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FM AMMAN 251105Z OCT 83

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 466 OF 25 OCTOBER 1983

REPEATED IMMEDIATE TO MOD (DI4), BEIRUT, UKMIS NEW YORK
AND WASHINGTON.

PRIORITY TO CAIRO, DAMASCUS, PARIS, ROME AND TEL AVIV.
ROUTINE TO TEHRAN.

LEBANON

1. WHEN AT THE AIRPORT SEEING OFF QUEEN NOOR THIS MORNING,
KING HUSSEIN CALLED THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND MYSELF ASIDE
TO SPEAK ABOUT LEBANON.

2. THE KING BEGAN BY EXPRESSING HIS GRIEF AT THE CALUALTIES
INCURRED IN THE FRENCH CONTINGENT AND EXPRESSED HIS
ADMIRATION FOR PRESIDENT MITTERRAND'S DECISION TO VISIT
LEBANON AT ONCE. THE KING WENT ON TO SAY THAT:

(A) HE SAW NOTHING BUT DIFFICULTIES AHEAD FOR LEBANON AND
THE WEST UNLESS SOME DRASTIC ACTION WERE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY.
AS THE KING SAW IT, THE ONLY REALISTIC COURSE OPEN TO THE
PARTICIPANTS IN THE MNF WAS TO CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF
ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON WITHIN A FIXED PERIOD , SAY
BY THE END OF THE YEAR, AND TO PUT THEIR FULL WEIGHT BEHIND
SECURING THE WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES FROM
LEBANESE TERRITORY USING WHATEVER PRESSURE MIGHT BE NECESSARY
TO ACHIEVE THIS. THE KING THOUGHT THAT THE MNF PARTICIPANTS
SHOULD UNDERTAKE TO WITHDRAW THEIR CONTIGENTS WHEN, OR
IMMEDIATELY AFTER, THE OTHER FOREIGN FORCES LEFT LEBANON
SEMI COLON

(B) THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT SHOULD CALL AN IMMEDIATE
CONFERENCE OF ALL THE LEBANESE FACTIONS WITH THE AIM OF
ACHIEVING A NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON THE FUTURE OF LEBANON,
MAKING IT CLEAR THAT ANYONE FAILING TO ATTEND THIS
CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE NO SAY IN DECIDING THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE.
THE KING WAS EMPHATIC THAT THE LEBANON-ISRAELI TREATY, WHICH
HAD BEEN IMPOSED ON THE LEBANESE, WOULD HAVE TO BE DROPPED.

3. THE ALTERNATIVES TO PROCEEDING ON THESE LINES WERE, AS
THE KING SAW THEM, GRIM. THERE WOULD BE FURTHER ATTACKS ON
THE FORCES OF THE MNF AND WITH THE INEVITABLE CASUALTIES THE
PRESSURE FOR WITHDRAWAL PARTICULARLY ON THE AMERICANS WOULD
GROW, LEADING ULTIMATELY TO THE HUMILIATION OF THE WEST,
WITH ALL THE WIDER CONSEQUENCES FOR THE REGION THAT THIS
IMPLIED. THE RUSSIANS WERE WAITING IN THE WINGS TO TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF SUCH A SITUATION. IT WAS THEREFORE IMPERATIVE,
IN THE KING'S VIEW, THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD ACT
QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY ON THE LINES HE HAD SUGGESTED.

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4. AFTER THANKING THE KING FOR HIS MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY, MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE REFERRED TO A POSSIBLE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE MNF, AND WE BOTH UNDERTOOK TO CONVEY THE KING'S VIEWS TO OUR GOVERNMENTS IMMEDIATELY. THE FOREGOING HAS BEEN DRAFTED WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, WHO WILL BE REPORTING IN IDENTICAL TERMS.

5. I SAW THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER EARLIER THIS MORNING IN CONNECTION WITH MR LUCE'S VISIT AND HE SPOKE TO ME IN VERY SIMILAR TERMS TO THE KING, SHOWING THAT THE KING'S VIEWS REFLECT A RECENT REVIEW OF THE LEBANESE PROBLEM WITH HIS ADVISERS. QASEM PARTICULARLY STRESSED THAT HALF AND HALF SOLUTIONS, SUCH AS REINFORCEMENT OF THE MNF CONTINGENTS OR US WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR COMMAND POST TO A NAVAL VESSEL OFF-SHORE, WOULD GIVE THE AMERICANS THE WORST OF ALL WORLDS AND ENSURE THAT THEY WERE INCREASINGLY SUCKED INTO A LEBANESE CIVIL WAR. QASEM FOUND IT EXTRAORDINARY THAT THE AMERICANS, KNOWING WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR BLOWING UP THEIR EMBASSY IN BEIRUT, HAD TAKEN NO ACTION AGAINST THEM. WHEN I SAID TO QASEM THAT I BELIEVED THE AMERICANS PROBABLY DID NOT KNOW WHETHER IRANIAN GROUPS OPERATING IN LEBANON WERE DOING SO INDEPENDENTLY OR ON ORDERS FROM OTHERS, QASEM EXPRESSED DISBELIEF AND CLAIMED THERE WAS SURELY NO DOUBT THAT THE SYRIANS WERE DIRECTLY INVOLVED.

URWICK

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MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN LEBANON (MNF)

LIMITED
NENAD
MED
DEFENCE DEPT
FUSD
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
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