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<<<\*\*\*\* OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER \*\*\*\*>>>

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SUBJECT= TRANSCRIPT: SECRETARY'S ON THE RECORD REMARKS ENROUTE FROM LONI  
HELSINKI, OCTOBER 20, 1987 Q: MR. SECRETARY, COULD YOU WRAP UP THE MID-EAST

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
NO. FFC CDR: [Signature] Date 11/20/96

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USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 SECRETARY IN HELSINKI 06631

FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. FITZWATER AND MR.  
HOWARD

USIA FOR P, P/PFO, P/G, VOA

JERUSALEM FOR AMBASSADOR MURPHY

E.O. 12356: N/A  
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TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)  
SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT: SECRETARY'S ON THE RECORD REMARKS  
ENROUTE FROM LONDON TO HELSINKI, OCTOBER 20, 1987

Q: MR. SECRETARY, COULD YOU WRAP UP THE MID-EAST FOR

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US NOW HAVING SEEN HUSSEIN? DID YOU BRING THEM BAD NEWS...OR ABOUT THE PEACE CONFERENCE REALLY NOT BEING, HAVING MUCH OF CHANCE RIGHT NOW OR WHAT?

A: WITH KING HUSSEIN, WE HAD BASICALLY THE SAME KIND OF DISCUSSION THAT I HAD WITH OTHERS. WE TALKED ABOUT THINGS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, OUR EFFORTS ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE ON THE WEST BANK AND THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE AREA, THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, AND, OF COURSE WE DISCUSSED THE PEACE PROCESS.

I GUESS I WOULD MORE OR LESS USE THE SAME WORDS I'VE USED BEFORE IN TRYING TO MOVE BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN PROCEDURES OR MODALITIES AS HE CALLS THEM, AND SUBSTANCE. I THINK THE NET OF IT ALL IS I FEEL THAT WE'RE A LITTLE WAYS AHEAD, BUT I CAN'T REALLY POINT TO MUCH ON THE PEACE PROCESS. BUT AT ANY RATE, I HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF WHERE THE EMPHASES ARE. THEY TEND TO CHANGE AS YOU GO ALONG. HE IS...HAS VERY MUCH ON HIS MIND, THE AMMAN CONFERENCE AND HE WAS KIND ENOUGH TO TELL US HIS VIEWS ABOUT THAT AND ASPIRATIONS FOR THAT. SO THAT WAS ALL TOGETHER WORTHWHILE, BUT NOTHING WORLD SHATTERING ABOUT IT.

Q: WHEN YOU SPOKE TO SHAMIR DID YOU DETECT ANY WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE SOVIETS INTO A PEACE CONFERENCE, IF THE SOVIETS OBSERVE CERTAIN CONDITIONS TO CHANGE THEIR POSITIONS OR BEHAVIOR?  
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A: THE SOVIETS PRESENT HIM A PROBLEM BECAUSE THEY DON'T RECOGNIZE ISRAEL. THEY VOTED JUST A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO I GUESS IT WAS, AT THE UNITED NATIONS TO EXPEL ISRAEL AGAIN. THE TREATMENT OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION IS TOUGH AND WHILE THERE HAS BEEN SOME VERY WELCOMED PERMISSIONS TO EMIGRATE AND AN INCREASE IN EMIGRATION, IT'S STILL FAR BELOW WHAT THE ISRAELIS EXPECT OR THINK AS A REASONABLE LEVEL. AND WE AGREE WITH THAT. SO THAT MEANS THAT HE IS UNEASY ABOUT THE SOVIET ROLE BUT (INAUDIBLE).

Q: DID HE SAY THAT IF THE SOVIETS CHANGED THEIR POSITIONS HE MIGHT RECONSIDER THAT OR DIDN'T GO THAT FAR?

A: I DON'T KNOW IF YOU SAY IF THE SOVIETS WERE TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, TO MAKE A

DECLARATION THAT ANY JEWISH PERSON IN THE SOVIET UNION  
THAT WANTS TO LEAVE MAY DO SO, THAT THEY ARE CHANGING  
THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD JEWISH LIFE IN THE SOVIET UNION  
AND A BUNCH OF OTHER THINGS. NATURALLY HIS ATTITUDE  
TOWARD THEM WOULD CHANGE, I DONT DOUBT THAT THERE'S  
(INAUDIBLE). THOSE ARE ALL DO-ABLE AND IMPORTANT  
OBJECTIVES, BUT THEY ARE CERTAINLY A LONG WAYS FROM  
BEING FULFILLED. IT DEPRESSES HIM THAT THEY WOULD VOTE  
AGAINST HIM AGAIN AT THE UN. SEEMS LIKE A ROUTINE  
THING THEY ALWAYS DO, BUT NEVERTHELESS IT MAKES IT  
CLEAR.

