

Confidential Filing

Meetings with the Egyptian Ambassador.

EGYPT

August 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
1. 8. 80							
17.12.87							
4.1.82							
17.12.81							
17.9.91							
PREM 19 / 3597							



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

17 September 1991

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Stephen,

Saeds

Egyptian Ambassador, Mohamed Shaker

You asked for a note on the Egyptian Ambassador, whom the Prime Minister might meet at a dinner on 18 September. This is enclosed.

Mohamed Shaker is one of the more able Ambassadors on the London circuit. He was active and helpful during the Gulf crisis and managed his Embassy's involvement in the Mubarak State Visit with great skill.

Mrs Shaker will not be present. She has not yet returned from holiday in Egypt.

Yours ever,
Christopher Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq
10 Downing Street



MR MOHAMED IBRAHIM SHAKER

Egyptian Ambassador in London since 14 September 1988.

Mr Shaker was born in 1933. He obtained a law degree in 1955 and a doctorate in Political Science in 1975 in Geneva.

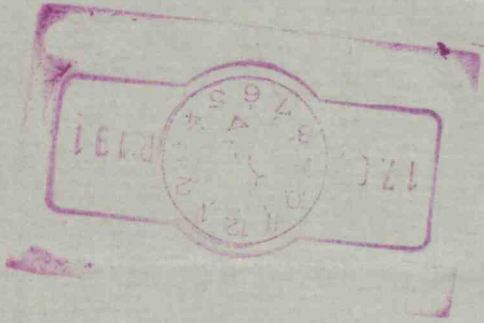
Mr Shaker's diplomatic career began in 1956. He has served in New York, Geneva, Washington and Vienna. He later was seconded to the International Atomic Energy Agency, serving as the Agency's representative in New York from 1982-83.

Mr Shaker was Chairman of the Second Conference on the Treaty of Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in Geneva in 1985 and Chairman of the Conference on Strengthening International Co-operation for Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy, also in Geneva, in 1987. His most recent post was head of Western European Department in the Foreign Ministry in Cairo.

Mr Shaker is a neat, handsome man of European appearance. He speaks excellent English. His wife is outgoing and intelligent and a great support to her husband; her father was a distinguished Egyptian diplomat, and served as Ambassador in Moscow and London. They have two children.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
17 September 1991

EY3AEN/1



Who's Who Entries:

REECE, Sir (James) Gordon, Kt 1986; public relations consultant; b 1930; m (marr. diss.); six c. *Educ:* Ratcliffe Coll.; Downing Coll., Cambridge (Associate Fellow, 1986). Formerly: reporter, Liverpool Daily Post and Echo, then Sunday Express; television producer, ITV, 1960-70; Jt Man. Dir. RMEMI Ltd, 1970-74; Advr to Rt Hon. Margaret Thatcher, 1975-79; Dir of Publicity, Cons. Central Office, 1978-80; a Vice-Pres., Occidental Petroleum Corp., 1980-85. *Address:* c/o Occidental Petroleum Corporation, 10889 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 1229, Los Angeles, Calif 90024, USA. *Clubs:* Buck's, Portland; California (Los Angeles).

HESKETH, 3rd Baron, cr 1935, of Hesketh; Thomas Alexander Fermor-Hesketh, Bt 1961; Minister of State, Department of Trade and Industry, since 1990; b 28 Oct. 1950; s of 2nd Baron and Christian Mary, OBE 1984, o d of Sir John McEwen, 1st Bt of Marchmont, DL, JP; S father 1955; m 1977, Hon. Claire, e d of 3rd Baron Manton, one s two d. *Educ:* Ampleforth. A Lord in Waiting (Govt Whip), 1986-89; Parly Under-Sec. of State, DoE, 1989-90. Hon. FSE. *Heir:* s Hon. Frederick Hatton Fermor-Hesketh, b 13 Oct. 1988. *Address:* Easton Neston, Towcester, Northamptonshire NN12 7HS, T: Towcester (0327) 50445. *Clubs:* White's, Turf.

