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DEPARTMENT FOR PA AND PA/PRESS
DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR MR. MCFARLANE AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR.
SPEAKES AND MR. SIMS
USIA FOR P ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR COURTNEY
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S ON-THE-RECORD BRIEFING,
JUNE 8, 1985

1. TEXT: (EN ROUTE HAMILTON, BERMUDA)

Q: YOU MIGHT HAVE NOTICED THE WASHINGTON POST STORY THIS
MORNING SAYING THAT THE SOVIETS HAD TOLD HUSSEIN THAT THEY
WERE INTERESTED IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ONLY WITH THE
UNITED STATES, NOT WITH THE OTHER U.N. MEMBERS. DID YOU
DISCUSS THIS WITH MRS. THATCHER AND HAVE YOU FORMULATED A
POSITION ON THIS VIEW?SHULTZ: WE DISCUSSED ALL ASPECTS OF THE VARIOUS PEACE
PROCESS MOVES AND AS SHE SAID LAST NIGHT, WHEN SHE MET WITH
THE PRESS AFTER OUR MEETING, BRITAIN, LIKE THE U.S., DOES NOT
FAVOR SUCH AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WHETHER IT'S ALL FIVE
MEMBERS OR U.S.-SOVIET SPONSORED OR HOWEVER IT'S CONSTRUCTED.Q: DOES THIS STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET MAKE JORDAN'S POSITION
MORE DIFFICULT -- MORE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO MANEUVER AND
ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS?A: IT CERTAINLY SHOWS HOW HARD IT IS TO ARRANGE A CONFERENCE
THAT INCLUDES PEOPLE WITH GREATLY DIVERGENT POINTS OF VIEW
ABOUT WHAT SHOULD TAKE PLACE. AND OUR OBJECTIONS TO THE
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CONFERENCE ARE BASED TO A VERY CONSIDERABLE DEGREE ON THE
ASSESSMENT THAT IN THE END, IT WOULDN'T PRODUCE WHAT JORDAN
WANTS, BECAUSE OF THE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION GOING IN.Q: IS THERE A POSSIBILITY, MR. SECRETARY, OF A JOINT
BRITISH-UNITED STATES INITIATIVE ON THE MIDDLE EAST TO GET
THESE PEACE TALKS GOING?A: WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF HOW YOU MIGHT CONSTRUCT
A SO-CALLED UMBRELLA, JUST USING KING HUSSEIN'S PHRASE, IN
VARIOUS POSSIBLE WAYS. AND WE HAVEN'T COME TO ANY CONCLUSION
ABOUT IT, BUT BOTH MRS. THATCHER AND I SHARED SOME VIEWS**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Robert Homme, Senior
Reviewer**

ABOUT THAT SUBJECT, BUT WE DIDN'T COME TO ANY CONCLUSIONS.

Q: YOU WOULDN'T RULE IT OUT, THOUGH?

A: WELL, I WOULDN'T RULE ANYTHING OUT EXCEPT THE KIND OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE THAT IS BEING PROPOSED, OR HAS BEEN IN THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL. BUT, I THINK WE ALL HAVE TO BE CLEAR THAT, AT LEAST AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, THE OBJECTIVE IS DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. AND THE QUESTION IS HOW DO YOU GET THERE IN A MANNER THAT INVOLVES THE CONSTITUENCIES OF BOTH SIDES OF THE NEGOTIATING TABLE TO THE FULLEST POSSIBLE EXTENT.

Q: YOU TALKED ABOUT IN-BETWEEN STEPS, I THINK THAT WAS MRS. THATCHER'S PHRASE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON. ARE THE IN-BETWEEN STEPS ANYTHING OTHER THAN -- THAT YOU HAD THE VIEW AND PERHAPS MRS. THATCHER HAD IN MIND -- ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE JOINT PALESTINIAN/JORDANIAN DELEGATION TALKING WITH THE U.S.?

