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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: E, SOPN
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE--20 AUGUST 1982

THE FOLLOWING ARE MIDEAST PORTIONS OF THE PRESS
CONFERENCE OF SECRETARY SHULTZ, HELD AUG. 20, 1982 AT
1:00 PM.

2. BEGIN PRESS CONFERENCE: SECRETARY SCHULTZ: GOOD
MORNING. THE PRESIDENT TODAY ANNOUNCED THAT A PLAN TO
RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN WEST BEIRUT HAS BEEN AGREED UPON BY
ALL THE PARTIES, AND THAT IN CONNECTION WITH THAT PLAN
THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON HAS ASKED THE UNITED STATES,
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AND THE PRESIDENT HAS AGREED, TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF U.S.
FORCES AS PART OF A MULTINATIONAL FORCE TO HELP THE
GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON TO IMPLEMENT THE PLAN. HE ALSO
EXPRESSED HIS ADMIRATION AND HIS THANKS TO PHIL HABIB,
AND I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OCCASION TO ADD MY THANKS
TO PHIL, A TRULY GREAT AMERICAN. THE PRESIDENT ALSO SAID
THAT I WOULD ANSWER THE QUESTIONS, SO HERE I AM
Q. MR. SECRETARY, HAVE AMERICAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS
SUFFERED BECAUSE OF THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON; AND

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ON A BROADER SCALE, HOW DO YOU JUDGE THE IMPACT OF THE FIGHTING ON AMERICAN-ARAB RELATIONS?

A. THE ISRAELI-US RELATIONSHIP REMAINS A STRONG ONE. WE ARE COMPLETELY COMMITTED TO SUPPORT OF THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. CERTAINLY THERE HAVE BEEN SOME STRAINS DURING THIS PERIOD. THE UNITED STATES OPPOSED THE ENTRY OF ISRAELI TROOPS INTO LEBANON. THERE WERE SOME OCCASIONS WHEN IT SEEMED TO US THAT THE ISRAELI MILITARY ACTIONS WERE EXCESSIVE, AND WE SAID SO. SO THOSE TIMES PRESENTED GREAT STRAINS. BUT UNDERNEATH IT ALL, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL REMAINS A STRONG ONE.

THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT THE FACT -- TURNING TO THE SECOND PART OF YOUR QUESTION -- THAT OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OUR FRIENDS IN THE ARAB WORLD HAVE BEEN STRAINED, AND UNDERSTANDABLY SO, AS THEY HAVE SEEN THE SUFFERING IN LEBANON AND THE GREAT DESTRUCTION IN BEIRUT. WE SEEK TO RESOLVE THOSE ISSUES. I THINK THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS PLAYED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS PLAN, AND PHIL HABIB'S ACTIONS, SHOW THE FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS AND THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE IN THE REGION.

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Q. FOLLOWING WITHDRAWAL OF PALESTINIAN FORCES FROM WEST BEIRUT, DO WE EXPECT THE ISRAELIS TO ATTACK OTHER PALESTINIAN AND SYRIAN FORCES IN THE COUNTRY, AND WHAT IF ANYTHING, ARE WE DOING TO PREVENT THAT FROM HAPPENING. WHAT WE EXPECT AND WHAT WE HOPE FOR IS THAT AS THIS PROCESS UNFOLDS THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE CONTROL, FIRST IN BEIRUT THEN INCREASINGLY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND THAT THE FORCES OF ISRAEL, THE FORCES OF SYRIA, THE FORCES OF OTHER ARMED GROUPS IN THE COUNTRY WILL WITHDRAW OR LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND LEBANON WILL BECOME A COUNTRY FREE OF FOREIGN FORCES.

I MIGHT NOTE THAT IN THE PLAN, IF YOU LOOK AT THE FIRST SECTION, WHICH IS LABELED "BASIC CONCEPTS", YOU'LL SEE THAT THIS NOTION IS EXPLICITLY STATED AS BEING CONSISTENT WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PLAN.

Q. I WONDER IF YOU COULD AMPLIFY ON WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID. HE SAID THAT IF AMERICAN FORCES WERE SHOT AT, THERE WOULD BE A RECALL OF US FORCES. IN THAT SORT OF VIOLENT ENVIRONMENT, IT IS POSSIBLE FOR STRAY BULLETS TO BE FLYING. WOULD A SINGLE SHOT RESULT IN AN AMERICAN CALL-BACK?

A. THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT REFERRING TO SOME STRAY SHOT THAT MIGHT BE FIRED BY SOME KOOK. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT A SITUATION IN WHICH ALL THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO ESTABLISH THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE DEPARTURE OF THE PLO CAN TAKE PLACE WITH SAFETY. WE ARE THERE TO HELP IN THAT PROCESS, HELP THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON IN THAT PROCESS.

