

MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN LEBANON (MNF)

(27) ADVANCE COPY

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PS/MR LUCE  
PS/FUS  
SIR J BULLARD  
SIR J LEAHY  
MR WRIGHT  
MR CARTLEDGE  
MR NACINNES  
MR ADAMS  
MR JENKINS  
MR EGERTON

~~COPIES TO:~~  
MR GOODALL  
SIR R ARMSTRONG CABINET OFFICE

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HD/PROTOCOL DEPT

R.C.

*late notes*

*Prime Minister*

*see para. 3*

*A.J.C. 1/2*

IMMEDIATE

GR 900

CONFIDENTIAL

FM UKMIS NEW YORK 140100Z FEB 84

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 152 OF 13 FEBRUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW (FOR S OF S'S PARTY), PARIS, WASHINGTON, BEIRUT, ROME, DAMASCUS, PRIORITY TEL AVIV, JEDDA, CAIRO, THE HAGUE, AMMAN

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PARIS TELNO 180 (NOT TO ALL): LEBANON; FRENCH INITIATIVE

SUMMARY

1. THE FRENCH ARE TOUTING AN INFORMAL DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UN FORCE TO REPLACE THE MNF. THIS HAS BEEN PROMPTLY HIJACKED BY THE RUSSIANS WHO HAVE SUGGESTED A NUMBER OF CONDITIONS THAT ARE BOUND TO BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE AMERICANS (AND PERHAPS THE FRENCH THEMSELVES). THE FRENCH WERE PROPOSING A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL FOR 15 FEBRUARY BUT MAY CHANGE THEIR MIND AFTER THE RUSSIAN BOMBSHELL.

DETAIL

2. NANTEUIL (FRANCE) ASKED TO SEE ME THIS AFTERNOON (13 FEBRUARY). HE HANDED ME THE INFORMAL DRAFT RESOLUTION IN MIFT. HE SAID THAT HE HAD ALREADY SPOKEN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE RUSSIANS, AMERICANS, ITALIANS AND LEBANESE. HE ALSO PLANNED TO SPEAK THIS EVENING TO THE SYRIANS, EGYPTIANS AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (WHO IS ILL IN BED).

3. HE SAID THAT OVINNIKOV (USSR) HAD IMMEDIATELY MADE THREE DEMANDS AND INSISTED THAT THESE WERE RIGID INSTRUCTIONS WHICH HE SAID WOULD HAVE TO BE MET BEFORE THERE COULD BE ANY NEGOTIATIONS ON THE



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SECONDLY THAT THE FLEET BELONGING TO THE MNF COUNTRIES SHOULD SAIL AWAY, NOT JUST OUT OF THE LEBANESE TERRITORIAL WATERS BUT OUT OF GUN RANGE OF LEBANON AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO AERIAL RAIDS BY MNF FORCES:

THIRDLY THAT THE MNF COUNTRIES SHOULD BE GIVEN AN UNDERTAKING OF NO FURTHER INTERFERENCE IN LEBANON. THESE THREE CONDITIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE PUT INTO A WRITTEN DOCUMENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE FRENCH WOULD HAVE TO DO THIS. NANTEUIL ASKED IF HE SERIOUSLY MEANT THAT THE FRENCH WOULD HAVE TO CIRCULATE A DOCUMENT EFFECTIVELY ASKING THEIR MNF PARTNERS TO DO SOVIET BIDDING AND GIVE THE UNDERTAKINGS FOR WHICH THE RUSSIANS WERE ASKING. OVINNIKOV REITERATED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO NEGOTIATIONS AS LONG AS THE RUSSIANS WERE NOT SUFFICIENTLY SATISFIED ON THE THREE POINTS. HE ACCEPTED THAT THEY COULD NOT BLOCK A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL BUT THEY WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE.

4. OVINNIKOV SAID ON THE FRENCH DRAFT ITSELF THAT THE RUSSIANS DID NOT CARE PARTICULARLY WHETHER IT WOULD BE A UN FORCE OR OBSERVERS. THEIR PREFERENCE WAS FOR TAKING ELEMENTS FROM UNIFIL (EXCEPT FROM PERMANENT MEMBERS). THE FORCE'S MANDATE, HOWEVER, WOULD HAVE TO BE LIMITED TO MONITORING A CEASEFIRE AND COULD NOT EXTEND TO PROTECTION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION EXCEPT PERHAPS IN SABRA AND CHATILA. THE LOCATION OF THE FORCE WOULD HAVE TO BE LIMITED TO BEIRUT. THE AGREEMENT OF ALL THE LEBANESE PARTIES WOULD BE NEEDED.

