

SUBJECT

cc
Chris
Hawke



PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No

T170A/82

PRIME MINISTER

CANBERRA

30 AUG 1982

My dear Ruzent

The Australian Government and people, like the rest of the international community, have been anguished by the suffering inflicted on the people of Lebanon by the conflict there.

Lebanon has been caught in the cross-fire of a conflict in which it wanted no part.

We are today heartened by the major progress made in the peace plans so strenuously pursued in recent days. Their implementation can provide the vital ingredients for a peaceful Lebanon free of the presence of outside armed forces and in which the sovereignty of the Lebanese people is re-established. We are mindful, however, of the grave risk of renewal of armed conflict.

But if the way forward is to enable Lebanon to achieve political stability and to regain its integrity, there must be a simultaneous rebuilding of Lebanon's shattered infrastructure. The Lebanese people's material suffering must also be relieved.

I hope you will agree that the supporters of Lebanon should now unite to assist in the massive task of reconstruction which lies ahead. My own Government has decided to provide a special initial sum of \$10 million and we hope that other advanced aid donor countries might match that contribution on a comparative basis.

...2/

2.

I invite your Government to contribute generously so that the reality of our concern will be demonstrated and so that there is in being an international reconstruction effort commensurate with the scale of the problems in the Lebanon.

You find
Richard

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister of Great Britain
LONDON SW1
UNITED KINGDOM



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 September, 1982

Prime Minister

Content to send message at
Flag E to Mr. Fraser?

Dear Willie,

Aid for Lebanon: Message from Australian Prime Minister

A.J.C. 9/9

With your letter to me of 23 August you enclosed a message to the Prime Minister from Mr Fraser, urging us to match the Australian pledge of \$10 million aid for reconstruction in Lebanon.

We have already provided substantial humanitarian aid to Lebanon: £386,000 bilaterally through voluntary organisations, and £1.05m through the European Community, as well as food aid worth £1 million to UNRWA for use in Lebanon. This is a respectable response to Lebanon's immediate needs. But as Mr Fraser points out, much more will be needed to rebuild the infrastructure in Lebanon which has been severely damaged not only by the Israeli invasion but by the intermittent fighting since the 1975/76 civil war.

The scale and nature of Lebanon's needs are not yet clear. There are however expected to be substantial sums available, from the OPEC states in particular, though the European Investment Bank has also been asked by the Presidency of the Council if it can provide further unsubsidised loans from its own resources. In addition some £30m remains unspent under the Community's Second Financial Protocol with Lebanon, of which a share is borne on the UK's Aid Programme. Lebanon will be discussed at the IMF/IBRD meetings taking place at the moment in Toronto, where we shall support an American proposal that the IBRD should coordinate aid for reconstruction in Lebanon. Decisions on a British contribution are not needed immediately but in due course we may need to demonstrate that we are prepared to help bilaterally. In Mr Pym's view, any British contribution would have to be substantial, not only to show that we are willing to help in reconstruction in Lebanon but also to maintain influence in the Middle East and with the Americans during the next phase of the peace process. There are of course many other urgent and competing demands on existing aid resources.

I enclose a draft reply from the Prime Minister to Mr Fraser in the form of a telegram to Canberra.

Yours ever

J E Holmes

W Rickett Esq
10 Downing Street

(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

10 September 1982

Aid for Lebanon: Message from the Australian Prime Minister

Thank you for your letter of 8 September recommending a reply from the Prime Minister to Mr. Fraser.

The Prime Minister has approved the proposed text subject to two amendments:

(a) At the end of the fourth sentence substitute the words "amounting in all to nearly £2½ million" (I should be grateful if the figure could be checked);

(b) At the end of the message delete the word "reconstruction" and substitute "that unhappy country".

A.J. COLES

John Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

10.9.82

subject

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T176C/82

RESTRICTED

22473 - 1 *Lebanon*

COMPARATIVE BASIS.