WE WILL STAY THERE AS LONG AS THAT PROCESS IS GOING FORWARD AND AS LONG AS THE BASIC CONDITIONS ENVISAGED FOR OUR FORCES REMAIN IN EFFECT.

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Q. WE'VE HEARD A LOT ABOUT AMBASSADOR HABIB'S ROLE IN ALL OF THIS. WHAT DO YOU ENVISION AS HIS ROLE IN THE NEXT PHASE, WHICH IS THE EVACUATION OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM LEBANON?

A. HE'S A VERY SKILLFUL MAN. HE'S BEEN OVER THERE SINCE EARLY JUNE, AND I THINK HE DESERVES A GOOD NIGHT'S SLEEP. BUT HE'S VERY SKILLFUL AND VERY CAPABLE, AND HE TOLD ME ON ONE OCCASION THAT HE NEVER SAYS NO TO A PRESIDENT. SO I IMAGINE HIS TALENTS WILL BE CALLED UPON FROM TIME TO TIME IN THE FUTURE.

Q. HAS THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL GIVEN YOU ANY ASSURANCES THAT THEY INTEND TO WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

A. WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR WAS HERE, I ASKED HIM THAT QUESTION DIRECTLY. HE TOLD ME THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT COVET ONE INCH OF LEBANESE TERRITORY AND PLANS TO WITHDRAW FROM LEBANESE TERRITORY. I LOOKED AT HIM AND I SAID, "WE WILL TAKE YOU AT YOUR WORD."

Q. ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION ON MR. HABIB, IS IT CONTEMPLATED THAT MR. HABIB WILL CONDUCT THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON, AND DO YOU HAVE ANY TIME FRAME IN MIND ON HOW, WHEN, AND WHERE THESE TALKS WILL BEGIN?

A. I THINK THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE WORKING STRONGLY NOT ONLY FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON, BUT FOR THAT TO HAPPEN IN SUCH A MANNER THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AND THE SECURITY CONCERNS OF ISRAEL

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ON ITS NORTHERN BORDER ARE ADEQUATELY SAFEGUARDED.

BEYOND THAT, I THINK WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF DESTRUCTION AND DISPLACEMENT IN LEBANON. THE EXTENT OF IT VARIES WIDELY IN PEOPLES' ESTIMATES BUT EVENT THE MOST MODEST ESTIMATES SHOW THAT IT'S CONSIDERABLE. WE AND OTHERS AROUND THE WORLD NEED

TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THOSE PROBLEMS AND START THINKING IN CONSTRUCTIVE TERMS ABOUT WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO HELP THE PEOPLE OF LEBANON RECONSTRUCT THEIR LAND AND BRING IT BACK TO THE CONDITIONS THAT IT ONCE ENJOYED.

Q. WILL MR. HABIB ACTUALLY DO THE NEGOTIATING FOR THE U.S.?

A. PHIL'S PRECISE ROLE HAS NOT BEEN DETERMINED. AS I SAID, HE HAS BEEN AT IT FOR A COUPLE OF MONTHS OF VERY TIRING WORK, AND IT'S TIME FOR HIM TO GET A GOOD NIGHT'S SLEEP. WE DO PLAN TO HAVE A LEBANON TASK-FORCE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND MORRIS DRAPER, WHO HAS BEEN PHIL'S ASSISTANT, WILL HEAD THAT UP; PETER MCPHERSON, THE HEAD OF A.I.D., IS GOING TO TAKE ON THE SPECIAL CONCERN OF THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT ASPECTS OF THIS PLAN. SOME OTHER PEOPLE ARE BEING PUT IN PLACE TO WORK ON THIS. I DON'T SAY THAT PHIL WILL HAVE NO ROLE IN IT. HE'S A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND ABLE PERSON, BUT I DO THINK AT THIS POINT THAT HE'LL OBVIOUSLY WANT TO SEE THE DEPARTURE GO ON IN A GOOD WAY. BUT AT SOME STAGE OF THE GAME, AS I SAY, WE HAVE TO GIVE HIM A GOOD NIGHT'S SLEEP.

Q. IT'S NOT CLEAR TO ME, IN THE WAY YOU ANSWERED SOME OF THE EARLIER QUESTIONS, WHETHER YOU EXPECT FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS TO TAKE PLACE TO OBTAIN THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS OR WHETHER YOU EXPECT THEM TO DO THAT VOLUNTARILY, WITHOUT ANY FURTHER DIPLOMATIC

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ACTIVITY. COULD YOU CLARIFY THAT?