5. NANTEUIL DID NOT COMMENT ON THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS WHOM HE HAD CONSULTED APART FROM FAKHOURY (LEBANON) WHO HE SAID HAD SEEMED QUITE AT SEA AND HAD MADE NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT. THE FRENCH COUNSELLOR TOLD US THAT MRS KIRKPATRICK HAD SAID THAT SHE WAS UNSIGHTED AS SHE HAD ONLY JUST ARRIVED BACK IN NEW YORK (NOT IN FACT TRUE AS SHE HAD BEEN FULLY BRIEFED BEFOREHAND) AND HAD MADE NO REAL COMMENT BEYOND SAYING THAT THE TEXT WAS CLEVERLY DRAFTED.

6. I ASKED NANTEUIL HOW HE PROPOSED TO TAKE MATTERS FORWARD. HE REFUSED EVEN TO SPECULATE AND SAID THAT HE WOULD BE REFERRING TO PARIS FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

7. I SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL. SHAH NAWAZ SAID HE HAD AGREED WITH NANTEUIL THAT THE LATTER WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR HANDLING THE DRAFT RESOLUTION. NANTEUIL HAD ASKED HIM FOR PAKISTANI SPONSORSHIP BUT HE HAD BEEN NON-COMMITTAL. SHAH NAWAZ WAS KEEN TO KNOW THE AMERICAN REACTION AND PROPOSES TO SOUND OUT MRS KIRKPATRICK INFORMALLY TOMORROW (14 FEBRUARY). AS TO THE WAY AHEAD, NANTEUIL HAD TOLD HIM THAT THE FRENCH WANTED A FORMAL DEBATE IN THE COUNCIL ON WEDNESDAY, 15 FEBRUARY AND THAT HE WOULD REQUEST THIS IN WRITING TOMORROW. IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE SUBSEQUENT RUSSIAN REACTION WOULD LEAD THE FRENCH TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS. I TOLD SHAH NAWAZ THAT WE WERE PERFECTLY READY TO TAKE



SUBSEQUENT RUSSIAN REACTION WOULD LEAD THE FRENCH TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS. I TOLD SHAH NAWAZ THAT WE WERE PERFECTLY READY TO TAKE PART IN ANY FORMAL MEETING (SEE MY TELNO 154).

8. OVINNIKOV HAD EARLIER INFORMED THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND URQUHART OF THE RUSSIAN POSITION. URQUHART'S ACCOUNT OF THE RUSSIAN DEMANDS TALLIES WITH THAT IN PARAS. 3 AND 4 ABOVE WITH THE ADDITIONAL (AND IMPORTANT GLOSS) THAT ANY UN FORCE SHOULD BE FINANCED ON THE SAME BASIS AS UNFICYP (IE BY THE HOST GOVERNMENT AND TROOP CONTRIBUTORS HELPED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS). HE HAS TOLD THE HEAD OF CHANCERY THAT IN HIS VIEW THE RUSSIAN CONDITIONS ARE SKILFULLY DESIGNED TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE US AND OTHER MNF CONTRIBUTORS, THE US AND PRESIDENT GEMAYEL AND THE REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS. BUT HE WAS CRITICAL OF THE FRENCH FOR GIVING THE RUSSIANS THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE TROUBLE FOR THE AMERICANS WHO COULD NOT POSSIBLY ACCEPT THEM. IN HIS VIEW IT MADE NO SENSE AT ALL FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN PARIS AND WASHINGTON TO BE INFLAMED AT THIS STAGE. HE EARNESTLY HOPED THAT THE AMERICANS WOULD BE ALERTED SOON TO WHAT WAS HAPPENING.

COMMENT

9. THE FRENCH HAVE RUN INTO THE BRICK WALL FORECAST IN MY TELNO 143. AND SEEM AT A LOSS AS TO HOW TO PROCEED. IF NEVERTHELESS THEY CALL FOR A MEETING ON 15 FEBRUARY TO DISCUSS THE LEBANESE SITUATION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THEIR PROPOSAL, WE WOULD BE PROVIDED WITH AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO FURTHER OUR OWN IDEAS (SEE MY SECOND IFT).

MARGESTON

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