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EO 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)
SUBJECT: SECRETARY/THATCHER MARCH 1 DISCUSSION:
MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY: IN 90-MINUTE CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER, THE SECRETARY DESCRIBED HIS LATEST ROUND OF MIDDLE EAST TALKS. THE SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION FOCUSSED LARGELY ON HUSSEIN. THATCHER APPLAUDED THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS, DOUBTED THAT SHAMIR UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD PROVE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ALLOW NEGOTIATIONS TO PROCEED AND EXPRESSED STRONG CONCERN ABOUT HUSSEIN'S DIFFICULT POSITION. ATTENDING THE MEETING WERE FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWE, PRIVATE SECRETARY POWELL AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY MURPHY. END SUMMARY.
3. REVIEWING HIS TRIP, THE SECRETARY CITED THE THEMES OF HIS TEL AVIV ARRIVAL STATEMENT LAST FRIDAY AND DESCRIBED HIS SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS IN ISRAEL, JORDAN, EGYPT AND SYRIA. HE HAD HAD CLEAR AND RATIONAL DISCUSSIONS IN ALL PLACES. EGYPT HAD BEEN

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The Middle East Peace Process

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SUPPORTIVE. SYRIA, BELIEVING THERE MUST BE AN "AUTHORITATIVE CONFERENCE" WAS ANOTHER MATTER BUT HE HAD HAD TO GO TO DAMASCUS FOR THE SAKE OF JORDAN. AS OF NOW, HE HAD TABLED NO OFFICIAL US POSITION WITH AREA LEADERS. WE ENVISAGED DOING SO SHORTLY AND, IF THE PROCESS GETS MOVING, LATER TABLING AN AMERICAN DRAFT ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS TO SPEED THINGS UP. WE VISUALIZED THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AS A "CONTINUING CONCEPT TO RECEIVE REPORTS." WHERE PERES HAD LIKED OUR APPROACH, SHAMIR WAS EXTREMELY UNCOMFORTABLE WITH IT. HE KNOWS THINGS HAVE TO CHANGE AND LIKUD'S POSITION MUST SHIFT BUT HE DOES NOT KNOW HOW TO BRING THIS ABOUT.

4. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WAS THINKING ABOUT US/SOVIET CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE CONFERENCE, BUT SAID HE WAS UNSURE WHETHER TO GIVE THIS CARD TO THE SOVIETS. OUR PRESENT CONCEPT IN ANY EVENT, WOULD PROVIDE A BETTER FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS THAN THAT FOR THE 1973 GENEVA CONFERENCE.

5. IN THE PRESENT ISRAELI ATMOSPHERE, THE SECRETARY SAID IF WE TABLE OUR CONCEPT IT WOULD BE VERY HARD FOR SHAMIR TO WALK AWAY FROM IT. AS FOR JORDAN, HUSSEIN FEELS THE NEED FOR TWO ADDITIONS TO OUR CONCEPT: TO SPELL OUT THAT 242 MEANS ISRAEL'S PREPAREDNESS TO GIVE UP TERRITORY, AND TO SPECIFY THAT THE PLO MUST BE INVITED TO THE CONFERENCE. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD NO DOUBT WHAT 242 MEANS, BUT DID NOT SEE HOW SHAMIR COULD SAY THIS, ESPECIALLY WITH ELECTIONS COMING UP. SHAMIR, HOWEVER, HAD TOLD HIM HE IS READY TO DISCUSS SOVEREIGNTY. THATCHER

INTERJECTED "THAT LAND IS NOT HIS; THAT IS THE PROBLEM."