A. I'M SURE THAT THE SYRIANS MUST FEEL THAT THEY HAVE BEEN INVITED IN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AND WOULD EXPECT TO HEAR FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON ABOUT ITS WISHES. I WAS TOLD BY THE SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THEY WERE THERE AT THE REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AND WHEN THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON REQUESTED THEM TO LEAVE, THEY WOULD DO SO.

SO I THINK WHAT WE ARE LOOKING AT HERE IS A PROCESS IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON INCREASINGLY TAKES

CONTROL; AND AS THAT HAPPENS AND AS SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ON ISRAEL'S NORTHERN BORDER CAN BE ADEQUATELY DEVELOPED, WE SHOULD EXPECT TO SEE THESE FORCES WITHDRAW. I CAN'T TELL YOU THAT ALL THAT CAN TAKE PLACE IN AN EASY UNCOMPLICATED WAY. THERE'S NO DOUBT ABOUT THE FACT THAT IT WILL BE COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT.

Q. HOW LONG DO YOU THINK IT WILL TAKE?

A. I CAN'T TELL YOU.

Q. THERE IS TALK OF AN ISRAELI-LEBANESE PEACE TREATY AS THE NEXT STEP AFTER WITHDRAWAL. WILL THE UNITED STATES ACTIVELY SUPPORT SUCH A PEACE TREATY?

A. I THINK IT IS CONSTRUCTIVE TO HAVE PEACE IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. WITH THE EMERGENCE OF A STRONG AND LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON, THAT IS CERTAINLY SOMETHING WE WOULD HOPE THEY WOULD CONSIDER VERY STRONGLY.

Q. BUT WILL WE ACTIVELY SUPPORT IT?

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A. SURE.

Q. WHAT IS THE POSSIBILITY OF THE USE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN SOME TYPE OF MULTINATIONAL FORCE SUCH AS IS GOING INTO BEIRUT NOW TO FACILITATE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI AND SYRIAN TROOPS FROM LEBANON ITSELF?

A. WE DON'T HAVE ANY PLAN FOR THAT AT ALL.

Q. WILL THIS BE USED AS A PRECEDENT?

A. NO, I DON'T THINK SO.

Q. DO YOU FORESEE THE FORMATION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE AT SOME POINT? IF SO, WHEN, AND WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO WITH ALL THESE PALESTINIANS THAT YOU ARE SPLITTING UP AND SENDING TO ALL THESE VARIOUS COUNTRIES, JUST LEAVE THEM THERE?

A. THE PALESTINIANS THAT ARE DEPARTING FROM WEST BEIRUT PROBABLY NUMBER IN THE RANGE OF SIX TO SEVEN THOUSAND, AND THAT IS A NUMBER THAT CAN BE ASSIMILATED. WHERE THEY GO EVENTUALLY, OF COURSE, REMAINS TO BE SEEN. I DO THINK, AND HAVE EMPHASIZED BEFORE -- AND PRACTICALLY EVERYBODY WHO TALKS ABOUT THE SUBJECT EMPHASIZES -- THE IMPORTANCE OF TURNING TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE LEGITIMATE

RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, WORKING AT THAT, AND NEGOTIATING ABOUT THAT.

MY OWN OBSERVATION IS THAT THE LANGUAGE OF CAMP DAVID IS QUITE WORTH READING IN THAT REGARD. SO WE WOULD EXPECT TO BE MOVING ON THAT FRONT AS I'M SURE OTHERS WILL TOO, BECAUSE IT REPRESENTS AN UNDERLYING ISSUE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE AND IS ONE THAT IN AT THE CENTER OF ALL THIS.

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Q. SINCE YOU BROUGHT UP CAMP DAVID, COULD YOU GIVE US, AS BEST YOU CAN FORESEE IT NOW, THE START-UP AGAIN OF THE AUTONOMY TALKS, THE TIMETABLE, INCLUDING WHETHER OR NOT YOU'RE GOING TO APPOINT A NEW SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR AT ANY TIME IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

A. I CAN'T REALLY COMMENT WITH ANY CLARITY ON THOSE QUESTIONS. OBVIOUSLY, THE PARTIES TO THOSE TALKS ARE HEAVILY ENGAGED IN THEIR THINKING ON THE WEST BEIRUT PROBLEM. IT WILL TAKE SOME TIME AND A LOT OF EFFORT TO CONSTRUCT A SUITABLE NEGOTIATING SITUATION, AND I DON'T WANT TO PUT DOWN SOME SORT OF MARKER ON IT.

Q. AMBASSADOR HABIB IS QUOTED AS TELLING BEGIN THAT HE THOUGHT IT WAS ISRAEL'S MILITARY PRESSURE THAT BROUGHT THE PLO TO AGREE FINALLY TO LEAVE BEIRUT. DO YOU AGREE WITH THAT ASSESSMENT?