1991: LORDS WHIP

BUTTERFIELD, Baron cr 1988 (Life Peer), of Stechford in the County of West Midlands; William John Hughes Butterfield; Kt 1978; OBE 1953; DM; FRCP; Regius Professor of Physic, University of Cambridge, 1976-87 (Deputy, since 1987); Master of Downing College, Cambridge, 1978-87; b 28 March 1920; s of late William Hughes Butterfield and of Mrs Doris North; m 1st, 1946, Ann Sanders (decd); one s; 2nd, 1950, Isabel-Ann Foster Kennedy; two s one d. *Educ:* Solihull Sch.; Exeter Coll., Oxford (DM 1968; Hon. Fellow, 1978); Johns Hopkins Univ. (MD 1951); MA, MD Cantab 1975. Repr. Oxford Univ.: Rugby football, Cambridge, 1940-41; hockey, 1940-42 (Captain); cricket, 1942 (Captain). Member, Scientific Staff, Medical Research Council, 1946-58; Major RAMC, Army Operational Research Group, 1947-50; Research Fellow, Medical Coll. of Virginia, Richmond, Va, USA, 1950-52; seconded to Min. of Supply, 1952; seconded to AEA, 1956; Prof. of Experimental Medicine, Guy's Hospital, 1958-63; Prof. of Medicine, Guy's Hosp. Med. Sch., and Additional Physician, Guy's Hosp., 1963-71; Vice-Chancellor, Nottingham Univ., 1971-75; Professorial Fellow, Downing Coll., Cambridge, 1975-78; Vice-Chancellor, Cambridge Univ., 1983-85. Chairman: Bedford Diabetic Survey, 1962; Woolwich/Erith New Town Medical Liaison Cttee, 1965-71; SE Met. Reg. Hospital Board's Clinical Research Cttee, 1960-71; Scientific Advisory Panel, Army Personnel Research Cttee, 1970-76; Council for the Education and Training of Health Visitors, 1971-76; East Midlands Economic Planning Council, 1974-75; Medicines Commn, 1976-81; Member: UGC Medical Sub-Cttee, 1966-71; Council, British Diabetic Assoc., 1963-74 (Chm. 1967-74, Vice-Pres. 1974-); DHSS Cttee on Medical Aspects of Food Policy, 1964-80; DHSS Panel on Medical Research, 1974-76; MRC Cttee on General Epidemiology, 1965-74; MRC Clinical Res. Grants Bd, 1969-71; MRC, 1976-80; Anglo-Soviet Consultative Cttee; Minister of Health's Long Term Study Group; Health Educn Council, DHSS, 1973-77; Trent RHA, 1973-75; IUC Council and Exec. Cttee, 1973-; British Council Med. Adv. Cttee, 1971-80; Northwick Park Adv. Cttee, 1971-76; Council, European Assoc. for Study of Diabetes, 1968-71 (Vice-Pres.); Hong Kong Univ. and Polytechnic Grants Cttee, 1975-83; House of Lords Sci. of Technology Cttee, 1987-88; St George's House Council, 1987-; Chairman: Jardine Educnl Trust, 1982-; Health Promotion Res. Trust, 1983-; Croucher Foundn, Hong Kong, 1989 (Trustee, 1979); Trustee: GB-Sasakawa Foundn, 1985-; Ely Cathedral, 1986. Consultant, WHO Expert Cttee on Diabetes, 1964-80; Visitor, King Edward's Hospital Fund, 1964-71; Examiner in Medicine: Oxford Univ., 1960-66; Univ. of E Africa, 1966; Cambridge Univ., 1967-75; Pfizer Vis. Professor, NZ and Australia, 1965; Visiting Professor: Yale, 1966; Harvard, 1978. Rock Carling Fellow, RCP, 1968; Lectures: Oliver-Sharpey, RCP, 1967; Banting, BDA, 1970; Linacre, Cambridge, 1979; Roberts, Med. Soc. of London, 1981; Claysmore, Blandford Forum, 1983; Northcott, Exeter, 1984; Cohen, Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem, 1985. Dir. Prudential Corp., 1981-; Member: Editorial Board, Diabetologia, 1964-69; JI Chronic Diseases, 1968-; Hon. Fellow: NY Acad. Science, 1962; NY Acad. of Medicine, 1987; Hughes Hall, Cambridge, 1988; Corres. FACP, 1973. Hon. Med. Adviser, Leeds Castle Patron, Richmond Soc., 1968-71. FRSA 1971. Hon. LLD Nottingham, 1977; Hon. DMedSci Keio Univ., Tokyo, 1983. Hon. DSc, Florida Internat. Univ., Miami, 1985; Hon. MD Chinese Univ., Hong Kong, 1989. *Publications:* (jointly) On Burns, 1953; Tolbutamide after 10 years, 1967; Priorities in Medicine, 1968; Health and Sickness: the choice of treatment, 1971; (ed) International Dictionary of Medicine and Biology, 1986; over 100 contribs to med. and allied literature incl. books, chapters, official reports and articles on diabetes, health care and educnl topics. *Recreations:* tennis (not lawn), cricket (village) and talking (too much). *Address:* 39 Clarendon Street, Cambridge CB1 1JX, T: Cambridge (0223) 328854. *Clubs:* Athenæum, MCC, Queen's; CURUFC (Pres., 1984-); CUCC (Pres., 1979-90).

RESTRICTED of Egypt: visit of Mubarak VUS

SUBJECT

ca Martin
+ Middle East Situation A-9



FILE

Egypt

BF

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

17 December 1981

Call on the Prime Minister by the Egyptian Ambassador

Would you please refer to Francis Richards' letter of 16 December and your own of 17 December.

Mr. Abou Seeda paid a 10-minute call on the Prime Minister today. His primary purpose was to convey a letter to the Prime Minister from President Mubarak. A copy is enclosed with this letter.

The Prime Minister read the letter and commented that it was our firm hope that withdrawal from Sinai would take place on schedule and according to plan. The Ambassador said that Egypt was hoping for the best. All calculations suggested that the Israelis ought to complete the withdrawal process and Egypt was sure that they would indeed withdraw. The Israeli Government could, however, be expected to make difficulties, for which Egypt would be ready.

The Ambassador congratulated the Prime Minister on the speech she had made to the Board of Deputies of British Jews on the recent Israeli move on the Golan. HMG's attitude was very solid and encouraging. The Israelis could be counted upon to raise new issues to complicate the peace process, for example in Southern Lebanon their objective would be to distract attention from the Palestinian issue. The autonomy negotiations presented great difficulty but Egypt had to go on with them. There was no other way to promote peace. Egypt hoped that after the completion of Sinai withdrawal in April 1982, friendly Governments, including the United Kingdom, would co-ordinate action with the Americans to stimulate new movement towards peace. Egypt wanted a comprehensive peace, not just a settlement in Sinai.