A: WELL THAT'S THE STEP THAT'S BEEN TALKED ABOUT THE MOST. OF COURSE, WE CONCEIVE OF THAT STEP AS A STEP DEFINITELY TOWARD DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, NOT AN INDEPENDENT EVENT IN AND OF ITSELF. AND THE AGENDA FOR IT, AS SET OUT BY KING HUSSEIN WHEN WE TALKED TO HIM, WAS A DISCUSSION OF 242 AND 338 AND AN EFFORT BASICALLY TO NAIL DOWN ACCEPTANCES OF THOSE RESOLUTIONS.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU THINK THAT A MEETING OF THE UNITED
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STATES, THE EEC COUNTRIES AND PERHAPS SOME OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES MIGHT BE A USEFUL WAY TO TALK ABOUT THIS "UMBRELLA" THAT THE KING WANTS?

A: I THINK THERE ARE A NUMBER OF POSSIBLE WAYS FOR US TO CONTEMPLATE AND TALK TO KING HUSSEIN ABOUT. WHAT YOU SAY IS A VARIATION ON THE THEME. BUT LET ME REITERATE THAT THE OBJECTIVE IS DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. AND THE QUESTION IS HOW DO YOU GET THERE? AND WHAT WILL BE HELPFUL IN ADDRESSING THESE VARIOUS CONSTITUENCIES?

Q: KING HUSSEIN, I THINK, HAS PROPOSED SORT OF A FOUR-STEP ARRANGEMENT, ONE IN WHICH THE MEETING YOU JUST SPOKE OF WOULD BE HELD. AND THEN IT GETS PRETTY COMPLICATED. BUT THERE ARE OTHER MEETINGS -- ANOTHER MEETING AT WHICH THE PLO WOULD MAKE THIS UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT THAT IS REQUIRED. THEN THE PLO WOULD COME INTO THE MEETING, HAVING BEEN, SHOWN THEIR CREDENTIALS. I'M NOT QUITE SURE HOW IT GOES FROM THERE, BUT, AS I RECALL, THERE WERE FOUR SEPARATE STEPS THAT HE WAS PLANNING. ARE YOU FAMILIAR WITH THOSE AND HOW DOES THAT SOUND TO YOU?

A: WELL, I READ THE ACCOUNT OF THE INTERVIEW WITH MASRI IN WASHINGTON. I THINK THAT'S WHERE THAT COMES FROM. AND WHAT HE DESCRIBES IS A SERIES OF STEPS INVOLVING THE U.S. IN DISCUSSION WITH VARYING LEVELS OF PALESTINIANS. THAT'S NOT WHAT WE'RE LOOKING TO. WE'RE LOOKING TO STEPS THAT LEAD TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. SO THEY'RE GOING OFF IN ONE DIRECTION AND WE'RE REALLY TALKING ABOUT ANOTHER DIRECTION. BUT I THINK IT'S ONLY BY WAY OF SAYING THAT THE PROBLEM OF HOW YOU

PROVIDE, ON THE ONE HAND AN UMBRELLA OF SOME SORT SO KING HUSSEIN DOESN'T FEEL ISOLATED AND ISN'T ISOLATED, AND ON THE OTHER, HOW YOU PROVIDE FOR PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT THE DIRECT TALKS. THOSE ARE THE OBJECTS. AND EVERYTHING ELSE IS A QUESTION OF PEOPLE LOOKING THIS WAY AND THAT TO FIGURE OUT HOW YOU MIGHT GET TO THE OBJECTIVE.

Q: ARE YOU ANY NEARER THE UMBRELLA AS A RESULT OF YOUR TALKS, BOTH IN LISBON AND WITH MRS. THATCHER LAST NIGHT? IS IT BEGINNING TO TAKE SHAPE AT ALL?

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A: WELL, I DON'T HAVE IN MIND ANYTHING EXPLICIT THAT SEEMS TO HAVE EMERGED, BUT I THINK IT'S BEEN QUITE USEFUL TO EXCHANGE IDEAS ON THE SUBJECT. OF COURSE, THE PERSON WE HAVE TO REALLY EXCHANGE IDEAS WITH IN THE END IS KING HUSSEIN.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, DOES THE UNITED STATES NOW HAVE A LIST OF ACCEPTABLE PALESTINIANS FOR MR. MURPHY AND AN ACCOMPANYING DELEGATION TO MEET WITH?

