

UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTION SS-30

R

lee

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /031 W

O 122047Z MAY 81  
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9373  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 11/3/97  
 RELEASE  DECLASSIFY  
 EXCISE  DECLASSIFY EO Citations  
 DENY IN PART

FOIA Exemptions \_\_\_\_\_ TS authority \_\_\_\_\_  
PA Exemptions \_\_\_\_\_  CLASSIFY as  S or  C Sec. \_\_\_\_\_  
 DOWNGRADE TS to  S or  C

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E.O. 12065: RDS-1-3-4 5/12/01 (DRAAER, MORRIS)  
TAGS: MOPS, PINT, IS, US, SY, LE, XF  
SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR

1. ~~ENTIRE TEXT~~

2. SUMMARY: I WAS ENCOURAGED BY MY MORNING MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR AND TOP MFA OFFICIALS THAT BEGIN MAY GIVE ME ENOUGH WITH WHICH TO GO BACK TO BEIRUT AND DAMASCUS TO PRESS FOR AN OVERALL RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE. END SUMMARY.

3. I MET FOR AN HOUR THIS MORNING, MAY 12, WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR. PRESENT ON OUR SIDE WERE AMBASSADOR LEWIS, DAS DRAPER, BROWN, HILL, DATT HOAG AND PRESS ATTACHE DIETERICH. OTHERS ON THE ISRAELI SIDE WERE KIMCHE, BAR-ON, SASSON, AND PRESS SPOKESMAN LAVIE.

4. SHAMIR FIRST PROBED ME ON SOVIET INTENTIONS. SUMMING UP STOESSEL'S THROIFATH DOBRYNIN

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AND OUR DEMARCHES IN MOSCOW, I SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT BEING HELPFUL ON GETTING THE SYRIANS TO PULL BACK MILITARILY. TO PUT THIS IN PERSPECTIVE, WE HAD HEARD FROM SOMEONE IN A POSITION TO KNOW THAT DURING HIS MAY 6-8 VISIT TO DAMASCUS, FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO DID ADVISE CAUTION ON THE SYRIANS. IT WAS ALSO IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE SYRIANS INSISTED TO ME THAT THE KORNIYENKO TRIP HAD BEEN SCHEDULED LONG BEFORE THE CURRENT CRISIS AND SHOULD NOT THEREFORE

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BE SEEN PURELY AS A COUNTER TO MY MISSION.

5. KIMCHE HAZARDED TWO CONFLICTING THEORIES:

-- (A) THE SOVIETS ARE VERY ANXIOUS TO PREVENT FURTHER ESCALATION FOR FEAR THAT IT WILL GET OUT OF HAND, AND ARE THEREFORE URGING CAUTION;

-- (B) THE SOVIETS SEE THE SITUATION AS PLAYING INTO THEIR HANDS, AND AS GIVING THEM A MEANS OF REENTRY AS A MAJOR MIDDLE EAST PLAYER.

6. STATING THAT I FAVORED THE SECOND THEORY, I SAID THAT SECRETARY HAIG HAD ALSO ASKED ME TO POINT OUT ESPECIALLY TO PRIME MINISTER BEGIN THAT, AFTER RECENTLY CONFERRING WITH NATO COUNTERPARTS, WE CONSIDERED IT PROBABLE THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT WANT TO USE THE TENSION OF THIS CRISIS TO DRAW ATTENTION AWAY FROM OTHER EVENTS, SUCH AS IN POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN. BEFORE LONG THE SOVIETS COULD AGAIN CONSIDER MOVING INTO POLAND. IN THIS CONNECTION, MANY ARGUE THAT AN ISRAELI STRIKE AGAINST THE SAM'S WOULD INITIALLY RALLY ARAB SUPPORT FOR SYRIA, PUT ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON THE U.S. AND SADAT, PLAY INTO THE SOVIET PUSH FOR A GENEVA-TYPE

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CONFERENCE AND UNDERMINE CAMP DAVID. HOWEVER, THE BOTTOM LINE OF OUR CURRENT INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS WAS THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT REALLY PUSHING THE SYRIANS TOWARD CONFLICT; RATHER MOSCOW WAS PROBABLY URGING SOME CAUTION. ON THE OTHER HAND, NEITHER WERE THEY URGING THE SYRIANS TO GET THE SAM'S OUT.

7. SHAMIR THEN GAVE ME AN OPENING BY ASKING WHAT COULD BRING THE SYRIANS TO REMOVE THEIR SAM'S. I REVIEWED THE THRUST OF MY BASIC BALANCED PROPOSAL FOR A RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE ACROSS THE BOARD. THIS OF COURSE WOULD PERMIT THE CONTINUATION OF ISRAELI RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS OVER LEBANON YET PROVIDE THE SYRIANS A CREDIBLE WAY OUT TO REMOVE THE SAM'S BECAUSE THE ADF WOULD NOT BE THREATENED BY THE OVERFLIGHTS. I STRESSED THAT THE WAY OUT WOULD NOT INVOLVE VICTORY OR DEFEAT BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER; IT WOULD, HOWEVER, NEED TO PROVIDE SYRIA WITH CREDIBILITY IN ITS PROPAGANDA. I ALSO SAID THAT THERE MUST BE SOME PROMISE OF PROGRESS ON THE INTERNAL LEBANESE SCENE.

8. IN THIS CONNECTION, I REVIEWED MY TALK WITH KHADDAM, WHEN HE ASKED WHETHER WE HAD ACCEPTED THE LEGALITY OF THE ADF. I SAID TO HIM WE HAD GONE ALONG WITH THE ADF CONCEPT IN 1976, BUT ADDED THAT DIDN'T MEAN WE HAD NOT

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