The Prime Minister said she concluded from this that Egypt's approach was not limited to the ideas contained in the Camp David Agreement (the Ambassador confirmed that that was so). She added that it was important that Egypt's relations with other Arabs should improve.

/ The Prime

RESTRICTED

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- 2 -

The Prime Minister then said that she hoped President Mubarak would be able to visit London soon. Mr. Abou Seeda said that the President was hoping to visit the United States in February. The Prime Minister said he would be very welcome to visit London either on his way to or back from the United States, or at any other time. The Ambassador said that he would convey this invitation with pleasure to President Mubarak.

I should be grateful if you could let me have in due course a draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to President Mubarak's letter.

A. J. COLES

R. M. J. Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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RESTRICTED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 December 1981

Dear John,

The Prime Minister has kindly agreed to see the Egyptian Ambassador Mr Abou Seeda at 1230 pm today. The Ambassador has told us that he wishes to deliver a message from President Mubarak. We have not seen the text but believe it to be a general statement on the Middle East and to contain an expression of thanks for the decision to make British troops available for the Sinai multinational force.

Lord Carrington believes that it would be useful if the Prime Minister could take the opportunity to invite President Mubarak to visit Britain next year. Our Embassy have reported Mubarak as saying that he has accepted invitations to visit the United States and France. It would be useful, particularly in the first half of 1982 as the date for the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai approaches, for us to see Mubarak briefly in London. We shall also need to keep closely alongside Egypt on general Middle East questions next year, as their role is likely to grow in importance. The transition of power in Egypt has gone smoothly; Mubarak is firmly in command. He is broadly sticking to Sadat's policies, but there are already signs that he has his own ideas. He is dissatisfied with the inefficiency of the economy and has shown that he is prepared to take a more flexible line with the opposition and with other Arab states.

Our relations with Egypt are excellent. Mr Nott and Mr Biffen have both visited Cairo in the past few months. Mubarak, who has a Welsh wife, has made it clear that he wishes to maintain Egypt's close ties with Britain.

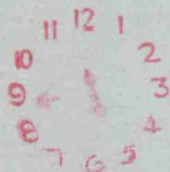
Yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

John Coles Esq
10 Downing St

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or address.

77 DEC 1977



cis

cf: Egypt - visit of Mubarak 010

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Handwritten initials

16 December 1981

Prime Minister

I had hoped to spare you this but I recommend that you see him for 10 minutes at 12.30 on 17 Dec (there is only one item on the OD agenda). Agree? A. J. Cole 16/12

Dear John,

We spoke the other day about a request by the Egyptian Ambassador for a call on the Prime Minister to deliver a message from President Mubarak. We agreed that a call on a Foreign and Commonwealth Office Minister would suffice and the Lord Privy Seal agreed to see Mr Abou Seeda on 17 December.

The Ambassador has reacted strongly to this suggestion. His message, he says, is for Mrs Thatcher personally. Refusal by the Prime Minister to see him would place him in a difficult position and give him no alternative but to return the message to Cairo undelivered. This would be regarded by the President as a slight.

The Ambassador is due to leave London on Friday 18 December for Cairo, where he will spend the Christmas holidays. Although Lord Carrington is reluctant to submit to a reaction that comes close to blackmail, it is clear that if a 5 or 10 minute gap could be found in the Prime Minister's diary, a potentially embarrassing incident could be avoided. The Egyptians are feeling vulnerable at the moment, particularly after the Israeli announcement on the Golan Heights; and Lord Carrington believes that we should not give them grounds for believing that our relations with them are anything less than the best.

I should be grateful to know if the Prime Minister can agree to see Mr Abou Seeda very briefly to receive the message.

Yours ever,

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

Francis Richards

John Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

6 DEC 1981



SUBJECT

ex Master

CP1

+ Middle East Situation No 8

ش: Egypt - visit of Mubarak

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



The President

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

الرئيس

SERIAL No. T 1695/81

Cairo, November 30, 1981.

Dear Prime Minister Thatcher

On behalf of the people of the Arab Republic of Egypt, I would like to express to you and your friendly people our heartfelt gratitude for your decision to contribute to the Multinational Force and Observers. Such a courageous decision clearly reflects your profound understanding of the situation in the Middle East and the goals we are striving to achieve. In the Treaty of Peace we signed with Israel in March 1979, we set a model for security arrangements based on the respect for the territorial integrity and inviolability of the fundamental rights of each Party.

On the other hand, we signed that Treaty as an inseparable part of a comprehensive settlement that covers all aspects of the dispute. Certainly, the taking of this step will facilitate the process of bridging the gap that still exists between the Arabs and Israel on the Palestinian question. We are determined to continue our tireless efforts until an equitable solution is reached for this problem.