A. I'M NOT GOING TO TRY TO ANALYZE WHAT MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE BROUGHT THE PLO TO AGREE TO LEAVE WEST BEIRUT. FAIRLY EARLY ON THEY HAD MADE A STATEMENT IN PRINCIPLE THAT EHY WOULD WITHDRAW. WE WENT THROUGH A LONG PERIOD OF TRYING TO IDENTIFY WHERE THEY WOULD GO, AND DURING THAT PERIOD THERE WERE MANY DOUBTS EXPRESSED ABOUT WHETHER, IN THE END, THEY WOULD GO. WE FELT THAT THEY HAD SAID THEY WOULD, AND WE WOULD TAKE THEM AT THEIR WORD AND EXPECT THAT THEY WOULD.

Q. BUT THE GREATEST PROGRESS WAS MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WASN'T IT, AFTER AUGUST 1 WHEN THE HEAVIEST ISRAELI BOMBINGS TOOK PLACE?

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A. THE DISCUSSIONS THAT GAVE MORE AND MORE ASSURANCE AS

TO WHERE THEY WOULD GO MATERIALIZED, OBVIOUSLY, AS THESE NEGOTIATIONS WENT ON. IT WAS QUITE A STRUGGLE AT FIRST, AND BECAME MORE DEFINITE.

Q. HOW DO YOU INTEND TO TRY TO BLEND, OR WHAT IS YOUR OWN SENSE OF PRIORITIES ABOUT RESOLVING THE REST OF THE ISSUES IN LEBANON, GETTING THE FOREIGN FORCES OUT ETC., AND DEALING WITH THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA?

A. BOTH ISSEUS ARE IMPORTANT. THERE IS OBVIOUSLY, SOME CONNECTION BETWEEN THEM, BUT THEY ARE ALSO SEPARATE ISSUES. I THINK WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO WORK -- IT'S MY OPINION ANYWAY -- ON BOTH. IT IS DIFFICULT TO LAY DOWN A TIMETABLE, BUT BOTH ARE MATTERS OF URGENCY. I THINK THAT THIS MOMENT IN TIME, WITH THE BLOODSHED AND THE DAMAGE DONE IN LEBANON FRESHLY IN PEOPLE'S MINDS, IS A TIME TO

WORK HARD ON THIS, BECAUSE PEOPLE MUST BE ABLE TO SEE THE ALTERNATIVE TO A REASONABLY PEACEFUL SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT A PLEASANT THING TO CONTEMPLATE AT ALL. SO PERHAPS IT IS A MOMENT WHEN PEOPLE CAN TURN THEIR EYES FROM THE PROBLEMS OF WAR TO THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE -- AT LEAST I HOPE SO -- AND THAT IS GOING TO BE OUR EFFORT.

Q. SPECIFICALLY, WHAT STEPS IS THE U. S. PREPARED TO TAKE TO GET THE AUTONOMY TALKS MOVING AGAIN?

A. WE ARE WORKING ON THAT, THINKING ABOUT IT, AND TRYING TO DEVELOP OUR OWN THINKING AS I'M SURE OTHERS ARE. WHEN WE'VE GOTTEN OUR THOUGHTS PROPERLY CONSTRUCTED, WE WILL BE ABLE TO TELL YOU WHAT THEY ARE. I'VE BEEN THINKING ABOUT THAT MYSELF, OBVIOUSLY, BEFORE I CAME INTO THE GOVERNMENT, AND EVER SINCE I'VE BEEN HERE, AT THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTION. I'VE HAD SEVERAL MEETING WITH THE

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PRESIDENT ABOUT IT. AT HIS INSTRUCTION, I'VE BEEN MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS. WE'VE HAD PEOPLE COME IN FROM THE OUTSIDE, WE'VE HAD LOTS OF DISCUSSION ABOUT THIS AS VARIOUS MINISTERS FROM ISRAEL AND ARAB COUNTRIES HAVE VISITED HERE. SO WE ARE ACTIVELY THINKING ABOUT IT. WE EXPECT TO BE MOVING ON IT.

Q. ALONG THOSE LINES, THE BIGGEST AND MOST DRAMATIC IMPACT OF ALL THIS, AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT, IS THE BREAKING UP OF THE PLO INTO COMPOSITE GROUPS MOVING INTO DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. WHAT EFFECT DO YOU THINK THIS IS GOING TO HAVE ON THE PEACE PROSPECTS ON THE REGION? AND DO YOU AGREE WITH THOSE WHO FEEL THAT MAKES IT LESS URGENT FOR THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE TO BE

ADDRESSED

A. I THINK THAT MAKES IT MORE URGENT BECAUSE, TO THE EXTENT THE ARMED AND I THINK DISRUPTIVE PRESENCE OF THE PLO AND THEIR IMPACT ON ISRAEL, AND PERHAPS ON SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ON THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP IS LESS, THEN PERHAPS THE OPPORTUNITIES ARE MORE. RATHER THAN FEEL, IF THAT PARTICULAR PRESSURE IS OFF YOU SHOULD RELAX, MY ATTITUDE WOULD BE EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE: IF THE OPPORTUNITY IS GREATER, YOU SHOULD MOVE IN HARDER AND FASTER AND TRY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT.