A: I DON'T THINK SO. ...AND I DON'T THINK WE HAVE IN WASHINGTON.

Q: THE REASON I ASK THAT QUESTION IS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS ALLEGED TO HAVE CONFIRMED A LIST OF A SPECIFIC NINE PALESTINIANS. AND I JUST WONDER IF YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THAT PARTICULAR LIST?

A: WELL, THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOMETHING HAPPEN LATE YESTERDAY OR LAST NIGHT THAT I'M JUST NOT UP WITH. MRS. THATCHER HAD SOME DISCUSSION WITH THE KING WHICH SHE RELATED TO ME. BUT CERTAINLY THE OBJECT HERE IS HAVING TALKED ABOUT THE CRITERIA -- WHO, WHAT KINDS OF PEOPLE WE ARE LOOKING FOR, AS I DESCRIBED IN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON TOWARD THE END OF KING HUSSEIN'S VISIT. WE NOW HAVE TO MAKE THAT OPERATIONAL IN TERMS OF NAMES. SO PRESUMABLY THAT'S THE WAY TO START, WITH A GROUP. I DON'T THINK WE WANT A LARGE NUMBER IN A MEETING. PROBABLY THREE IS SUFFICIENT.

Q: I UNDERSTAND THAT MAX KAMPELMAN WAS AT THE CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING --

A: THAT'S CORRECT. ALL THREE OF THE NEGOTIATORS WERE THERE, PLUS AMBASSADORS NITZE AND ROWNY.

Q: I'M WONDERING IF YOU CAN TELL US WHAT THEY TOLD YOU ABOUT THE PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS AND WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS ANYTHING MORE TO REPORT ON A POSSIBLE MEETING WITH GROMYKO AT HELSINKI AND THE KIND OF WAYS THAT THE MEETING WOULD BE APPROACHED, STRATEGY-WISE?

A: THERE'S NOTHING NEW TO SAY IN TERMS OF THE START OF THE

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SECOND ROUND. IT'S REALLY JUST GOTTEN STARTED. AS FAR AS MY MEETING WITH GROMYKO, I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING BEYOND WHAT I

SAID YESTERDAY, NAMELY THAT WITHOUT EXCEPTION WE HAVE GOTTEN TOGETHER WHEN WE'RE IN THE SAME CITY THAT WAY. AND SO THERE ISN'T ANY ARRANGEMENT IN PLACE RIGHT NOW, BUT MY EXPECTATION IS THAT THERE WILL BE ONE.

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Q: MR. SECRETARY, THE CONGRESS IN RECENT MONTHS HAS TAKEN
ACTIONS AIMED AT STOPPING FUTURE ARMS SALES TO JORDAN,
PUTTING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER
THINGS THAT MIGHT BE CALLED MEDDLING IN FOREIGN POLICY. CAN
YOU ASSESS THAT IN TERMS OF HOW IT MAKES YOUR JOB MORE
DIFFICULT AND WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT IT?