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6. AS FOR A PLO INVITATION, THERE COULD BE PALESTINIANS IN A JOINT DELEGATION ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH JORDAN AND ISRAEL. THE QUESTION FACING US IS WHETHER ISRAEL WILL ACCEPT OUR CONCEPT AND WHETHER WE SHOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS THE "EXTRA STROKE" OF BEING CO-CHAIRMAN. TRYING TO WRITE "TERRITORY FOR PEACE" INTO THE DOCUMENT WOULD SURELY MEAN SHAMIR WALKING AWAY. TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE, MUST BE DISCUSSED. THE NATURE OF SOVEREIGNTY IS TRICKY AND IS WHAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD END UP BEING ABOUT. SO WE HAVE THE OPTION OF TABLING AND SEE WHO WOULD TURN IT DOWN. NO ONE WANTS TO TURN IT DOWN. HOWEVER, WE COULD LET THE SITUATION SETTLE FOR AWHILE WITH SHAMIR COMING TO WASHINGTON IN MID-MARCH. THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION ARE DISTURBED. JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAD SAID THE SECRETARY'S TRIP MUST PRODUCE A PAPER, OTHERWISE THERE WILL BE AN EXPLOSION. ONCE THE PAPER IS TABLED, "I KNOW THE FAT WILL BE IN THE FIRE." WHILE THE US CAN WALK AWAY FROM THIS, THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION CANNOT. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT ONE CREDENTIAL HE HELD IS SHAMIR'S TRUST.

7. THATCHER SAID SHE WAS VERY PLEASED THE US IS MAKING SUCH A MAJOR EFFORT. SHE COULD SEE SOME MOVEMENT BECAUSE OF THE WAY THE SECRETARY HAD CONDUCTED HIMSELF. HIS IS THE ONLY MISSION WHICH HAS A CHANCE OF METAMORPHASIZING INTO SOMETHING THAT MAY WORK. NEITHER ISRAEL NOR JORDAN WOULD WANT TO PULL OUT AND THAT ARGUES FOR CONTINUING. THE REAL DIFFICULTY, HOWEVER, IS THAT THIS IS NOT GOING TO BE AN ORDINARY NEGOTIATION. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF

DIFFERENCES ONE CAN NEGOTIATE AWAY. THERE IS A REAL BARRIER. SHAMIR IS, AS BEGIN WAS, "A BIBLICAL TIMES MAN." HE CANNOT GIVE THE TERRITORIES BACK. SHAMIR'S VIEWS ON LAND WERE NOT THOSE OF OTHER JEWISH LEADERS



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SUCH AS THE UK CHIEF RABBI WHO CONSTANTLY CITED THE PRECEPT THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE URGED TO DWELL IN PEACE AND SAFETY WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS. THIS IS NOT YET SHAMIR'S VIEW. SOMETHING IS NEEDED TO MOVE SHAMIR.

PERHAPS IT WILL BE TERRIBLE VIOLENCE WHICH THE PARENTS OF YOUNG IDF SOLDIERS WILL REACT AGAINST AND TELL ISRAELI LEADERS "YOU MUST NEGOTIATE." THAT IS WHY SHAMIR HAD TOLD THE SECRETARY A NEW PAGE HAS BEEN TURNED. OF COURSE HE IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT HIS ELECTIONS.

8. EVENTUALLY, THATCHER CONTINUED, SHAMIR WILL MOVE. HE KNOWS THERE IS A DEMOGRAPHIC TIMEBOMB AND THAT HE CANNOT INTEGRATE THE LANDS. THEREFORE, IT WOULD SUIT HIM NOT TO HAVE A REAL TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BUT AN AUTONOMY STAGE WHICH WOULD BE A KIND OF APARTHEID. THIS WOULD SOLVE THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEM AND HUSSEIN KNOWS THIS. WHAT IS BEING SUGGESTED IS NOT TRANSITION. TRANSITION IS WHERE YOU KNOW WHERE YOU ARE AND WHERE YOU WANT TO GET TO. THAT IS NOT WHAT SHAMIR IS SUGGESTING.

9. WHAT SHE UNDERSTANDS OF THE US PROPOSAL IS THAT IT IS "NOT A LOCK, BUT A TENUOUS LINK." HUSSEIN REALIZES THIS. IF HE GOES INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT GETTING LAND BACK, HUSSEIN WILL BE FINISHED. WE MUST CONSIDER WHETHER EVENTS WILL REDUCE THE HEIGHT OF THE PRESENT BARRIER TO ALLOW NEGOTIATIONS. THE LOCK HAS TO BE REAL AND IMPLEMENTATION OF TRANSITIONAL

ARRANGEMENTS DO NOT START UNTIL YOU KNOW THE SHAPE OF FINAL OUTCOME. IT MIGHT BE EASIER WERE SHAMIR 30 YEARS YOUNGER. SHE REPEATED THAT THE ANSWER WILL COME FROM THE PARENTS OF ISRAELI SOLDIERS WHO ARE INCREASINGLY FORCED TO CONFRONT STONE-THROWING MOBS.