Q. WHAT IS YOUR POSITION ON JEWISH SETTLEMENTS, EITHER NEW OR THE EXPANSION OF EXISTING ONES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

A THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID TO ME RECENTLY, WHEN A QUESTION AROSE ABOUT THEIR LEGALITY, THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER

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THEY ARE LEGAL OR ILLEGAL; THE QUESTION IS ARE THEY CONSTRUCTIVE IN THE EFFORT TO ARRANGE A SITUATION THAT MAY, IN THE END, BE A PEACEFUL ONE AND BE ONE IN WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THE REGION CAN LIVE IN A MANNER THAT THEY PREFER. HIS ANSWER TO THAT IS NO, EXPANSION OF THOSE SETTLEMENTS IS NOT A CONSTRUCTIVE MOVE. I AGREE WITH THE PRESIDENT, I REALLY DO AGREE WITH IT. I'M NOT JUST FOLLOWING HIS LEAD.

Q. NEXT MONTH IS THE DEADLINE WITHIN THE LEBANESE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. SECURITY IS ONE OF THE REASONS CITED WHY THE ELECTION WAS PUT OFF UNTIL NEXT WEEK AND MIGHT BE PUT OFF AGAIN.

OBVIOUSLY IN GENERAL THE U.S. HAS A LOT OF INFLUENCE IN A SITUATION LIKE THIS RIGHT NOW. IT HAS GAINED MORE INFLUENCE; IT'S HAVING FORCES COME IN THERE WHICH WILL HELP PROVIDE SECURITY.

WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON THE HOLDING OF THE LEBANESE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION? SHOULD IT BE IN THE NEXT MONTH, AS ORIGINALLY PLANNED?

A. I THINK, BASICALLY, THE CONDUCT OF AN ELECTION IN A COUNTRY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS OWN GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES, AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE PRESIDENT AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE COUNTRY ARE MATTERS FOR THAT COUNTRY. THE ROLE OF THE U.S. IS, AS WE ARE, TO BE HELPFUL TO THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON, AT THEIR REQUEST, AS THEY SEEK TO TAKE CONTROL OF BEIRUT AND THE COUNTRY.

GENERALLY. BEYOND THAT, I THINK THE ISSUE OF THE ELECTION OF A NEW PRESIDENT AND OTHER RELATED MATTERS ARE ESSENTIALLY A MATTER FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON, NOT FOR US.

Q. IN THE WAKE OF WHAT MR. BEGIN CALLS A GREAT VICTORY, UNCLASSIFIED

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WHAT WOULD MAKE YOU BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL WOULD BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE IN DEALING WITH THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM? AND HAS THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL GIVEN US ANY ASSURANCES THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THIS MORE AMENABLY?

A. WHAT THE OUTCOME OF DISCUSSIONS WILL BE AND HOW MUCH FLEXIBILITY WILL BE SHOWN BY VARIOUS PARTIES REMAINS TO BE SEEN. I THINK THAT THE PROSPECT OF PEACE, PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONFLICT IN LEBANON THAT WE'VE SEEN RECENTLY -- AND FOR THAT MATTER THE CONFLICT THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON SINCE 1975 -- SHOULD CONVINCCE PEOPLE THAT IF THERE IS ANY GENUINE PROSPECT FOR PEACE, IT SHOULD BE SEIZED. PERHAPS THAT WILL BE AN INCENTIVE

FOR EVERYONE TO GIVE AND TAKE, AND TRY TO CONSTRUCT SOMETHING THAT MIGHT WORK?

Q. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE PLO HAS ANY ROLE TO PLAY IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS, OR DO YOU THINK THAT IT DOES NOT REPRESENT THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND IS BETTER NOT INVOLVED?

A. AS FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED, THE PRESIDENT HAS SET OUT WELL-KNOWN CONDITIONS FOR ANY CONTACTS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE PLO DIRECTLY, AND WE STAND BY THOSE CONDITIONS. IF THE PLO MEETS THOSE CONDITIONS OBVIOUSLY THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE WILLING TO TALK WITH THEM. WHETHER OTHERS WOULD BE WILLING TO TALK WITH THEM, THOSE OTHERS WILL HAVE TO SAY FOR THEMSELVES.