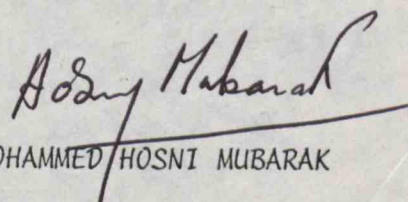


The President

We have always believed that Europe was uniquely qualified to play a constructive role in the peace efforts. Geographic proximity, the mutuality of interest and the undeniable link between peace and stability in the Middle East and the security and prosperity of Europe render an active European role most indispensable and beneficial. Your decision to participate in the MFO reaffirms that belief. It also puts Europe in a better position to contribute to the maintenance of security in other parts of the region.

I intend to consult with you regularly and put you fully in the picture with respect to the autonomy talks. I will be very pleased to receive your views and invaluable advice. On the other hand, we are determined to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation between our two countries and peoples in all fields. I wish you total success in your endeavors.

Sincerely,


MOHAMMED/HOSNI MUBARAK

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP.
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 August 1980

As you know, the Egyptian Ambassador called here at 1715 today. Mr. Hurd was present.

The Ambassador handed to the Prime Minister the text of President Sadat's message to Prime Minister Begin dated 2 August. He asked the Prime Minister to treat this text as confidential until it is released from Cairo. He said that Egyptian Ambassadors in France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and Australia, were taking parallel action. Egypt believe the role of the EEC countries to be crucial at this stage, given the problems caused by the US election.

The Prime Minister said that the European countries had been conscious of the need to maintain the momentum in the Middle East despite the US election, and that this was part of the background to the Venice declaration. The new Act passed by the Israeli Parliament, followed by a move to East Jerusalem, would make the situation still more difficult for everyone concerned. It would also create acute difficulties for President Sadat, Mr. Carter, and for all those who had been Mr. Begin's staunchest friends.

The Ambassador referred to recent reports that the Israelis might now contemplate not withdrawing from the remaining Sinai territory still to be ceded under the Camp David accords. He said that Egypt was trying to keep movement in all possible directions. Egypt was striving for real peace. No peace was possible without Palestinian rights.

In reply to a question from the Prime Minister, the Ambassador confirmed that no reply had yet been received from Mr. Begin.

The rest of the exchanges were courteous but inconsequential. The Prime Minister said that she was looking forward to Vice-President Mubarak's visit.

The Ambassador did nothing to counteract the comments in the brief that he has not proved a very effective performer.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. A. PATISON

S. J. Gomersall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

GB

Egypt.
File Kb
x Minto
Middle East: Sit: P64

OBJECT



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 August 1980

Dear Mike,

I understand that the Egyptian Ambassador is now calling on the Prime Minister at 5.15 pm on 7 August. I enclose a short brief for the Prime Minister's use. Mr Hurd will attend the meeting from the FCO.

Yours truly
Stephen Gomersall

S J Gomersall

M A Pattison Esq
10 Downing Street



CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY THE EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR,
5.15PM, 7 AUGUST 1980

Points to Make

Autonomy talks

1. Understand and sympathize with Egyptian point of view. Clear that position of East Jerusalem and its Arab population cannot be ignored in talks. Do not accept unilateral moves by Israel.
2. Continue to hope that talks can succeed in producing a workable agreement acceptable to the Palestinians. But doubt this is possible without a considerable change in Israeli attitude. Will not obstruct Egyptian efforts to achieve peace.

Thorn mission

3. Not fully briefed while M. Thorn still on his travels, but valuable that he has been able to see both Israel and the PLO. First stage a matter of listening to explore the extent of common ground. Know M. Thorn attaches great importance to his visit to Egypt.

Visit of Vice President Mubarak

4. Looking forward to seeing Vice President Mubarak in September. (If pressed on details) FCO are preparing Vice President's programme; problems should be discussed with them.



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Essential Facts

- B 1. A biographical note on Mr Abou Se'eda is attached. He is said to be bringing a message from President Sadat. This is presumably an explanation of his postponement of the next round of talks. Similar messages are being sent to other Nine heads of state.


Autonomy talks

2. We do not know in detail the contents of President Sadat's letter to Mr Begin, of which he sent a copy to President Carter, but it is clear that its main point was to insist that if the autonomy talks are to be resumed, East Jerusalem must be on the agenda. The letter reportedly also asks Mr Begin not to implement his plan to move his office to East Jerusalem and to halt settlements on the West Bank. It is said to have been couched in friendly terms but to have been tough in substance. Mr Begin has now sent a reply. Again we do not know the details but it appears that the Israelis have tried to be accommodating by stating that the parties in the talks are free to bring forward in the discussions any topic they choose. This has however been accompanied by press briefing suggesting Israeli annoyance at having to appear to be at President Sadat's beck and call and shifting the blame onto President Sadat. The Americans meanwhile are anxious that Egypt should not hold up the negotiations because of the Jerusalem issue.

3. East Jerusalem has from the beginning one of the most difficult issues in the autonomy talks. The Egyptian insistence that the over 100,000 Arabs living there had to be taken into account has met blank Israeli refusal to do so. Jerusalem is not mentioned anywhere in the Camp David framework agreements

/themselves

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themselves but in a simultaneous exchange of letters, President Sadat reaffirmed Egypt's position and Mr Begin Israel's. Copies are attached.