I INVITE YOUR GOVERNMENT TO CONTRIBUTE GENEROUSLY SO THAT THE REALITY OF OUR CONCERN WILL BE DEMONSTRATED AND SO THAT THERE IS IN BEING AN INTERNATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION EFFORT COMMENSURATE WITH THE SCALE OF THE PROBLEMS IN THE LEBANON.
ENDS

at least ops

2. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING REPLY TO MR FRASER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER:

BEGINS:

DEAR MALCOLM

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE ABOUT LEBANON. I AGREE WITH YOU THAT A MASSIVE EFFORT OF RECONSTRUCTION WILL BE NEEDED IN LEBANON AND THAT THIS WILL BE A VITAL ELEMENT IN HELPING THE COUNTRY TO REGAIN PEACE AND STABILITY. I WAS HEARTENED TO HEAR OF YOUR GENEROUS CONTRIBUTION. WE HAVE ALREADY MADE A SUBSTANTIAL RESPONSE TO LEBANON'S IMMEDIATE NEEDS, BOTH BILATERALLY AND THROUGH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AMOUNTING IN ALL TO NEARLY POUNDS 2 AND 1/2 MILLION.

I UNDERSTAND THAT THE WORLD BANK MAY BE ASKED TO PLAY A COORDINATING ROLE IN MOBILISING AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION IN LEBANON. WE ARE CONSIDERING BOTH HERE AND WITH OUR PARTNERS WHAT FURTHER FUNDS CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR THAT UNHAPPY COUNTRY.

YOURS SINCERELY
MARGARET THATCHER
ENDS

PYM

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ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
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OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification and Caveats	Precedence/Deskby
	RESTRICTED	IMMEDIATE

ZCZC 1 ZCZC
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 CLASS 3 RESTRICTED
 CAVEATS 4
 DESKBY 5
 FM FCO 6 FM FCO SEPTEMBER 1982
 PRE/ADD 7 TO IMMEDIATE CANBERRA
 TEL NO 8 TELEGRAM NUMBER
 9 INFO IMMEDIATE OTTAWA (FOR ONWARD TRANSMISSION TO TORONTO FOR
 10 UKDEL TO IMF/IBRD MEETINGS)
 11 ROUTINE BEIRUT, TEL AVIV, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK
 12 AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION IN LEBANON: MESSAGE FROM AUSTRALIAN PRIME
 13 MINISTER
 14 1. Mr Fraser sent the Prime Minister the following message via
 15 High Commission on 23 August:
 16 BEGINS:
 17 The Australian Government and people, like the rest of the
 18 international community, have been anguished by the suffering
 19 inflicted on the people of Lebanon by the conflict there.
 20 Lebanon has been caught in the crossfire of a conflict in which
 21 it wanted no part.
 22 We are today heartened by the major progress made in the
 23 peace plans so strenuously pursued in recent days. Their
 24 implementation can provide the vital ingredients for a peaceful
 25 Lebanon free of the presence of outside armed forces and in

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword which
File number	Dept Private Office	Distribution Middle East Standard Additional Distrib:Arab/Israel dispute
Drafted by (Block capitals) J E HOLMES		
Telephone number 233 4641		
Authorised for despatch		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

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Classification and Caveats

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2 which the sovereignty of the Lebanese people is re-established.
 3 We are mindful however of the grave risk of renewal of armed
 4 conflict.

5 But if the way forward is to enable Lebanon to achieve
 6 political stability and to regain its integrity there must be
 7 a simultaneous rebuilding of Lebanon's shattered infrastructure.
 8 The Lebanese people's material suffering must also be relieved.

9 I hope you will agree that the supporters of Lebanon should
 10 now unite to assist in the massive task of reconstruction which
 11 lies ahead. My own Government has decided to provide a special
 12 initial sum of dollars 10 million and we hope that other
 13 advanced aid donor countries might match that contribution on a
 14 comparative basis.

15 I invite your Government to contribute generously so that
 16 the reality of our concern will be demonstrated and so that
 17 there is in being an international reconstruction effort
 18 commensurate with the scale of the problems in the Lebanon.