I THINK IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT IF THERE IS TO BE A NEGOTIATION THAT HAS AS ONE OF ITS CENTRAL OBJECTIVES UNCLASSIFIED

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MEETING THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS. NO ONE ACCEPTS A RESULT THAT THEY DIDN'T HAVE ANY PART IN. WHO THAT SHOULD BE REMAINS TO BE SEEN. I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT

QUESTION, BUT I KNOW THAT AN ANSWER TO IT NEEDS TO BE FOUND.

Q. COULD YOU GIVE US AN IDEA OF HOW MUCH U.S. FUNDING IS GOING TO BE INVOLVED IN THE EVACUATION AND WHETHER OR NOT WE WILL BE REIMBURSED?

A. I DON'T THINK THAT WHAT FUNDING WE SUPPLY WE WILL BE REIMBURSED FOR. WE HAVE, I THINK, COMMITTED AROUND \$2MILLION BY NOW FOR THE CHARTERING OF SHIPS AND THINGS OF THAT KIND, AND PERHAPS WE WILL SPEND A LITTLE BIT MORE MONEY ON THAT SORT OF THING. OTHERS WILL ALSO BEAR SOME EXPENSE AS THEY RECEIVE THE PLO CONTINGENTS THAT COME TO THEIR COUNTRIES SO IT WILL BE A SHARED EXPENSE. THAT IS THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE, AND I DON'T SEE WHERE ANY REIMBURSEMENT WOULD COME FROM.

Q. YOUR FACT SHEET STATES UNITED STATES TROOPS WILL GO IN PROBABLY FIVE OR SIX DAYS AFTER THE EVACUATION BEGINS.

A. THAT'S RIGHT.

Q. IS THERE A TRIGGER MECHANISM FOR THAT TO HAPPEN? IS THERE SOME CONDITION TO BE MET BEFORE THOSE US TROOPS GO IN?

A. JUST THAT WE OBSERVE THAT THE CONDITIONS PRECEDENT TO THE WHOLE OPERATION ARE IN FORCE AND THE DEPARTURES ARE TAKING PLACE AS SCHEDULED AND THERE IS A BASICALLY NON-HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT.

Q. WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN NOW TO YASSER ARAFAT AND UNCLASSIFIED

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OTHER PLO LEADERS, AND HAVE YOU RECEIVED ANY ASSURANCES FROM THE PLO INDIRECTLY THAT THERE WILL NOT BE ANY FURTHER TERRORIST ATTACKS ON ISRAEL, EITHER THROUGH JORDAN OR PERHAPS THROUGH SYRIA? WHAT ASSURANCES?

A. I THINK BY THIS TIME PERHAPS PEOPLE CAN SEE THAT WHAT TERRORISM EVOKES IS NOT SO MUCH FEAR BUT ABHORRENCE FROM THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT THERE IS SUCH AN AMOUNT OF TERRORISM. BUT I THINK BY THIS TIME PEOPLE ARE PRETTY WELL CONVINCED THAT IT'S SOMETHING BAD ALL AROUND, AND VERY STRONG MEASURES INCREASINGLY ARE BEING TAKEN AGAINST IT. I WOULD IMAGINE THAT ANY CAPABLE ANALYTICAL PERSON WOULD BE ABLE TO SEE THAT.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DURING THIS NEWS CONFERENCE I'VE BEEN INFORMED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS CHARGED THAT WASHINGTON GAVE THE GO-AHEAD TO ISRAEL FOR THE INVASION OF LEBANON. CAN YOU ANSWER THAT CHARGE?

A. IT IS NOT CORRECT.

Q. DID NOT SECRETARY HAIG, YOUR PREDECESSOR, KNOW IN ADVANCE THAT ISRAEL WAS GOING TO STRIKE INTO LEBANON?

A. MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS NOT INFORMED, AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS AND IS ON THE RECORD AS HAVING OPPOSED THAT INVASION. WHETHER SOMEBODY CAME THROUGH HERE AND TALKED ABOUT IT AS A POSSIBILITY, I DON'T KNOW. PEOPLE TALK ABOUT ALL KINDS OF POSSIBILITIES.

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Q. WHO GOES IN FIRST? WHO'S THE ADVANCED ELEMENT THAT'S SPOKEN OF, IF IT'S NOT AMERICAN?

A. THAT'S ALL IN FACTUAL MATERIAL. THE FIRST ELEMENT OF THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IS THE FRENCH, WITH ABOUT 350. LET ME CORRECT THAT: IT IS BASICALLY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AND ITS ARMED FORCES TO PROVIDE FOR THE SAFETY OF THESE DEPARTURES AND TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE CITY AND THE COUNTRY. THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IS THERE TO ASSIST THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON.

THE FIRST CONTINGENT IS THE FRENCH CONTINGENT OF ABOUT 350 WHO WILL BE STATIONED IN THE IMMEDIATE PORT AREA IN THE BEGINNING. THE US TROOPS, THE BALANCE OF THE FRENCH AND THE ITALIANS WILL ENTER ABOUT FIVE DAYS AFTER THE DEPARTURES START.

