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SECRET
FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON
TELNO 63
OF 131400Z JANUARY 1986
AND TO IMMEDIATE RIYADH
INFO IMMEDIATE AMMAN, DAMASCUS, TEL AVIV, JERUSALEM, CAIRO
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK

(RIYADH FOR SECRETARY OF STATE)
YOUR TELNO 75: ARAB/ISRAEL: US VIEWS

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF A MESSAGE FROM SHULTZ TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE DELIVERED BY THE US AMBASSADOR TODAY:
BEGINS: DEAR GEOFFREY:

WITH THE COMING OF THE NEW YEAR, I AM FOCUSING ONCE
AGAIN ON THE FRUSTRATING BUSINESS OF TRYING TO HELP THE PARTIES
IN THE MIDDLE EAST FIND THEIR RESPECTIVE WAYS TO THE NEGOTIATING
TABLE. I AM ALSO VERY KEENLY AWARE THAT BEFORE THE MONTH IS OUT,
HMG WILL HAVE PLAYED HOST TO BOTH KING HUSSEIN AND PRIME MINISTER
PERES. I, THEREFORE, THOUGHT IT AN APPROPRIATE TIME TO SPARE A
FEW THOUGHTS ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH I KNOW IS OF CONCERN TO YOU
AS WELL.

TRYING AS THIS PROCESS MAY BE, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT
BOTH HUSSEIN AND PERES WANT TO FIND ANSWERS TO THE COMPLEX
QUESTIONS THAT MUST BE ADDRESSED. AS LONG AS THEY ARE DETERMINED

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TO PROCEED, THEY DESERVE THE BEST ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE WE CAN GIVE THEM.

AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THIS SUBJECT HAS BECOME MUCH MORE COMPLICATED IN RECENT WEEKS - AND IN WAYS WHICH FRANKLY GIVE ME PAUSE - DUE PRIMARILY TO THE JORDANIAN RAPPROCHEMENT WITH SYRIA AND THE FAILURE OF ARAFAT TO GIVE THE KING WHAT HE NEEDS IN ORDER TO PORTRAY THE PLO AS A POTENTIALLY CONSTRUCTIVE PLAYER. THE KING HAS APPARENTLY BROUGHT ASAD FURTHER THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TOWARD ACCEPTING A REALISTIC PROCESS. A DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD PLEASE ME MORE WERE I MORE OPTIMISTIC REGARDING ASAD'S MOTIVATIONS.

MUCH OF MY OWN CONCERN ARISES FROM THE CURRENT THRUST OF THE KING'S OWN THINKING ON AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. AS YOU ARE AWARE, OUR OWN THOUGHTS ON THIS GENERAL SUBJECT HAVE EVOLVED CONSIDERABLY IN AN EFFORT TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE KING'S UNDERSTANDABLE DESIRE FOR INTERNATIONAL LEGITIMACY AS HE MOVES TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. PERES HAS ALSO MOVED THE ISRAELI POSITION ON THIS ISSUE A CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE. THE MORE RECENT JORDANIAN EMBELLISHMENT OF THE CONFERENCE CONCEPT, HOWEVER, IS MORE THAN WE CAN DIGEST - IE, THE NOTION THAT ISSUES THAT CANNOT BE RESOLVED BY THE NEGOTIATING PARTIES WILL BE REFERRED FOR RESOLUTION TO THE CONFERENCE, WHICH WILL REMAIN IN BEING AFTER DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN. QUITE FRANKLY, I HAVE ENOUGH TROUBLE WITH THE GENERAL IDEA OF A PERPETUAL CONFERENCE, WITHOUT ACCORDING IT A SUBSTANTIVE ROLE IN THE BARGAIN.

IN SPITE OF THE COMPLEXITIES AND FRUSTRATIONS, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE IMMEDIATE GOAL OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS IS ATTAINABLE. INDEED, I DO NOT BELIEVE ABANDONING THAT GOAL IS A VIABLE OPTION. NEVERTHELESS, TIME IS A WASTING ASSET AND WE THEREFORE INTEND TO REMAIN ENGAGED WITH BOTH HUSSEIN AND PERES IN A FAIRLY INTENSIVE MANNER. IN THAT RESPECT, WE HAVE ADOPTED SEVERAL PRINCIPLES AGAINST WHICH WE WILL BE WEIGHING ANY IDEAS THAT MAY SURFACE, PRINCIPLES WHICH IN EFFECT DEFINE THE TYPE OF PROCESS WITH WHICH WE WOULD WISH TO BE ASSOCIATED.