C, D

Thorn mission

5. M. Thorn has so far visited Tunis, where he saw the Secretary General of the Arab League, Israel, where the Israelis repeated their objections to the Venice declaration in strong terms, and Lebanon, where he saw both the Lebanese government and Yasser Arafat. We have as yet seen no authoritative report on the meeting with Arafat but press accounts suggest that it was reasonably constructive. Arafat appears to have urged the Nine to reject Camp David openly and to take a more concrete initiative. He is also said to have supported a political settlement and to have repeated PLO readiness to establish a state on the West Bank and Gaza only. This of course leaves open the question of whether the PLO would be prepared to renounce further claims thereafter.

6. The Ambassador may ask about M. Thorn's visit to Egypt. We understand from the Luxembourgers that dates for this have not yet been agreed, but that he hopes to visit Cairo at the end of August. It is for M. Thorn to fix his own itinerary within the framework agreed by the Nine and we can do little more than repeat that Egypt is a vital port of call for M. Thorn.

Visit of Vice President Mubarak

7. Vice President Mubarak is visiting London from 1-6 September as a guest of HMG. He is to call on the Prime Minister for talks on Tuesday 2 September and is to be her guest at lunch on the same day. Other details in the programme (see attached telegram) are still under discussion with the

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Egyptians. The Ambassador may press the Prime Minister about some of them. In particular he may ask that the Prime Minister meet Mubarak on arrival. This is not necessary; he will be met by an FCO Minister. *(Mr Mubarak)*

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

HASSAN ALY ABOU SE'EDA

Ambassador since February 1980.

Born 13 October 1930. B Sc. in Military Science 1949.
Graduate of the War College, Nasser Military Academy.

As a Major-General commanded the 2nd Infantry Division in the 1973 war. Subsequently Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Third Army and then until 1977 Commander of the Western Military Zone. He held this post during the Egypt/Libya confrontation of July 1977. Director of Operations of the Egyptian Armed Forces from 1978 until his posting to London.

Reputed to be a protege of President Sadat and one of the most popular officers in the Egyptian Armed Forces. He has not to date proved a very effective Ambassador.

Married with one son.

3
CARTER TO BEGIN, SEPTEMBER 22

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1978, DESCRIBING HOW YOU INTEND TO PLACE THE QUESTION OF THE FUTURE OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN SINAI BEFORE THE KNESSET FOR ITS DECISION.

ENCLOSED IS A COPY OF PRESIDENT SADAT'S LETTER TO ME ON THIS SUBJECT.

SINCERELY,

(SIGNED)

JIMMY CARTER

ENCLOSURE:

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT SADAT (LETTER AT TAB C)

(END TEXT)

E. SADAT TO CARTER, SEPTEMBER 17

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I AM WRITING YOU TO REAFFIRM THE POSITION OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT WITH RESPECT TO JERUSALEM:

1. ARAB JERUSALEM IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE WEST BANK. LEGAL AND HISTORICAL ARAB RIGHTS IN THE CITY MUST BE RESPECTED AND RESTORED.

2. ARAB JERUSALEM SHOULD BE UNDER ARAB SOVEREIGNTY.

3. THE PALESTINIAN INHABITANTS OF ARAB JERUSALEM ARE ENTITLED TO EXERCISE THEIR LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS, BEING PART OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN THE WEST BANK.

4. RELEVANT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, PARTICULARLY RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 267, MUST BE APPLIED WITH REGARD TO JERUSALEM. ALL THE MEASURES TAKEN BY ISRAEL TO ALTER THE STATUS OF THE CITY ARE NULL AND VOID AND SHOULD BE RESCINDED.

5. ALL PEOPLES MUST HAVE FREE ACCESS TO THE CITY AND ENJOY THE FREE EXERCISE OF WORSHIP AND THE RIGHT TO VISIT AND TRANSIT TO THE HOLY PLACES WITHOUT DISTINCTION OR DISCRIMINATION.

6. THE HOLY PLACES OF EACH FAITH MAY BE PLACED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES.

7. ESSENTIAL FUNCTIONS IN THE CITY SHOULD BE UNDIVIDED AND A JOINT MUNICIPAL COUNCIL COMPOSED OF AN EQUAL NUMBER OF ARAB AND ISRAELI MEMBERS CAN SUPERVISE THE CARRYING OUT OF THESE FUNCTIONS. IN THIS WAY, THE CITY SHALL BE UNDIVIDED.

SINCERELY,

(SIGNED)

MOHAMED ANWAR EL SADAT

(END TEXT)

F. BEGIN TO CARTER, SEPTEMBER 17

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I HAVE THE HONOR TO INFORM YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT ON 28 JUNE 1967 -- ISRAEL'S PARLIAMENT (THE KNESSET) PROMULGATED AND ADOPTED A LAW TO THE EFFECT: "THE GOVERNMENT IS EMPOWERED BY A DECREE TO APPLY THE LAW, THE JURISDICTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE TO ANY PART OF ERETZ ISRAEL (LAND OF ISRAEL -- PALESTINE), AS STATED IN THAT DECREE."

ON THE BASIS OF THIS LAW, THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL DECREED IN JULY 1967 THAT JERUSALEM IS ONE CITY INDIVISIBLE, THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

SINCERELY,

(SIGNED)

MENACHEM BEGIN

(END TEXT)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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GRS 264

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO 311000Z JUL 80

TO IMMEDIATE CAIRO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 320 OF 31 JULY

INFO MODUK (DS11 AND DEFENCE SALES).