Q. YOU TALKED ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF ADDRESSING THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN THE NEXT PHASE AFTER BEIRUT. ARE YOU WILLING TO TELL US WHETHER THOSE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS INCLUDE THE RIGHTS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE? IN OTHER WORDS, WHAT'S YOUR DEFINITION OF THESE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS FOR THE PALESTINIANS?

A. PRECISELY WHAT THAT WILL WIND UP MEANING WILL HAVE TO EMERGE FROM A NEGOTIATION I'M SURE. THE WORDS SELF-DETERMINATION SEEM TO HAVE TAKEN ON TERMS OF ART. BUT I WOULD SAY, AS I'VE INDICATED EARLIER, IF PEOPLE ARE GOING TO ACCEPT SOME SOLUTION, THEY HAVE TO HAVE A PART IN FORMING IT. CERTAINLY ONE WOULD EXPECT, AS THE LANGUAGE OF CAMP DAVID MAKES CLEAR, THAT THE PALESTINIANS

SHOULD HAVE A ROLE IN DETERMINING THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY WILL BE GOVERNED.

Q. IN GOING THROUGH THE AGREEMENT, I DON'T SEE ANYTHING UNCLASSIFIED

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MENTIONED ABOUT VERIFYING THAT THE PLO HAS IN FACT LEFT BEIRUT. MAYBE I JUST PASSED OVER IT, BUT I WONDER IF YOU COULD ADDRESS THAT PROBLEM?

A. ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO, IN EFFECT, CHECK OFF PEOPLE AS THEY LEAVE SO THAT THERE IS A VERIFICATION OF HOW MANY PEOPLE HAVE LEFT AND SO ON, AND WHERE THEY HAVE GONE. THAT PROCESS WILL BE UNDERTAKEN, AND I BELIEVE THAT IS BASICALLY A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON TO DO.

Q. YOU JUST MENTIONED IN ONE OF YOUR ANSWERS THAT ARAB-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE NOW STRAINED. IT DOESN'T SEEM TO HAVE PASSED ON TO SOME OF THOSE ARAB GOVERNMENTS THAT WHEN THE UNITED STATES MADE CLEAR TO ISRAEL WHAT THE UNITED STATES WANTED, ISRAEL DID STOP THE BOMBING. LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, DO YOU INTEND AGAIN TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO ISRAEL TO REALLY PURSUE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES IN THE MIDEAST?

A. MY HOPE IS THAT EVERYONE WILL LOOK AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS AND FEEL THAT IT MEANS THAT WE MUST ALL CONCENTRATE ON CREATING A JUST PEACE.

THIS SHINING OBJECTIVE WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL MOTIVATING FORCE FOR EVERYONE.

Q. CAN I JUST COME BACK TO CAMP DAVID? YOU'VE TALKED A LOT ABOUT PEACE AND THE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS AND CAMP DAVID. BEFORE THE LEBANON CRISIS ERUPTED, SECRETARY HAIG WAS ABOUT TO LAUNCH INTO AN INTENSIFIED EFFORT TO REVIVE THE TALKS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL ON THE GROUND RULES FOR THE SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY AS IT'S CALLED AS WELL UNCLASSIFIED

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AS OTHER LEFT-OVER POINTS THAT HADN'T BEEN NEGOTIATED. ARE YOU LOOKING FOR WAYS BEYOND THIS, OR ARE YOU WILLING TO CONTINUE THAT NEGOTIATING TRACK WHICH HAS BEEN ON AND OFF FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS AS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS THIS INTERIM SOLUTION WHICH IS CALLED FOR IN CAMP DAVID? I'M NOT SURE WHETHER YOU WANT TO STAY WITH CAMP DAVID OR

NOT?

A. THE LANGUAGE OF CAMP DAVID AS I READ IT HAS LOTS OF ROOM FOR IDEAS AS TO HOW THE SITUATION MIGHT BE ARRANGED. I HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO MANY PEOPLE. YOU MENTIONED DR. KISSINGER AND OTHERS -- SAUL LINOWITZ, IRVING SHAPIRO, LARRY SILBERMAN, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- TALKING WITH THE PRESIDENT. WE'RE TRYING TO FORM OUR IDEAS ABOUT WHAT WE THINK IN A GENERAL WAY SHOULD BE A REASONABLE OUTCOME AND WHAT SORT OF PROCESS SHOULD GET US THERE. AS I SAID AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS STATEMENT, THERE IS A LOT OF ROOM WITHIN THE CAMP DAVID LANGUAGE, AND I THINK WHEN YOU SEE A SITUATION LIKE THAT, IT'S WORTHWHILE TO PRESERVE THAT.