FIRST, THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE PROCESS, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE

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NEGOTIATIONS TO FOLLOW, SHOULD BE PRE-AGREED BY ISRAEL AND JORDAN - AND, IF WE ARE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE MEDIATING ROLE, OURSELVES.

SECOND, THE CONFERENCE MUST NEITHER IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THE REGIONAL PARTIES NOR NEGATE WHAT THEY MAY HAVE AGREED TO.

THIRD, THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE MUST LEAD PROMPTLY TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

FINALLY, SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS MUST TAKE PLACE ONLY IN BILATERAL COMMITTEES, AND THEIR WORK SHOULD BE AD REFERENDUM ONLY TO THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS.

IT IS THIS FINAL POINT WHICH HAS BEEN QUESTIONED BY KING HUSSEIN, WHO NOW FORESEES THE CONFERENCE ITSELF PLAYING A FAR MORE INTRUSIVE ROLE THAN I BELIEVE IS REALISTIC OR DESIRABLE. I AM CONVINCED THAT TO GIVE A CONTINUING CONFERENCE A SUBSTANTIVE ROLE WOULD IMPEDE THE FREE EBB AND FLOW OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THIS IS NOT TO SINGLE OUT JORDAN: ANY PARTY INVOLVED IN A NEGOTIATION WOULD OBVIOUSLY PREFER TO PASS THE DIFFICULT ISSUES ON TO ANOTHER BODY RATHER THAN CONFRONT THE TOUGH DECISIONS REQUIRED. I AM ALSO CONCERNED THAT A CONTINUING CONFERENCE, UNLESS MANAGED VERY CAREFULLY, WOULD ACCORD THE SOVIETS UNDUE INFLUENCE OVER A PROCESS WHOSE PURPOSE THEY SEE AS SERVING THEIR INTERESTS IN THE REGION RATHER THAN ACHIEVING A SUCCESSFUL RESULT.

IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO CONSTRUCT A CONFERENCE THAT CONTINUES BEYOND THE OUTSET OF NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT SUCH LIABILITIES, BUT I AM DUBIOUS. I AM NEVERTHELESS WILLING TO EXPLORE CREATIVE IDEAS IN THAT DIRECTION AND WOULD WELCOME ANY THOUGHTS YOU MAY HAVE.

I ALSO BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE PARTIES TO TACKLE THE VEXING ISSUE OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION. WITH KING HUSSEIN STILL SUSPENDED BETWEEN THE SYRIAN AND THE PLO HORNS OF HIS DILEMMA, THIS WILL NOT BE A SIMPLE MATTER FOR HIM TO DEAL WITH. BUT IT WILL NOT BE AS EASY TO RESOLVE IN ANY CASE, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF PERES' DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS, AND THE SOONER THEY START THE BETTER.

AS WE MOVE FORWARD, HOPEFULLY TOWARD DEVELOPMENTS OF HISTORIC PROPORTIONS, IT WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT THAT

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WE STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH. HUSSEIN AND PERES ARE BOTH FULLY AWARE OF MY FIRM ATTACHMENT TO THE FOUR PRINCIPLES OUTLINED ABOVE. TO THE EXTENT THAT YOU CAN LEND THEM THE ADDED WEIGHT OF YOUR SUPPORT DURING THEIR VISITS, THE PROCESS WILL BE WELL SERVED.

IN CLOSING, LET ME ALERT YOU TO THE FACT THAT OUR CONTINUING EXCHANGES WITH HUSSEIN AND PERES MAY WELL CONTINUE WHILE THEY ARE IN LONDON. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MURPHY MAY TAKE THE OCCASION TO HAVE SOME QUIETER EXCHANGES WITH ONE OR BOTH OF THEM THAN IS POSSIBLE FOR HIM IN THE REGION ITSELF. WE WILL LET YOU KNOW IF THAT TURNS OUT TO BE THE CASE.

WITH WARM REGARDS
SINCERELY
GEORGE P SHULTZ' ENDS

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NEWS DEPT
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PS
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MR FERGUSSON
MR DEREK THOMAS
MR GOODALL
MR EGERTON
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MR RATFORD
MR LONG

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