10. TURNING TO HOW TO START THE INTERNATIONAL



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CONFERENCE. THATCHER FOCUSED ON THE SOVIET ROLE. AS SHE HAD SAID TO MURPHY AT OTTAWA, THE SOVIETS HAVE THEIR OWN NATIONAL PROBLEMS AND IT IS DIFFICULT TO RIDE TWO HORSES AT THE SAME TIME. WE SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN IN BY THE SOVIETS, NOTING THEIR "PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE" ONE MOMENT AND THE NEXT MOMENT DESCRIBING THEM AS "OUR CHUMS." SHE ACKNOWLEDGED SHE WAS EXAGGERATING TO MAKE HER POINT. THE US HAS TAKEN GORBACHEV'S MEASURE AS HAS SHE AND SHE STILL WATCHES HIS EVERY MOVE. TO ELEVATE HIM IN WORLD EYES IS PROBLEMATIC. WHEN YOU HAVE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS, TO CHOP OFF THREE IS "DIFFICULT BUT DOABLE." PERHAPS AFTER THIS CURRENT EXPERIENCE IN THE TERRITORIES, EVENTS AND FEELINGS WILL MOVE SHAMIR. IT MIGHT BE BEST NOT TO REDUCE OUR PROPOSAL TO PAPER AT THIS TIME. AS FOR GOLAN, SHE FORESAW A PERMANENT PRESENCE OF UN FORCES. SHE RECALLED 1985 WHEN THE USG WAS VERY CLOSE TO GETTING A LIST OF PALESTINIANS TO TALK TO, AND SUGGESTED THAT WE SET ASIDE ANY PAPER AND TURN TO BUILDING A TEAM OF PALESTINIANS WITH WHOM WE WOULD NEGOTIATE.

11. HOWE APPLAUDED THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE SECRETARY HAD MOVED THE PROCESS FORWARD. HUSSEIN DOES NOT WANT TO GET BOGGED DOWN AND THIS IS WHY HE WANTS ASSURANCES FROM SHAMIR. HE ALSO NEEDS ASSURANCES ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION. THE PRESENT HANG-UPS BLOCKING THE PEACE PROCESS WILL NOT IMMEDIATELY DISAPPEAR, PERHAPS NOT BEFORE THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS.

THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE PROCESS IS NOW ENERGIZED BUT NOT SUFFICIENTLY SO FOR HUSSEIN TO LET IT MOVE AHEAD.

12. THE PRIME MINISTER THEN OBSERVED THAT WE ARE REMARKABLY CLOSE TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. THE NEXT THING THAT WILL MOVE IS IF THE PALESTINIANS ARE READY TO BE INVOLVED. IN HER VIEW, THE US VIEW OF



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 "TRANSITION" SUITS SHAMIR BUT WOULD BE THE DEATH OF
 HUSSEIN. SHE NOTED THAT THE UK JEWISH COMMUNITY,
 NORMALLY TOTALLY UNITED BEHIND ISRAEL, WHETHER RIGHT
 OR WRONG, TODAY IS DIVIDED. SHE URGED THE SECRETARY
 NOT TO GIVE UP BUT FELT THIS MIGHT NOT BE THE TIME TO
 REDUCE OUR CONCEPT TO WRITING. THIS COULD PUT PEOPLE
 INTO THE TRENCHES.