A: BOTH OF THE THINGS THAT YOU MENTIONED ARE STEPS THAT WE
OPPOSE. ON THE OTHER HAND I WOULDN'T CHARACTERIZE THAT AS
MEDDLING IN FOREIGN POLICY. THAT IS PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO
HAVE THEIR VIEWS, INCLUDING ME. AND WE ARGUE THESE THINGS
OUT. AND, BECAUSE I DISAGREE WITH SOME EFFORT THAT THE
CONGRESS MAY BE MAKING, OR THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF
CONGRESS ARE MAKING, I DON'T WANT TO SEEM TO TRIVIALIZE IT.
THERE ARE LOTS OF CASES IN WHICH IT SEEMS TO ME THAT CONGRESS
IS EXCESSIVELY MICRO-MANAGING FOREIGN POLICY WITH CONDITIONS
THAT ARE IMPOSED AND IN VARIOUS OTHER WAYS. AND I BELIEVE A
BROAD AND DEEP DISCUSSION OF ALL THIS WOULD BE WORTHWHILE. I
HOPE THAT WE CAN HAVE SUCH A DISCUSSION. HAVING SAID THAT, I
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THINK THAT THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO BE TELLING JORDAN THAT WE
WON'T LOOK TO THEIR SECURITY PROBLEMS. AND I ALSO THINK IT'S
NOT A GOOD POLICY TO TRY TO DISENGAGE OURSELVES FROM ECONOMIC
ACTIVITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. IN THE FORMER CASE, BECAUSE JORDAN
HAS EXPLICITLY MADE SOME SIGNIFICANT STEPS TOWARD PEACE. AND
I THINK THAT SHOULD BE WELCOMED RATHER THAN REACTED
NEGATIVELY TO. AND IN THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA, I THINK IT'S
PRETTY CLEAR THAT THOSE WHO YOU HURT BY SUCH SANCTIONS THE
MOST ARE BLACKS AND THERE ARE QUITE A NUMBER OF CREDIBLE
POLLS IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE TO YOU THAT
SHOW THAT THAT'S THE VIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS AS WELL.

Q: COULD I FOLLOW THAT, SIR? IT SEEMS THAT SOMETHING IN THE
ADMINISTRATION TURNED SENATOR NUNN'S VIEWS TOWARD NATO
AROUND. IS THAT KIND OF EFFORT, BEHIND THE SCENES, UNDERWAY
WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION TO CHANGE SOME MINDS ON JORDAN?

A: WELL, AS FAR AS SENATOR NUNN AND NATO IS CONCERNED, HE'S
QUITE A STUDENT OF WHAT GOES ON IN NATO AND YOU WOULD HAVE TO
ASK HIM ABOUT WHAT BROUGHT ABOUT HIS MOST RECENT AMENDMENTS.

BUT HE'S ALWAYS BEEN A CONSTRUCTIVE PERSON WITH REGARD TO NATO, EVEN WHEN HE HAS OFFERED THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN CRITICAL, AND I THINK IT HAS BEEN IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT. AND I THINK THESE LATEST MOVES THAT WERE IDENTIFIED IN THE NATO MEETING, AND I BELIEVE LORD CARRINGTON REFERRED TO THEM AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE, I THINK ARE QUITE CREATIVE AND GOOD THINGS THAT SHOULD BE QUITE HELPFUL. NOW, INsofar AS JORDAN IS CONCERNED, OBVIOUSLY WE ARE TRYING TO POINT UP TO PEOPLE THE FACT THAT THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS. NO ONE HAS BEEN QUICKER TO ALSO POINT UP THE PROBLEMS THAN I HAVE. BUT THAT DOESN'T GAINSAY THE PROGRESS. AND I THINK WE NEED TO BRING THAT OUT. AND THERE ARE ALSO, OF COURSE, IN THE MIDDLE EAST OTHER STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS TO BE BORNE IN MIND AS THE BROADER STUDY WILL BRING OUT.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, WHERE DO WE STAND ON THE JORDAN ARMS SALES
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QUESTION? ON THE WAY OVER, YOU INDICATED THAT CONGRESS WAS ABOUT TO BE BRIEFED. HAVE THE BRIEFINGS BEGUN? HAS THE PACKAGE BEEN SUBMITTED? AND IF NOT, WHEN DO YOU THINK IT'S GOING TO BE?

A: WELL, NOTHING HAS STARTED EXPLICITLY AS YET TO MY KNOWLEDGE. WE ENVISAGE A COUPLE OF STAGES HERE. ONE IS THE BRIEFING ON THE BROADER MIDEAST STRATEGIC STUDY. AND IT'S INTO THE CONCEPTS THERE THAT SPECIFIC PROPOSALS WOULD FIT. AND SO I THINK IT WILL BE SORT OF A ONE-TWO PROCESS. AND I DON'T THINK THERE'S BEEN -- THE PRESIDENT HASN'T MADE A DECISION ON PRECISELY WHEN HE WILL WANT TO GO UP AND PRECISELY WHAT THE PACKAGE WILL BE AND SO ON.