19 ENDS

20 2. Please pass the following reply to Mr Fraser from the Prime
 21 Minister:

22 BEGINS:

23 Dear Malcolm

24 Thank you for your message about Lebanon. I agree with you
 25 that a massive effort of reconstruction will be needed in
 26 Lebanon and that this will be a vital element in helping the
 27 country to regain peace and stability. I was heartened to hear
 28 of your generous contribution. We have already made a
 29 substantial response to Lebanon's immediate needs, both
 30 bilaterally and through the European Community *amounting in all to nearly £2 1/2 million*
 31 that the World Bank may be asked to play a coordinating role in
 32 mobilising aid for reconstruction in Lebanon. We are
 33 considering both here and with our partners what further funds
 34 can be made available for ~~reconstruction~~. *that unhappy country.*

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telegram

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Yours

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

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Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher
ENDS

PYM
NNNN

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Lebanon
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JP



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 September 1982

Thank you for your letter of 7 September enclosing the original of the letter from the Australian Prime Minister to Mrs. Thatcher about the situation in the Lebanon.

AJC

Miss Neroli Doust

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AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION · LONDON

AUSTRALIA HOUSE STRAND WC2B 4LA TEL. 01-438 8209

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

7 September 1982

Dear Mr Rickett,

Please find enclosed the original of the letter from the Australian Prime Minister to Mrs Thatcher about the situation in the Lebanon, the cabled text of which was conveyed to her on 23 August 1982.

Yours sincerely,

(Neroli Doust)
Personal Secretary

Mr William Rickett,
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister,
No. 10 Downing Street,
LONDON SW1.



FILE

SW

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 August, 1982

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 23 August, and for conveying the text of a letter from your Prime Minister about the situation in the Lebanon.

I shall place your letter before the Prime Minister as soon as possible.

W. F. S. RICKETT

H-E, The Honourable Sir Victor Garland, K.B.E.

Handwritten initials



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 August, 1902

Dear John

I enclose a letter that the Prime Minister has received from Sir Victor Garland, the Australian High Commissioner, conveying the text of a letter from Mr. Malcolm Fraser. Mr. Fraser urges us to pledge aid to assist the Lebanon in its task of reconstruction.

I should be grateful for a draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to Mr. Fraser by 6 September.

Yours ever

Willie Rickett

John Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER'S

Lebanon



PERSONAL MESSAGE

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION • LONDON

AIRIAL No. 1162/82 Prime Minister

SUBS

cc. Males
OHS

we will let you have a report on 23/8
23 August 1982

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

The Hon. Sir Victor Garland, KBE

Dear Prime Minister,

A telegram from my Prime Minister asks me to convey to you the following text of a letter, the original of which is en route by diplomatic bag:

Begins -

"Dear Margaret,

The Australian Government and people, like the rest of the international community, have been anguished by the suffering inflicted on the people of Lebanon by the conflict there.

Lebanon has been caught in the cross-fire of a conflict in which it wanted no part.

We are today heartened by the major progress made in the peace plans so strenuously pursued in recent days. Their implementation can provide the vital ingredients for a peaceful Lebanon free of the presence of outside armed forces and in which the sovereignty of the Lebanese people is re-established. We are mindful, however, of the grave risk of renewal of armed conflict.

But if the way forward is to enable Lebanon to achieve political stability and to regain its integrity, there must be a simultaneous rebuilding of Lebanon's shattered infrastructure. The Lebanese people's material suffering must also be relieved.

I hope you will agree that the supporters of Lebanon should now unite to assist in the massive task of reconstruction which lies ahead. My own Government has decided to provide a special initial sum of dollars 10 million and we hope that other advanced aid donor countries might match that contribution on a comparative basis.

I invite your Government to contribute generously so that the reality of our concern will be demonstrated and so that there is in being an international reconstruction effort commensurate with the scale of the problems in The Lebanon.

Yours sincerely,
Malcolm Fraser."

Ends.

Sincerely,
R.V. Garland

R.V. GARLAND

The Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister,
No. 10 Downing Street,
LONDON SW1.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTERIAL PRESS STATEMENT : LEBANON
ISSUED 9 AUGUST 1982

The Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, made the following statement today on the situation in Lebanon:

"THE CONTINUED FIGHTING AND DESTRUCTION IN BEIRUT, COSTING THE LIVES AND DESTROYING THE LIVELIHOOD OF INNOCENT AND POWERLESS LEBANESE CITIZENS, IS OF THE GRAVEST CONCERN TO THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.

AUSTRALIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF THE AGE-LONG SUFFERING OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THEIR RIGHT TO A HOMELAND. AUSTRALIA HAS ALWAYS SUPPORTED, AND OF COURSE CONTINUES TO SUPPORT, ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AS A STATE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNISED BOUNDARIES.