MIPT: VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT MUBARAK

1. DRAFT OUTLINE PROGRAMME:

MONDAY, 1 SEPTEMBER:

MID-DAY ARRIVAL AT HEATHROW AIRPORT:

(ESCALE TECHNIQUE)

PROCEED TO KENSINGTON PALACE BY HELICOPTER MET BY MINISTER (OFFICIAL PARTY ONLY, OTHERS BY ROAD)

LUNCH HOSTED BY MOD

1930

BALLET 'LA SYLPHIDE' AT ROYAL FESTIVAL HALL
FOLLOWED BY SUPPER AT EITHER ADMIRALTY HOUSE OR
1 CARLTON GARDENS.

MINISTERIAL HOST Mr Luce

TUESDAY, 2 SEPTEMBER:

1015 CALL ON SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEFENCE

1100 CALL ON LORD PRIVY SEAL

1145 TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER

1245 FOR 1300 LUNCH GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER

P.M. BOAT TRIP TO GREENWICH OR SOME OTHER SIGHT-SEEING.

DINNER: HOST AND VENUE UNDECIDED

WEDNESDAY, 3 SEPTEMBER: FARNBOROUGH SHOW

A.M. VISIT STATIC EXHIBITION

LUNCH WITH MR PYM AS GUEST OF SOCIETY OF BRITISH
AEROSPACE COMPANIES

P.M. FLYING DISPLAYS

1800 APPROX RETURN TO LONDON

EVENING HMG DINNER Ministerial host Lord Privy Seal

1

C O N F I D E N T I A L

THURSDAY

C O N F I D E N T I A L

37727 - 1

THURSDAY, 4 SEPTEMBER:

A.M. VISIT RAF STATION AT COTTISHALL
LUNCH AT COTTISHALL
VISIT RAF MUSEUM AT DUXFORD
1600 RETURN TO LONDON
1700 PRESS CONFERENCE
EVENING RETURN DINNER AT EGYPTIAN EMBASSY
FRIDAY, 5 SEPTEMBER: WOULD BE A PRIVATE DAY AND THE VICE-
PRESIDENT WOULD LEAVE THE UK ON SATURDAY, 6 SEPTEMBER.

CARRINGTON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

010



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 August 1980

Caroline noted. 2.6/8.
Confirmed for 17.15 at No 10 tomorrow,
with warning that it will be
switched to House at short notice.
SPS' office will tell Egyptians.

MB

Dear Sir,

MA 6/8

The Egyptian Embassy have approached us with a request for a call on the Prime Minister by their Ambassador, who is at present in Cairo. We believe that the Ambassador in seeking a call is acting on President Sadat's instructions to deliver a personal message to the Prime Minister. The Egyptian Embassy have told us that the message relates to the recent exchanges between President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin about the suspended autonomy negotiations. The Ambassador may also wish to discuss the forthcoming visit of Vice President Mubarak.

The Egyptian Ambassador, a former general, is not a very effective performer, but as he will be carrying a message from President Sadat, the Lord Privy Seal hopes that the Prime Minister will be able to give him 20 minutes of her time on 7 August.

Yours ever
Sir John Gomersall

S J Gomersall

M A Pattison Esq
10 Downing Street



HASSAN ALY ABOU SE'EDA

Ambassador since February 1980.

Born 13 October 1930. B Sc. in Military Science 1949.
Graduate of the War College, Nasser Military Academy.

As a Major-General commanded the 2nd Infantry Division in the 1973 war. Subsequently Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Third Army and then until 1977 Commander of the Western Military Zone. He held this post during the Egypt/Libya confrontation of July 1977. Director of Operations of the Egyptian Armed Forces from 1978 until his posting to London.

Reputed to be a protege of President Sadat and one of the most popular officers in the Egyptian Armed Forces. He has not to date proved a very effective Ambassador.

Married with one son.



F-6 AUG 1968

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

*The President
of the Arab Republic of Egypt*

*cc Middle East: Sit
Pt 4*

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August 2, 1980

Dear Prime Minister Begin,

I hope that you have fully recovered and regained your health as you assume the awesome responsibilities you bear at this crucial point. It is the duty of each one of us to cope with a multitude of problems in the light of the current state of affairs, both regionally and globally. We have no choice but to confront these problems with vision and courage. None of us can be unmindful of or indifferent to events around us and their far reaching consequences.

Above all, we have the task of completing the work we have done on the road to peace. I am sure that I need not remind you that, in our various meetings in Egypt, Israel and at Camp David, we made a firm commitment to work tirelessly for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East.

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Many were those who were skeptical about the prospect for such a comprehensive peace for reasons you are certainly familiar with. However, I remained firm in my determination to pursue the noble cause of peace regardless of the enormity of the effort needed to accomplish the mission. Through determination and perseverance, we were able to achieve last year what was considered impossible by any measure. On the other hand, much remains to be done if we are to continue the peace march for the good of all the peoples of the area including the people of Israel most certainly and, in fact, for the good of all nations of the world. With this in mind, we vowed, in the letter we exchanged on March 26, 1979, to negotiate "continuously and in good faith" in order to conclude the negotiations on the establishment of the self-governing authority with full autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza at the earliest possible date.

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As I pointed out time and again in the course of our talks, the making of meaningful progress in this regard is in the best interest of the Israeli people as much as it is in the best interest of the Palestinians. It would be a grave mistake of untold proportions to waste this opportunity to set in motion the process of reconciliation and harmonious coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. It is imperative to start this process without delay so that we might finally put an end to violence and friction in the holy land while the opportunity exists, for it might not arise again in the foreseeable future.

