SECRET

PAGE 01

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 /000 W
----------127013 071542Z /44
0 071532Z AUG 02 ZFF-4

FM AMBASSADOR TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC INACT IMMEDIATE 7J81
AMBASSADOR BEIRUT IMMEDIATE
INFO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMBASSADOR AMMAN PRIORITY
AMBASSADOR CAIRO PRIORITY
AMBASSADOR DAMASCUS PRIORITY
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY
AMBASSADOR JIDDA PRIORITY

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 12017

DECAPIED

FOR THE SECRETARY AND HABIB FROM LEWIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MILI, NOPS, PEPR, PINT, LE, IS, PLO, US, FR, XF
SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION: ON THE VISION OF NOT
OVERESTIMATING OUR PERSUASIVENESS OR UNDERESTIMATING
THE ISRAELIS RESISTANCE TO PRESSURE

REFS: A. BEIRUT 8160; B. BEIRUT 8170; C. TEL AVIV 12000,
D. STATE 220094; E. TEL AVIV 11997

SECRET --- Entire text.

2. ALTHOUGH IT LOOKS TODAY AS IF PHIL HABIB
   CAN FINALLY SEE THE FINISH LINE IN SIGHT, I MUST
   RAISE A BRIGHT AMBER LIGHT. PHIL HAS EXPRESSED
   THE CONVICTION IN A NUMBER OF CONVERSATIONS AND
   MESSAGES THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL SURELY NOT REJECT
SECRET

SECRET PAGE 02

THE OVERALL PACKAGE BECAUSE OF ONE OR TWO
SECRET

UNPALLATABLE ELEMENTS, SO LONG AS ITS TOTAL EFFECT WILL ACHIEVE THEIR GOAL OF GETTING THE PLO LEADERS AND COMBATANTS OUT OF BEIRUT. HE IS COUNTING ON AMERICAN PERSUASIVENESS AND THE EXERCISE, IF NECESSARY, OF STRONG AMERICAN PRESSURE TO BRING THE ISRAELI CABINET AROUND WHEN THE TIME COMES. I EARNESTLY COUNSEL PHIL AND EVERYONE ELSE INVOLVED IN THIS INTRICATE ENTERPRISE NOT TO MAKE THAT ASSUMPTION.

3. AS THE PACKAGE NOW SHAPES UP, THE STICKING POINT WITH ISRAEL WILL BE OVER THE TIMING FOR INSERTION OF THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE. BEGIN AND SHARON HAVE BOTH LAID DOWN UNEQUIVOCAL MARKERS DURING THE PAST TWENTY-FOUR HOURS ON THIS ISSUE (REFS B AND C). THEY AND ALL OTHER ISRAELIS INVOLVED ARE CONVINCED, PERHAPS UNREASONABLY BUT NO LESS UNSHAKABLY, THAT THE MOMENT A FRENCH MNF CONTINGENT, OR A UNIT OF UN OBSERVERS FOR THAT MATTER, ARE INSERTED BETWEEN THE PLO AND THE IDF, ALL BETS WILL BE OFF. ARAFAT'S APPARENT READINESS TO LEAVE UNDER PHIL'S PLAN WILL SUDDENLY EVAPORATE, TO BE REPLACED BY A PROLONGED EFFORT TO RENEGOTIATE ISSUES WHICH NOW SEEM TO HAVE FALLEN AWAY. THE ISRAELI LEADERS HAVE BEEN SAYING THIS TO US REPEATEDLY FOR THE PAST TWO WEEKS AND HAVE BEEN WARNING PHIL NOT TO MAKE SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IN THE EXPECTATION THAT IT WILL BE SWALLOWED IN JERUSALEM. I AM AFRAID THAT WE SHOULD TAKE THIS WARNING AS DEADLY SERIOUS.