Q: YOU SAID THAT MR. SHAMIR WOULD COME TO WASHINGTON  
SOMETIME NEXT YEAR. HAVE YOU ALSO INVITED KING HUSSEIN  
AND PRESIDENT MUBARAK TO COME AND DID THEY INDICATE

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 SECRETARY IN HELSINKI 06631

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DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. FITZWATER AND MR. HOWARD

USIA FOR P, P/PFO, P/G, VOA

JERUSALEM FOR AMBASSADOR MURPHY

E.O. 12356: N/A  
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TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)  
SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT: SECRETARY'S ON THE RECORD REMARKS

WHETHER THEY WOULD NOW BE INTERESTED IN COMING TO SEE THE PRESIDENT?

Q: PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR IS GOING TO BE IN MIAMI FOR A MAJOR EVENT THAT'S PART OF HIS SCHEDULE. AND SO WE ARRANGED TOGETHER FOR HIM IN A SENSE TO COME THROUGH WASHINGTON AND TO DROP IN TO SEE THE PRESIDENT AND, OF COURSE, I'LL SEE HIM, PLAN TO HAVE A LUNCH FOR HIM AND THEN HE GOES ON ABOUT HIS WAY. SO THAT WILL BE A CHANCE TO TOUCH BASE WITH HIM. BUT THEN AT SOME POINT DURING THE YEAR, I DON'T THINK THERE HAS BEEN ANY TIME FOCUSED IN ON, WE WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING HIM IN WASHINGTON ON A MORE FORMAL VISIT.

WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK, WE'VE DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF COMING TO WASHINGTON SOME TIME IN THE EARLY PART OF NEXT YEAR, IF WE CAN BE WORK THAT OUT. BUT CERTAINLY HE IS MORE THAT WELCOME AND MY IMPRESSION IS THAT HE'D LIKE TO COME. WE DIDN'T HAVE ANY DISCUSSION OF A TRIP WITH KING HUSSEIN, ALTHOUGH OUR DIALOGUE IS VERY WARM AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF WHAT WE CAN DO, WE'RE DOING IT.

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Q: MR. SECRETARY, BEFORE YOU LEFT AND IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THIS TRIP, AT LEAST IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT WHAT YOU WERE INVOLVED IN WAS A KIND OF EXPLORATION TO SEE IF YOU COULD GET SOME CREATIVE THOUGHTS, I THINK YOU CALLED THEM AT ONE STAGE, GOING TO RESTART THIS PROCESS, PEACE PROCESS.

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IT SOUNDS AS THOUGH YOU REALLY HAVEN'T BEEN ABLE TO FIND ANYTHING THAT'S ABLE TO RESTART IT. IN FACT I INTERPRETED WHAT YOU SAID YESTERDAY AFTERNOON TO US ON THE WAY TO LONDON AS SAYING THAT IT DOESN'T LOOK LIKE THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IS THE WAY TO GO, YOU HAVE TO LOOK FOR SOME KIND OF SUBSTITUTE FOR IT. WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER THIS PROCESS NOW CAN BE RESTARTED AND AFTER HEARING THESE IDEAS HOW POSSIBLY TO COULD GO ABOUT IT?

A: IT'S IMPORTANT TO KEEP WORKING AT IT, AND WE WILL KEEP WORKING AT IT. BUT AS I SAID, REALISTICALLY I CAN'T POINT TO ANY PARTICULAR THING THAT MOVES MATTERS FORWARD. BUT THERE CONTINUES TO BE A GREAT INTEREST IN IT, AND I DID SENSE ALL AROUND A HEIGHTENED, IF ANYTHING, INTEREST IN WORKING FOR PEACE. IT'S VERY MUCH ON PEOPLE'S MINDS.

I THINK THERE IS A SENSE OF SOME INCREASE IN TENSIONS AND PROBLEMS, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, OTHER PROBLEMS, SO THERE IS A GREATER APPRECIATION OF WHAT A SUCCESSFUL PEACE PROCESS COULD DO FOR THE REGION. BUT IT IS VERY HARD TO TRANSLATE THAT FEELING INTO SPECIFIC OPERATIONAL THINGS.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, I BELIEVE YOU SAID THAT IN YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK YOU TALKED ABOUT VORONTSOV'S VISIT TO THE REGION. DID MUBARAK INDICATE THAT VORONTSOV PROPOSED ANYTHING HIMSELF OR GIVEN ANY INDICATION THAT THEY WERE WILLING TO ACT ON SOME OF THESE ISSUES THAT DISTURB THE ISRAELIS SO?

