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 PRE/ADD 7 TO IMMEDIATE DAMASCUS  
 TEL NO 8 TELEGRAM NUMBER

9 YOUR TELNOS 578 AND 579

10 PRESIDENT MUBARAK'S MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER

11 1. Please convey the following "oral reply" to President  
 12 Mubarak's message. Begins: I was most grateful for your oral  
 13 message of 30 December. It was particularly useful to have your  
 14 impressions following your meeting of 22 December with  
 15 Mr Yasser Arafat. I share your view that it would be valuable  
 16 if the Palestinian/Jordanian dialogue could be resumed. Progress  
 17 in resolving the Palestinian problem will only come if those  
 18 who are genuinely seeking a peaceful solution are willing to come  
 19 forward to the negotiating table. You have my full support in  
 20 your efforts in this direction.

21 2. As you will know, Sir Geoffrey Howe will be visiting Egypt  
 22 from 8 to 10 January. This provides another opportunity for a  
 23 full ~~bilateral~~ exchange of views on the Middle East between  
 24 Britain and Egypt. I hope that there will be an opportunity for  
 25 Sir Geoffrey to discuss with you the matters raised in your

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword message
File number	Dept Private Office	Distribution
Drafted by (Block capitals) P F Ricketts		
Telephone number 233 4641		
Authorised for despatch		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	



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1 <<<<  
2 message. I look forward to keeping in close touch as we both  
3 confront the urgent problems of the Middle East. Ends.  
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5 HOWE  
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5 January 1984

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT MUBARAK TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your letter of 3 January.

The Prime Minister agrees that an "oral reply" to President Mubarak should be sent on the lines of the draft telegram enclosed with your letter.

*AJC*

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

*87*

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Prime Minister.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Agree attached telegram  
containing message from you to  
President Mubarak?

3 January 1984

A.J.C. 4/1

Dear John,

Yes not

Message from President Mubarak to the Prime Minister

An 'oral message' from President Mubarak to the Prime Minister was delivered to HM Ambassador at Cairo on 30 December. I enclose Cairo telno 579 which contains the text of the message. Sir Michael Weir was told that similar messages would be sent to Presidents Reagan and Mitterrand, Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister Craxi.

President Mubarak's message describes Egypt's attitude towards the PLO evacuation from Tripoli and gives an account of his meeting with Arafat on 22 December. Notable points are: Mubarak's encouragement to Arafat to accept unequivocally 'the principle of peaceful settlement', and to resume his dialogue with Jordan (and the offer of Egyptian help in this); and Arafat's point that he needed time to put his house in order, and that he was determined to force a polarisation within the PLO (by implication) to thwart Syrian efforts to control the Organisation (this would, if carried out, represent a considerable change of tack by Arafat).

Sir Geoffrey Howe will be visiting Egypt from 8-10 January and will be able to discuss these and other points with Egyptian ministers and President Mubarak himself. He recommends therefore that the Prime Minister should send a brief 'oral' reply to President Mubarak, via the Ambassador in Cairo, on the lines of the attached draft telegram.

Yours ever,

Peter Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street



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FROM CAIRO 301218Z DEC 83  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 579 OF 30 DECEMBER

MIPT

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MESSAGE.  
BEGINS

1. PRESIDENT MUBARAK WOULD LIKE TO INFORM THE PRIME MINISTER OF CERTAIN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HE FINDS OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE PROCESS OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

2. WHEN PLO CHAIRMAN ARAFAT AND HIS LOYALISTS DECIDED TO LEAVE TRIPOLI, HE REQUESTED EGYPT TO TAKE PART IN GUARANTEEING SAFE PASSAGE FOR THE DEPARTING MEN AND FAMILIES.

3. PRESIDENT MUBARAK SENT URGENT MESSAGES TO PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR RESPECTIVELY, ASKING THEM TO GIVE ASSURANCES THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT INFLICT ANY HARM ON THE DEPARTING PALESTINIANS. ANY ACT OF AGGRESSION ON THE PART OF ISRAEL WOULD REFLECT QUITE NEGATIVELY ON THE ISRAELI INTENTIONS VIS-A-VIS THE ARABS AND PUT TO QUESTION ITS DESIRE TO COEXIST PEACEFULLY WITH THE PALESTINIANS.

4. THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED SOME ENCOURAGING REPLIES. MOREOVER, HE AGREED TO A PALESTINIAN REQUEST THAT SOME UNITS OF THE EGYPTIAN NAVY PARTAKE OF THE PROTECTION OF THE CONVOY.

5. PRIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF CHAIRMAN ARAFAT TO EGYPT, HE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN PAYING A BRIEF VISIT TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND CONVEY TO THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE THE APPRECIATION AND GRATITUDE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

6. THE MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND MR ARAFAT TOOK PLACE IN CAIRO ON DECEMBER 22 AND LASTED FOR THREE AND HALF HOURS.

7. THE PLO CHAIRMAN STATED THAT THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE MOST GRATEFUL TO EGYPT FOR THE FIRM STAND IT TOOK THROUGHOUT THEIR PLIGHT PARTICULARLY DURING THE SIEGE OF BEIRUT AND TRIPOLI. HE COMPARED BETWEEN THIS STAND AND THAT OF CERTAIN ARAB COUNTRIES WHICH DID EVERYTHING TO FOMENT DISSENSION AND RIFT WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE PALESTINIANS AND INCAPACITATE THE PLO TO TAKE ANY MOVE TOWARDS THE RESTORATION OF THEIR RIGHTS.