4. IF THE PACKAGE IS PRESENTED TO THE ISRAELI CABINET WITH THIS ELEMENT IN IT, AS PHIL NOW HOPES

SECRET

PAGE 03 TEL AV 12017 01 OF 02 0715422

TO DO IN THE NEXT VERY FEW DAYS, I AM CONVINCED IT WILL BE REJECTED. THERE WILL BE AN ARGUMENT HERE AS TO WHETHER TO PROCEED WITH MORE "NOOSE-TIGHTENING" MILITARY MOVES OR WHETHER TO GIVE PHIL A LITTLE LONGER TO CONVINCE THE PLO TO DROP THIS CONDITION. THAT DEBATE WILL BE A NARROW THING, BUT THE RESULT WILL LIKELY BE AN INSISTENCE THAT THIS PROVISION, IF NOT OTHERS, MUST BE RENEGOTIATED. WHILE THAT PROCESS GOES FORWARD, THE DANGERS OF CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS AND MORE MILITARY MOVES WILL
SECRET

BE GREAT INDEED.

5. TACTICS OF PRESENTATION TO THE ISRAELIS ARE IMPORTANT BUT WILL NOT CHANGE THIS OUTCOME. I AM CERTAIN THAT IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR HABIB TO COME TO JERUSALEM HIMSELF TO PRESENT THE PACKAGE, BACKED-UP BY A STRONG SIMULTANEOUS PITCH BY SECRETARY SHULTZ TO AMBASSADOR ARENS. BUT EVEN THAT DOUBLE WHAMMY WILL NOT, I FEAR, SERVE TO OVERCOME THE ISRAELI DETERMINATION TO BE ASSURED THAT THE PLO WILL NOT CHANGE ITS MIND ONCE SAFELY BEHIND THE BARRIER OF FRENCH FORCES.

6. WE MAY, REPEAT, MAY BE ABLE TO GET BEGIN AND SHARON BACK TO PHIL'S ORIGINAL IDEA, WHICH, OF COURSE, THEY NEVER FULLY ACCEPTED: HAVING ALL OF THE FORCE INSERTED AT A POINT WHERE THE PROCESS OF EVACUATION WAS WELL UNDERWAY AND IT HAD BECOME A PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY FOR THE PLO LEADERS TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS. THAT IS THE MOST WE CAN

SECRET
SECRET

PAGE 01  TEL AV 12017 02 OF 02 0715442
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-00  ADS-00  /000 W
---------------------- 127022  0715442 /44
0 0715321 AUG 02 ZFF-4
FM EMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIAC 7382 IMMEDIATE
AMEBASSY BEIRUT NIAC IMMEDIATE
INFO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY
AMEBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY
AMEBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY
AMEBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY

SECRET SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 12017

MODIS

HOPE FOR, AND IT WILL BE DIFFICULT ENOUGH TO
ACHIEVE.

7. MY STRONG ADVICE, THEREFORE, IS THAT PHIL TAKE
BEGIN AND SHARON'S STRUCTURES TO HEART NOW RATHER
THAN LATER. DIFFICULT AS IT MAY BE WITH THE PLO.
IT IS BETTER TO FACE THIS ISSUE NOW RATHER THAN
NEXT WEEK. THE IMPRESSION I HAVE FROM AFAR IS
THAT PRESIDENT SARKIS, AT LEAST, AND PERHAPS OTHERS
IN THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT PRIVATELY AGREE VERY
STRONGLY WITH THE ISRAELI POSITION. THEY SHOULD,
THEREFORE, BE ALLIES, IF PHIL NOW REOPENS THIS
ISSUE OF THE TIMING OF FRENCH ENTRY, BISING HIMSELF
SQUARELY ON THE VERY CATEGORIC STATEMENTS MADE BY
BOTH BEGIN AND SHARON YESTERDAY AND TODAY.

8. MINIMIZE BEIRUT, DAMASCUS CONSIDERED.

LEWIS
SECRET
SECRET

PAGE 02  TEL AV 12017 02 OF 02 0715442