13. HOWE NOTED THAT WHAT THE SECRETARY HAS IN MIND IS
 A US/SOVIET INVITATION SINCE SHAMIR HAS SUCH
 DIFFICULTIES WITH HAVING THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS
 INVOLVED. THATCHER INTERRUPTED SAYING IF THAT IS ALL
 THAT BLOCKS THE ROAD IT IS ALL RIGHT. NONE OF THE
 OTHER THREE WOULD OBJECT. BUT -WE MUST WORK TO BRING
 DOWN THE "SHAMIR BARRIER" OF EQUATING TRANSITIONAL
 WITH FINAL STATUS ISSUES. THE SECRETARY ACKNOWLEDGED
 THAT TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IS WHAT SHAMIR HOPES
 FOR BUT IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT IT
 WILL WORK. THATCHER OBSERVED THAT HUSSEIN DOES NOT
 WANT A NEW "BLACK SEPTEMBER." THERE IS STILL MUCH TO
 NEGOTIATE. SHE DID NOT MEAN TO DEPRESS THE SECRETARY
 BECAUSE SHE DID BELIEVE EVENTS ARE GOING TO MOVE OUR
 WAY.

14. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WAS DEBATING WHETHER TO GO
 BACK TO WASHINGTON OR MAKE A FURTHER SWING THROUGH

THE REGION. THATCHER SAID THAT EVERYONE HOPES HE
 WILL GO ON BUT THERE MIGHT BE MORE RESULTS ACHIEVED
 FROM NOT GOING BACK IMMEDIATELY. "DOING NOTHING IS A
 VERY POWERFUL WEAPON." SHE HATED TO NEGOTIATE WITH
 THOSE WHO LEANED TO VIOLENCE. HOWEVER, SHE HAD TO
 ADMIT THAT IN THE CASE OF RHODESIA SHE HAD HAD TO
 NEGOTIATE BECAUSE MUGABE AND NKOMO HAD PURSUED
 TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE AND WOULD HAVE DESTROYED
 EVERYTHING.



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15. HOWE SAID THE POINTS WE ARE TALKING ABOUT ARE OF SUCH IMPORTANCE TO HUSSEIN THAT HE DOUBTED WE WOULD HAVE MUCH EFFECT BY RETURNING IMMEDIATELY TO THE REGION. THE SECRETARY SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT HUSSEIN, "A VERY INTELLIGENT AND COURAGEOUS MAN," WILL FEAR HE IS BEING TAKEN FOR A RIDE. THATCHER REITERATED THAT OUR LOCK IS NOT YET A LOCK BUT A MEANS TO ENDLESS NEGOTIATIONS. THE SECRETARY THEN REFERRED TO THE RECENT ISRAELI NEWSPAPER POLL SAYING THAT 51 SUPPORTED HIS INITIATIVE AND 40 OPPOSED. PERES HAD FOUND THIS REMARKABLE AND EXCITING.

16. THATCHER WARNED THERE COULD BE ANOTHER BLOODY WAR. SHE SAID SHE WOULD LET HUSSEIN TALK TO HER AND LISTEN CLOSELY TO HOW HE SEES OUR PROPOSED "LOCK." THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD TRIED TO PROVIDE SOMETHING FOR EACH PARTICIPANT. SHAMIR IS AFRAID THAT JORDAN WILL DRAG ITS FEET ON TRANSITIONAL NEGOTIATIONS AND HUSSEIN FEARS THAT SHAMIR WILL GET WHAT HE WANTS. THATCHER DOUBTED THAT TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE NEEDED. WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE TO HUSSEIN THAT THE IDF WILL BE OUT, ALTHOUGH SHE DOUBTED THEY WOULD GET OUT OF EAST JERUSALEM. EVEN TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE GIVEN THE ISSUE OF SECURITY. THE SECRETARY AFFIRMED THERE IS A GREAT DEAL TO BE SAID FOR TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

PROVIDED HUSSEIN COULD FEEL CONFIDENCE THERE WOULD BE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS. THATCHER DESCRIBED THE KING AS "INTERNATIONALLY MINDED" TO EVEN CONSIDER TAKING THE TERRITORIES BACK WHICH ARE SEETHING WITH TROUBLE. FOR THIS REASON, THERE MUST BE A CONFEDERAL ARRANGEMENT.

17. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH THATCHER PROMISING TO REVIEW HER HUSSEIN MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY IN BRUSSELS.



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