8. HE ADDED THAT HE IS DETERMINED AT THIS CROSSROADS TO FORCE A POLARIZATION IN THE MOVEMENT WITH A VIEW TO DETERRING ANY ATTEMPTS MADE TO CONTROL IT OR FORCE IT TO FORFEIT ITS INDEPENDENT WILL AND MAKE IT SUBSERVIENT TO CERTAIN REGIMES IN THE REGION. TOWARDS THAT END, HE PLANS TO CONVENE THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL

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COUNCIL WITHIN A MONTH OR TWO AND FORCE A SHOWDOWN WITH THOSE WHO ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH HOSTILE ARAB GOVERNMENTS.

9. THE PRESIDENT COMMENTED THAT WHILE IT IS VITAL AT THIS POINT THAT THE PLO TAKE A FIRM AND UNAMBIGUOUS STAND FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION, IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO BE CAPTIVES OF THE PAST. WE MUST LOOK AHEAD AND CONCENTRATE ON THE FUTURE AND THE PROMISE IT HOLDS FOR ALL NATIONS IN THE AREA. THE PALESTINIANS WOULD SERVE THEIR CAUSE AND HELP THEIR SUPPORTERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD IF THEY MAKE CLEAR THEIR OBJECTIVE AND CLAIMS. SO LONG AS THEY ACCEPT WHOLEHEARTEDLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THEY CAN PROCEED TO ILLUSTRATE THEIR PERCEPTION OF PEACE AND SET THEIR CONDITIONS. NO FORMULA WOULD BE IMPOSED ON THEM. WE, IN EGYPT, BELIEVE THAT THE REAGAN INITIATIVE WAS A STEP FORWARD THAT SHOULD BE UTILIZED AND DEVELOPED. IT COULD ALSO BE SUPPLEMENTED BY THE FEZ RESOLUTIONS (OF THE ARAB SUMMIT) AND THE FRANCO-EGYPTIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION. THERE IS NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THESE FORMULAS WHICH STEM FROM SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 IN ITS LETTER AND SPIRIT. IT IS CRUCIAL TO GENERATE A NEW MOMENTUM AND SURGE AHEAD, OTHERWISE THE WORLD WOULD LEARN TO LIVE WITH THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM UNSOLVED FOR DECADES. WE SHOULD ALSO BEAR IN MIND THAT 1984 IS AN ELECTION YEAR IN THE UNITED STATES.

10. THE PRESIDENT CONVEYED TO CHAIRMAN ARAFAT A MESSAGE HE RECEIVED JUST BEFORE HIS ARRIVAL FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN STATING THAT THE US REMAINED WILLING TO ENTER INTO A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO AS SOON AS THE LATTER ACCEPTS RESOLUTION 242 AND ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST.

11. THE PLO CHAIRMAN SAID THAT IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE PLO HAS ACCEPTED THE SAID RESOLUTION, AT LEAST TACITLY, AS IT ENDORSED THE FEZ RESOLUTIONS, HE SAW NO WISDOM IN TAKING A NEW STEP AT THAT JUNCTION. FURTHERMORE, HE NEEDED SOME TIME TO SET HIS HOUSE IN ORDER BEFORE EMBARKING ON ANY ACTION.

12. PRESIDENT MUBARAK SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD SUCH NEED AND THE LIMITATIONS ON MR ARAFAT'S FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. IT IS TRUE THAT THE FEZ RESOLUTIONS ARE IN CONFORMITY WITH RESOLUTION 242 BUT CHAIRMAN ARAFAT MAY DEEM IT USEFUL, AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME, TO TAKE NEW STEPS AND BUILD UPON THE PALESTINIAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FEZ FORMULA.

13. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PRESIDENT BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL TO RESUME THE JORDANIAN PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE. EGYPT WAS WILLING TO DO ALL THAT IT COULD TO STIMULATE THIS DIALOGUE. SUCH STEPS WOULD HELP REGENERATE THE PEACE MOMENTUM AND WOULD PAVE THE WAY FOR MOVEMENT. THE DYNAMICS OF THE SITUATION ARE APT TO CREATE NEW REALITIES THAT WOULD PAVE THE WAY FOR A GENUINE CHANGE CONDUCIVE TO ENABLING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

14. CHAIRMAN ARAFAT RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR SEIZING THE INITIATIVE

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AND MAINTAINING THE MOMENTUM IN THE COMING FEW MONTHS.

15. THE PALESTINIAN LEADER SAID THAT THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL WOULD BE RENDERED MORE FRUITFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE IF ATTENDED BY MEMBERS RESIDING IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. SINCE ISRAEL DENIES THEM THE RIGHT TO ATTEND COUNCIL MEETINGS UNDER THE PRETEXT THAT THE PLO IS A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, IT WOULD BE A MATTER OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO PERSUADE ISRAEL NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THEIR ATTENDANCE OF THE COMING SESSION. IF THE ISRAELI ATTITUDE REMAINS UNCHANGED, THE UNESCAPABLE CONCLUSION WOULD BE THAT IT DOES NOT ENCOURAGE PALESTINIAN MODERATION.

16. PRESIDENT MUBARAK SENT ANOTHER MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN ON THAT POINT. ISRAEL WAS CONTACTED AS WELL IN THE HOPE THAT IT WOULD APPRECIATE THE DESIRABILITY OF ALLOWING THOSE MEMBERS, WHO NUMBER A HUNDRED AND SIXTY, TO ATTEND THE MEETING AND GO BACK TO RESUME THEIR RESIDENCE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY.

THE PRESIDENT WISHES THE PRIME MINISTER A HAPPY NEW YEAR.''

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