As you well know, negotiating in good faith requires a certain operational behaviour on the part of the participants. First and foremost, they are under an obligation to apply self-restraint and refrain from taking any action which is incompatible with the spirit of negotiations

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or which is likely to undermine the peace process in one way or the other. No issue should be considered, or rendered, not negotiable. No party should attempt to confront the other with a fait accompli by taking measures which purport to prejudice the outcome of the negotiations or predetermine it unilaterally. Nor should any party set precondition irrespective of his claims. In essence, the negotiating process is one which enables the parties to settle their differences and reach agreement on controversial issues in a collective manner and through an approach based on mutuality and reciprocity and not through unilateral action. It is inconsistent with this fundamental principle that any party attempts to determine a given aspect of the dispute unilaterally and outside the area of meaningful exchange of views. It is true that such unilateral actions have no legal validity whatsoever vis-a-vis

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other parties, but they certainly poison the atmosphere of the negotiations and produce a most unfavorable reaction to the process within the circles whose cooperation is vital to the success of our endeavor.

Let us view together what took place in the recent past with the objective of assessing the situation in clear terms and discussing how best we can serve our cause:

1- We started the current negotiations last year with the goal of reaching agreement before May 26, 1980. That target was not met for reasons on which I am not going to dwell. Nevertheless, we decided to continue negotiating in view of the seriousness of the issues involved and our keen desire to give you ample time to make the necessary adjustments in your position.

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2- We took this attitude despite the fact that what is involved, at this stage, is merely a transitional arrangement and not a final settlement to the Palestinian problem. We are simply opening the door for such a settlement through setting up a transitional regime for a limited period in order to enable the Palestinians to assume their share of the responsibility.

3- To our disappointment and to the surprise of many of Israel's friends, events did not take the course which was likely to bring us closer to an agreement. On the contrary, provocative and negative actions have been taken unjustifiably and in open defiance to the process and its very essence. All along, we were hoping that the factors which prompted you to take this negative attitude would subside and give way to a more positive and responsive approach. To my regret,

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these hopes have not materialized and the situation continued to deteriorate.

4- I am referring here to the actions which are being taken with respect to Jerusalem and the settlements, together with the repressive measures taken in the West Bank and Gaza.

5- At this point, it might be useful to refresh your memory with respect to Jerusalem. You would recall that this issue was the first one I raised with you and your colleagues since I started the peace initiative. Throughout our talks, I emphasized to you the centrality that issue occupies in the minds and hearts of 800 Million Muslims and a greater number of Christians. I pointed to you on several occasions in the clearest terms that a breakthrough in it is certain to give our peace drive more momentum than any other single action.

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6- You would remember that in our meeting in El-Areesh in May 1979, I told you that there was a historic opportunity for us to proceed without delay towards the comprehensive settlement as we started the successful implementation of the Egyptian - Israeli Peace Treaty.

7- You would also recall that in that meeting and subsequent ones in Alexandria, Haifa and Aswan, I concentrated on the issue of Jerusalem and told you that if it is a matter of vital interest to 18 million Jews all over the World, it is equally vital and sensitive to 800 million Muslims. It is impossible to ignore this fact and be insensitive to this spiritual and cultural interest. Many Muslims throughout the globe are inclined to judge Israel's intentions by its behaviour on this question. Why loose their confidence and that of many others while we have a viable and attractive alternative? As I told you. I believe that it is not the most difficult

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issue and that it should be possible to find a solution that respects the rights and satisfies the aspirations of both sides.

8- We are aware of the fact that an overall agreement on the status of Jerusalem can be deferred to the stage of negotiating the final settlement. However, it is also a fact that the issue of Jerusalem is overlapping with many issues which are subject to review at present. Thus, it was natural that it was raised in various meetings both at the plenary level and those of committees, notably the Legal Committee and the Elections Committee.

9- Some might argue that all the actions you have taken with respect to Jerusalem by the various branches of your Government represent no more than a negotiating position that should not be taken

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seriously, especially in light of the fact that they are of no legal validity. However, we can not ignore the following facts:

- a- That such measures form a flagrant violation of Security Council Resolution 242 to which we are both committed to observe and implement.

I need not elaborate on these legal matters, but it is clear that recent Israeli actions represent a territorial expansion and an acquisition of territory by war, an act which is explicitly prohibited under the provisions of Resolution 242. It might be worth mentioning that your Government has declared on recent occasions that it will neither tolerate nor accept any tampering with the resolution.

- b- Furthermore, such actions run contrary to the letter and spirit of Camp David. It violates the letter of the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" insofar as it is a breach of Resolution 242 which is undoubtedly the legal

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base for the Accord. As to the spirit of Camp David, I believe that we vowed to settle all our differences together in a spirit of reconciliation and not by unilateral acts. It was clearly understood, as we signed the Accords, that none of us will resort to the imposition of a fait accompli on the other .

c- It goes without saying, also, that these actions contradict the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention which prohibits the annexation of occupied territories.