AUSTRALIA DOES UNDERSTAND ISRAEL'S CONCERN AT THE REPEATED TERRORIST ATTACKS AND THE THREATS MADE BY THE PLO. WE DEPLORE TERRORISM OF ALL KINDS.

WE DEPLORE THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE PLO TO RECOGNISE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST, AND ITS UNWILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE SENSIBLY IN THE CAUSE OF A LASTING PEACE.

HOWEVER, DESPITE THE PROVOCATIONS ISRAEL HAS RECEIVED, ITS PRESENT ACTIONS IN PERSISTING WITH THE USE OF ITS FORMIDABLE MILITARY STRENGTH IN BEIRUT, LONG AFTER ACHIEVING ITS INITIALLY DECLARED OBJECTIVE, ARE SHORT-SIGHTED AND FOOLISH.

LEBANON HAS BEEN CAUGHT UP IN A QUARREL OF WHICH IT HAS WANTED NO PART. THE PLO FORCES CAME TO LEBANON TO USE IT AS A SANCTUARY FOR ATTACKS ON ISRAEL, PARTICULARLY ITS NORTHERN SETTLEMENTS. ISRAEL HAS RESPONDED BY ACTIONS WHICH HAVE RESULTED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE LEBANESE CAPITAL AND OF SIGNIFICANT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, AND HAVE CAUSED IMMENSE MISERY TO THE LEBANESE PEOPLE.

BY THE CONTINUATION OF ITS PRESENT ACTION ISRAEL IS SERVING ITS OWN INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF THE REGION VERY BADLY INDEED. THERE CAN BE NO SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM BY DESTRUCTION, BY KILLING, BY WAR. ULTIMATELY THERE HAS TO BE A POLITICAL SOLUTION WHICH ALLOWS PEOPLE TO LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES. THE BELIEF THAT MILITARY VICTORY ALONE CAN ACHIEVE SOLUTIONS IS MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR ISRAEL'S TRADITIONAL FRIENDS TO SUSTAIN THEIR SUPPORT.

THERE ARE OVER TWO MILLION PALESTINIANS IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHO HAVE NO HOMELAND. OF THESE MANY ARE NOT ACCEPTED AS FULL CITIZENS BY ANY COUNTRY IN THE REGION. THIS REPRESENTS A CONDEMNATION OF ALL COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AND OUTSIDE IT WHICH HAVE ALLOWED THIS SITUATION TO CONTINUE FOR OVER 30 YEARS.

AS A MIDDLE RANKING POWER AUSTRALIA HAS OBVIOUSLY LIMITED INFLUENCE ON EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE THINGS WE CAN DO, AND WE HAVE SOUGHT TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE. WE SAW THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL AS THOROUGHLY CONSTRUCTIVE AND WORTH SUPPORTING. THE AGREEMENT WHICH THEY REACHED HAS BEEN THE ONLY THING WHICH HAS COME FORWARD WITH ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

IT IS FOR THAT REASON THAT WE HAVE SENT UNITS OF OUR ARMED FORCES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SINAI MULTINATIONAL FORCE AND OBSERVERS.

HOWEVER, THERE ARE COUNTRIES WHICH DO HAVE THE POWER TO EXERT GREAT INFLUENCE ON THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THERE ARE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE THE INFLUENCE TO WORK OUT THE FRAMEWORK OF A SOLUTION AND, AS WE BELIEVE, TO SEE THAT SUCH A SOLUTION IS ACCEPTED. AS A SIGNATORY TO THE ISRAEL-EGYPT PEACE TREATY, THE UNITED STATES IS CLEARLY PRE-EMINENT AMONG THESE COUNTRIES. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT U.S. INFLUENCE BE USED, AND BE USED TO FULL EFFECT.

THE POTENTIAL FOR A GREATER CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST REMAINS. IT IS IN NOBODY'S INTEREST TO LEAVE THE LEBANESE CRISIS AS A CAULDRON INTO WHICH MORE AND MORE COUNTRIES, POSSIBLY INCLUDING MAJOR POWERS, COULD BE DRAWN.

