. HE WENT ON TO SAY WE NEED TO WORK ON THE MODALITIES OF THE EVACUATION OPERATION. THE IMMEDIATE PRESSING NEED, HOWEVER, WAS TO MAINTAIN THE CEASEFIRE SO THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD PROCEED UNHINDERED. IF ISRAEL BELIEVED THEY MUST RESPOND TO PERCEIVED VIOLATIONS, THEN RESPOND IN KIND NOT WITH MASSIVE FIREPOWER. THE PRESIDENT AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE DEGREE OF RESPONSE BEING USED BY ISRAEL AND THE CUT OFF OF FOOD AND UTILITIES. HOW THE REST OF THE WORLD PERCEIVES THESE ACTIONS WILL AFFECT OUR ABILITY TO EFFECT A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR RESPONDED THEY HAD TRIED ALL KINDS OF RESPONSES BUT THAT THE PLO CONTINUALLY VIOLATED THE CEASEFIRES AND HID AMONG THE CIVILIAN POPULACE. AMBASSADOR ARENS COMMENTED HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE PLO WANTED TO LEAVE BEIRUT. THEY WOULD NOT HAVE FREEDOM OF ACTION, AND THEIR MILITARY CAPABILITY WOULD BE LOST. SECRETARY WEINBERGER DISAGREED, AGAIN STATING THE PLO REALLY HAD NO CHOICE, AND THAT THEY HAD ACCEPTED THE MOVE. WE MUST MOVE FORWARD WITH THE EVACUATION, THEN IMMEDIATELY INTO THE RENEWAL OF THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS.

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7. ~~157~~ FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR REPLIED THE US HAD ALREADY CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO CAMP DAVID AND THE SINAI AGREEMENTS, AND BECAUSE OF THAT WE NOW HAVE BETTER PROSPECTS FOR THE CURRENT OPERATION TO SUCCEED.

8. ~~157~~ SECRETARY WEINBERGER CLOSED BY REITERATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN OVERALL TIME TABLE TO ADDRESS WITHDRAWAL PHASES, RECONSTITUTION ISSUES AND THE INITIATION OF TALKS NEEDED TO BE ADDRESSED, BUT THE ENTIRE OPERATION HINGED UPON THE EFFORTS OF ALL TO MAINTAIN THE CEASEFIRE AND COOPERATE IN HABIB'S EFFORTS.

~~END 7 AUG 68~~

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