10- When I mentioned to you my belief that it is not impossible to find a happy solution to the question of Jerusalem, I stated before the entire World that such a solution should not result in dividing the city or the setting up of barriers that could curtail the freedom of movement or worship. I outlined a

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formula which would set a shining model for coexistence and good neighborliness among Muslims, Christians and Jews. In essence, that formula calls for the restoration of Arab legal and historic rights in the City while keeping it united for all practical purposes.

11- In all candor, I feel that the ideas I presented and publicized in this respect have not been given due consideration on your part. I have not received any objective reaction or comment on the proposed formula which safeguards the interests of all those concerned, thus rendering an invaluable service to the cause of peace and a monumental contribution to the process of reconciliation between Arabs and Jews.

12- Your Government has also adopted a negative and counter-productive policy with respect to another sensitive issue, namely that of the settlements. I need

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not elaborate on the universal rejection and condemnation of this policy; both on legal, moral and political grounds. I am not here to enumerate the serious consequences of such policy. Suffice it to reiterate what I stated before, that these settlements in the West Bank and Gaza are illegal and a real obstacle to peace. Therefore they must be removed, be them old or new.

13- I am certain that you remember that I talked to you about the settlements in Aswan I advised you, then, not to fight that lost cause because anything that you do in this respect is doomed to failure.

14- You would also recall that I offered to provide you with water that could reach Jerusalem, passing through the Negev, in order to make it easy for you to build new quarters for your settlers on your own land. You misunderstood the idea behind

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my offer when you said that the national aspirations of your people are not for sale. I never had this in mind as I told you. I was merely cooperating with you in order that we might find a way out to the satisfaction of both sides.

Although the removal of illegal settlements should not hinge upon any incentive, I am willing to go that far to solve that problem as another Egyptian contribution to peace.

I know that you do not need anyone to find a way out for you. But it is always helpful to find certain openings which one was not aware of. At times, our Arab brothers need such a way out due to certain complications in their position. This is a burden I bear as the President of the Egyptian people who have been destined to be at the vanguard of events and developments in the entire region. This is the legacy of our past and the promise of our future.

15- We reached an understanding with you that Israel will take a number of confidence building measures without delay and prior to the beginning of the transitional period. The purpose of such measures

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was defined among us as: alleviating the suffering of the Palestinians and improving the atmosphere in the West Bank and Gaza as a prelude to the election of the self-governing authority. We spoke specifically about a group of actions that were listed in a memorandum presented to you on October 13, 1978 during the Blair House talks. It is obvious that the conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have not improved ever since. To the contrary, they witnessed a marked deterioration. Is this the way to win the support and confidence of those who are addressed by the Camp David "Framework"?

16- Our position has been both clear and unwavering since I initiated the peace process with my mission to Jerusalem. It might be useful, however, to repeat it as follows:

First: We remain wholeheartedly committed to peace. to us, its is a sacred and strategic goal. We will

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continue to work for it even if this entails doubling our efforts in this respect.

Second: We will adhere to the letter and spirit of Camp David and call for a strict observance of all the commitments under these historic documents.

Third: We remain prepared to help our partners in the peace process and provide them with solutions and way out even when they fail to see the realities of the situation and the wisdom of this or that act. We apply to Israel here the same rule we have been applying to our arab brothers.

Fourth: We firmly believe that all matters will be settled at the end, because this is the desire of all peoples of the area and the world. No one can turn the clock back or put the region again in the darkness of war and devastation.

Fifth: We reject all measure or actions taken by Israel unilaterally and against the universal consensus with respect to Jerusalem and the settlements.

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These action are null and void completely.

Sixth: The historic and legal rights of the Arabs and Muslims should be respected while keeping different functions in the city united. Freedom of worship and movement should be guaranteed.

Seventh: Israel should desist from all settlement activities. Settlements built in the West Bank and Gaza should be removed together with settlements in other occupied territories.

Eighth: No nation, certainly not Egypt or Israel, can determine the future of the Palestinian people. This is their God-given right of which they can not be deprived under all circumstances. Egypt will oppose any encroachment on that right.

Ninth: If we reach agreement on the establishment of the S G A, we are prepared to begin its implementation in the Gaza Strip as a first step to be followed by implementation in the West Bank.

Dear Prime Minister Begin,

I am certain that you know, deep in your heart, that it is virtually impossible to continue

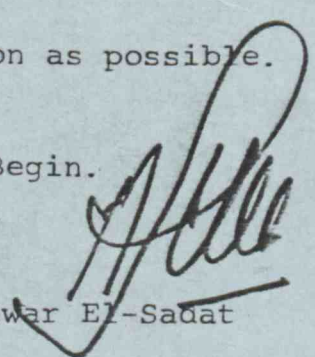
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the negotiations if the present attitude continues. Hence, in the spirit of my journey to Jerusalem and the Camp David Peace Accords, I urge you to take the remedial action which is necessary for the removal of the obstacles which have been placed on the road to peace in the past few months. I leave it to you to choose the appropriate ways and means for achieving that, If we fail to remove those obstacles in due time, we will be reducing the vital process of negotiations to a meaningless exercise in futility which would be a disservice to our cherished ideal of peace. I am sure that none of us wants to or can do that. I hope to receive a positive reply from you so that the negotiations could proceed in a promising atmosphere and as soon as possible.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. Begin.


Mohammed Anwar El-Sadat

Grey Scale #13



A 1 2 3 4 5 6 **M** 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 **B** 17 18 19