Q. A LOT OF ROOM FOR WHAT?

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A. A LOT OF ROOM FOR MANY DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS AS TO WHAT THAT LANGUAGE MEANS, BUT IT'S JUST THE KIND OF LANGUAGE THAT IS GENERALLY USED, AND I RECOGNIZE THAT DIFFERENT PEOPLE PUT DIFFERENT MEANINGS O IT.

Q. YOUR FACT SHEET ABOUT THE SENDING OF THESE FORCES SUGGESTS STRONGLY THAT YOU PLAN TO REPORT TO CONGRESS UNDER THE WAR POWERS ACT UNDER A PROVISION WHICH IS NOT BINDING IN THE SENSE THAT THE TROOPS ARE NOT REQUIRED TO BE OUT AFTER SIXTY DAYS. AS YOU KNOW, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, MR. ZABLOCKI, AND OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, MR. PERCY, ARGUE THAT IT SHOULD BE UNDER THE MORE BINDING PROVISION

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BECAUSE OF BOTH THE SITUATION AND THE PRECEDENT INVOLVED. IN THAT VIEW, IS IT CORRECT THAT YOU'RE PLANNING AS THIS SUGGESTS BUT DOESN'T EXACTLY SAY TO GO UNDER THE NON-BINDING PROVISION, AND, IF SO, WHY?

A. THE PRESIDENT WILL MAKE A DECISION ABOUT WHAT PART OF THE WAR POWERS ACT TO USE AT THE TIME OF THE INTRODUCTION OF AMERICAN FORCES. I BELIEVE UNDER THE LAW HE'S REQUIRED TO MAKE THAT STATEMENT WITHIN 48 HOURS OF THEIR DEPLOYMENT, AND I'M SURE HE WILL DO SO. HE'LL HAVE TO DECIDE AT THE TIME WHAT IS THE RIGHT SECTION.

I WOULD SAY THIS: THAT, FIRST OF ALL, THE PRESIDENT HAS STATED EXPLICITLY THAT WE HAVE A THIRTY-DAY TIME LIMIT HERE, AND THAT IS RIGHT IN THE PLAN, RATHER THAN 60 DAYS AS YOUR QUESTION SUGGESTED.

SECOND, IF WE HAVE A BASICALLY PEACEFUL DEPARTURE SITUATION IN WEST BEIRUT, AND THIS GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES

THAT ITS FORCES ARE GOING IN UNDER WHAT IT CONSIDERS
CONDITIONS OF IMMINENT HOSTILITY, I WONDER WHAT THE
MESSAGE IS?

I THINK WE HAVE TO BE COGNIZANT OF WHAT THE REAL FACTS
ARE ON THE GROUND AND SUIT OUR DETERMINATION TO THAT. I
BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT WILL CERTAINLY BE DOING THAT, AND I
DON'T WANT TO PREJUDGE WHAT DECISION HE WILL MAKE.

BUT I THINK THE BASIS FOR THE DECISION SHOULD BE THE
CONDITIONS ON THE GROUND RATHER THAN SOME NOTION ABOUT
THE NUMBER OF DAYS OR SOMETHING OF THAT KIND.

THE PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY SPECIFIED THE LIMIT ON THE
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NUMBER OF DAYS.

Q. WOULD YOU JUST FINISH UP THE CAMP DAVID QUESTIONS
THAT HAVE BEEN BROUGHT UP? WHAT EVIDENCE IS THERE THAT
PRESIDENT MUBARAK (OF EGYPT) IS AS ANXIOUS TO PROCEED
ALONG THE FRAMEWORK OF CAMP DAVID, NO MATTER HOW YOU WORK
WITHIN THIS LARGE FRAMEWORK, AS WAS HIS PREDECESSOR.
THERE'S SOME EVIDENCE HE IS NOT THAT KEEN, IS THERE NOT?

A. AS WE NOTED EARLIER, PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD
ARE VERY UPSET ABOUT THE EVENTS IN LEBANON, AND IT HAS
HAD A PROFOUND EFFECT ON THEIR ATTITUDES. I KNOW THAT.
THAT WILL REPRESENT A PROBLEM THAT WE'LL HAVE TO CONTEND
WITH. AS WE GO ALONG HERE, WE CERTAINLY EXPECT TO WORK
WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND THE EGYPTIANS. THEY HAVE BEEN
AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THIS WHOLE PEACE PROCESS, AND I
WOULD HAVE EVERY EXPECTATION THAT IN THE END THEY WILL
STILL WANT TO BE A PART OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

Q. THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MR. SECRETARY. END PRESS

CONFERENCE.

-- MINIMIZE CONSIDERED FOR
DAMASCUS.
SHULTZ

BEIRUT AND