A: HE JUST TOLD ME ABOUT THE VISIT AND VORONTSOV IS A

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TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT: SECRETARY'S ON THE RECORD REMARKS

GOOD DIPLOMAT AND ENGAGES IN A CONVERSATIONAL MANNER WITH PEOPLE, AS DISTINCT FROM COMING IN GRUFFLY TELLING THEM WHAT THEY THINK AND THAT SHIFT OF STYLE DOES HAVE AN IMPACT ON PEOPLE, JUST AS GORBACHEV'S CHANGE OF STYLE IS INTERESTING TO PEOPLE, SO THAT THEY REMARK ON THAT.

THE SOVIETS, OF COURSE, ARE PUSHING VERY HARD ON INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. THE KIND OF CONFERENCE THAT THE SOVIETS DESCRIBE IS EXACTLY THE KIND OF CONFERENCE THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE SHY OF, AND I AGREE WITH THE ISRAELIS ON THAT. IT'S A CONFERENCE IN THEIR MINDS THAT HAS A CONTINUING ROLE AND WILL HAVE A SUBSTANTIVE ROLE TO PLAY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, HOWEVER MUCH THERE MAY BE SOME BILATERAL GROUPS. THAT'S EXACTLY THE PROBLEM. SO THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF VIEW, AND IT ALL JUST SUGGESTS THAT WHAT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE -- THAT'S TWO WORDS THAT CAN MEAN A TREMENDOUS VARIETY OF THINGS WHEN YOU DIG INTO IT CAREFULLY. AND THAT'S IN A SENSE WHAT WE'VE BEEN DOING, DIGGING INTO IT, BEHIND THE WORDS WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS.

Q: DOES KING HUSSEIN BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE A SUBSTITUTE CONFERENCE AS WELL?

A: THE SHADES OF MEANING IN THE WAY SUBTLETIES OF EXPRESSION ARE VERY GREAT AS PEOPLE DISCUSS THIS AND AS YOU PROBE INTO IT AND IT'S A SORT OF YES AND NO. THAT'S THE BEST I CAN GIVE YOU.

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Q: CAN I GO BACK TO THE QUESTION I ASKED -- DID YOU MEAN TO SUGGEST YESTERDAY WAS I CORRECT IN INTERPRETING WHAT YOU TOLD US THAT REALLY WHAT YOU ARE THINKING OF NOW IS LOOKING FOR SOME SUBSTITUTE FOR A CONFERENCE OR IS IT MORE A QUESTION OF WHAT YOU MEAN BY A CONFERENCE?

A: NO DOUBT WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK ON WHAT KING HUSSEIN CALLS MODALITIES. BUT AT THE SAME TIME.

UNDERNEATH THE DIFFICULTIES IN ARRANGING MODALITIES, WE ALL KNOW ARE CONCERNS ABOUT WHERE WOULD WE GO, SUBSTANTIVELY? WHAT IS THE SHAPE OF FINAL STATUS? AND TO WHAT DEGREE CAN WE KNOW BEFORE WE START WHAT THAT OUTCOME MIGHT BE, AND IS THAT OUTCOME ANYWHERE NEAR ACCEPTABLE? SO IF WE START POLES APART THEN THE CHANCES OF COMING TO AGREEMENT ARE IN A SENSE LESS THAN IF WE CAN SEE THAT THERE'S A BALLPARK HERE WE'RE PLAYING IN. SO I SUPPOSE IF I GET ANY MESSAGE FROM ALL THIS IT IS THAT EXCESSIVE CONCENTRATION ON MODALITIES PROBABLY IS NOT THE WAY TO PURSUE THINGS, AND WE OUGHT TO BE SCRATCHING OUR HEADS IN ADDITION PERHAPS MORE ON WHAT THE SUBSTANCE MIGHT TURN OUT TO BE. BUT OF COURSE THAT'S A VERY ROCKY ROAD TOO, AS WE KNOW.

Q: DID MURPHY GO TO SYRIA?

A: DICK IS GOING TO, AS WE ROUTINELY DO ON THINGS LIKE THIS, GO BACK AND GIVE A READ-OUT TO THE ISRAELIS AND HE MAY OR MAY NOT GO TO SYRIA, DEPENDING UPON WHO IS THERE TO SEE.

THANK YOU.  
MOSCOW MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SCHNABEL

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