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANY TIMEFRAME YOU CAN GIVE US? IS IT GOING TO BE THIS MONTH, NEXT WEEK?

A: WELL, IT'S UNDER DISCUSSION SO I, I REALLY CAN'T SAY FOR SURE. BUT MY GUESS IS THAT PROBABLY SOME TIME THIS MONTH WE'LL BE TALKING ABOUT IT. BUT I DON'T KNOW. NO DECISION'S BEEN MADE.

Q: TO FOLLOW UP AN EARLIER QUESTION JUST BRIEFLY, FROM ANOTHER CONTEXT THAT I CAN'T MAKE REFERENCE TO FOR REASONS THAT WOULD BE OBVIOUS, IT IS MY IMPRESSION --

A: DO YOU MEAN SOME DEEP BACKGROUND INTERVIEW YOU HAD?

Q: NO. I DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT. IT'S MY IMPRESSION --

A: IF YOU WON'T DISCLOSE YOUR SOURCES, I WON'T DISCLOSE MINE.

Q: IT'S MY IMPRESSION THAT YOU SEEM TO FEEL THAT SYRIA, AT THIS MOMENT, MAY BE MORE OF A PROBLEM, MORE OF A BLOCKAGE IN MAKING MIDDLE EAST PROGRESS TOWARD DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS THAN THE SOVIET UNION. PERHAPS I MISINTERPRETED WHAT I HEARD. BUT I'D LIKE TO HEAR WHAT YOUR VIEWS ARE ON THAT.

A: WELL, I DON'T WANT TO TRY TO DISTINGUISH ONE COUNTRY FROM THE OTHER, BUT I THINK THEY BOTH HAVE DONE THINGS AND SAID THINGS THAT MAKE IT CLEAR THAT SUCH MOVES AS KING HUSSEIN'S AGREEMENT WITH THE PLO OF A MONTH OR SO AGO, THEY OPPOSE. SO WE THINK THINGS OF THAT KIND ARE A MOVE IN A POSITIVE

DIRECTION. THEY OPPOSE THEM. AND I THINK THAT THAT'S PRETTY
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PLAIN.

Q: JUST ONE MORE THING, SIR. COULD YOU TELL US -- THERE WAS
A STORY IN THE WASHINGTON POST TODAY THAT SAID THE PRESIDENT
HAD DECIDED THE S.A.L.T. II ISSUE. HE DECIDED ON BASIC
COMPLIANCE, BUT SOME AREAS OF MAYBE NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE
SOVIET'S ARMS. IS THAT YOUR UNDERSTANDING AS WELL?

A: IF THE PRESIDENT'S MADE A DECISION ALREADY I'M NOT AWARE
OF IT. BUT I KNOW THAT HE WAITED FOR MY CABLE WHICH WENT
THURSDAY EVENING OUT OF LISBON, SO THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SAY
WASHINGTON TIME, HE MUST HAVE GOTTEN THAT CABLE. AND I HAD
THOUGHT THAT PROBABLY TODAY HE WOULD MAKE HIS DECISION, BUT I
DON'T KNOW.

Q: HOW WOULD YOU FEEL ABOUT A DECISION LIKE THAT? HOW WOULD
IT BE PRESENTED TO THE ALLIES; NOW THAT YOU'VE GOTTEN THEIR
VIEWS, THEY DON'T WANT IT TORN UP, CLEARLY. AND WHAT WOULD
THE SOVIETS BE ABLE TO MAKE OF IT, DO YOU THINK?

A: WELL, THE PRESIDENT'S CONSIDERING WHAT DECISION HE'LL
MAKE. AND I'M SURE HE'LL MAKE THE WISEST DECISION POSSIBLE,
GIVEN ALL THE FACTS AT HAND, AND THAT WE'LL ALL SWING IN TO
SEE THAT IT WORKS.

Q: THAT'S WHAT YOU TOLD US ON THE WAY TO PORTUGAL.

A: WELL, I HAVEN'T CHANGED MY MIND.

Q: THANK YOU.
(END TRANSCRIPT)
SHULTZ

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