QUITE APART FROM THE WIDER IMPACT OF THE PRESENT EVENTS ON WORLD PEACE, BEIRUT AND LEBANON DESERVE TO BE RESCUED FROM THE TERRIBLE DESTRUCTION WHICH IS NOW ENGULFING THEM. THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE MUST COMBINE TO ESTABLISH PEACE. IT IS A SIGNIFICANT TEST OF WESTERN RESOLVE AND UNITY OF PURPOSE.

AUSTRALIA WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE INVIOLABLE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST BEHIND SECURE, DEFENSIBLE AND RECOGNISED BORDERS. BUT BECAUSE OF THE COURSE OF RECENT EVENTS, BECAUSE OF THE INADEQUATE RESPONSE TO THE TERRIBLE SUFFERING CAUSED TO INNOCENT PEOPLE, AUSTRALIA CALLS ON THE MAJOR POWERS TO USE ALL THE WEIGHT AT THEIR COMMAND TO SETTLE THE CONFLICT. COUNTRIES SUCH AS AUSTRALIA HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPECT THAT COUNTRIES WITH GREAT INFLUENCE WILL USE IT IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

QUITE APART FROM THESE LARGER ISSUES, THERE IS THE PRACTICAL QUESTION OF THE REBUILDING OF LEBANON AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BEIRUT. AUSTRALIA WILL PROVIDE A SPECIAL INITIAL SUM OF DOLLARS 10 MILLION FOR THAT PURPOSE, AND WILL BE APPROACHING ALL OTHER ADVANCED AID DONOR COUNTRIES TO MATCH THAT CONTRIBUTION ON A COMPARATIVE BASIS. I WILL APPROACH THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DIRECTLY CONCERNED. FOR MANY OF US IT IS THE ONLY PRACTICAL WAY IN WHICH WE CAN DEMONSTRATE THE REALITY OF OUR CONCERN.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND I WILL ALSO SEEK TO DISCUSS WITH THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN AUSTRALIA THE GOVERNMENT'S CONCERNS. WE WILL SEEK TO EXPLAIN IN DETAIL WHY THIS STATEMENT OF POLICY HAS BEEN ISSUED, AND WE WILL ELICIT THEIR SUPPORT FOR POLICIES ON ISRAEL'S PARTY THAT ARE CONDUCIVE TO LASTING PEACE. WE WILL APPEAL TO JEWISH COMMUNITIES AROUND THE WORLD TO TAKE NOTE OF A VOICE THAT HAS BEEN RAISED IN FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT OF ISRAEL IN A WAY WHICH HAS BEEN UNEQUALLED AND UNCHALLENGEABLE.

IF AN AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS SUPPORTED ISRAEL SO STAUNCHLY BELIEVES THERE NEEDS TO BE AS COMPREHENSIVE A CHANGE IN ISRAEL'S MIND AND APPROACH AS IS CALLED FOR IN

THIS STATEMENT, THAT SURELY IS WARNING ENOUGH THAT WORLD OPINION CAN NO LONGER BE IGNORED, AND THAT THE VERY SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL ITSELF MAY BE DEPENDENT UPON EVERYONE INVOLVED BENDING THEIR MINDS AND THEIR ENERGIES AND THEIR OPINIONS TO THE SEARCH FOR A LASTING PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

THIS WILL REQUIRE A CORRESPONDING READINESS ON THE PART OF THE PLO TO ACCEPT THE REALITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE LEBANESE PEOPLE TO REGAIN EFFECTIVE CONTROL IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. ALL THOSE ABLE TO BRING INFLUENCE TO BEAR ON THE PLO TO ACT IN THIS DIRECTION SHOULD DO SO.

AUSTRALIA DOES NOT PRETEND TO HAVE THE DETAILS OF A SOLUTION. THAT IS NOT FOR US TO PROPOSE. WE ARE NOT PARTY PRINCIPALS TO THIS DISPUTE. WE ARE NOT A COUNTRY WITH MAJOR INFLUENCE. BUT WE ARE CONCERNED, AND OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL IN THE PAST GIVES US NOT ONLY THE RIGHT BUT THE RESPONSIBILITY TO SPEAK OUR MIND BLUNTLY AND HONESTLY."

23 AUG 1982

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