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SECRET

TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 1095 OF 3 SEPTEMBER, INFO PRIORITY  
BEIRUT TRIPOLI WASHINGTON PARIS MOSCOW ROUTINE UKMIS NEW YORK  
TEL AVIV AMMAN BAGHDAD HQBFNE.

FEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS.

1. IT WAS ANNOUNCED IN CAIRO YESTERDAY THAT IN THE EGYPTIAN REFERENDUM ON THE FEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS 99.9% OF THE VALID VOTES CAST WERE IN FAVOUR. THE PERCENTAGE OF THE ELECTORS WHO VOTED WAS GIVEN OFFICIALLY AS 97%. THIS LAST FIGURE IS FANTASTIC AND UNDOUBTEDLY EXAGGERATED. THERE IS LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR THE FEDERATION HERE AND FROM OUR OWN OBSERVATION AND THOSE OF OUR CONTACTS POLLING ON THE DAY ITSELF WAS LIGHT. IT IS PROBABLY THE CASE, HOWEVER, THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO BOTHERED TO VOTE VOTED IN FAVOUR. THE LACK OF PRIVACY IN THE POLLING BOOTHS GAVE THEM NO ENCOURAGEMENT TO DO OTHERWISE.

2. DESPITE THE FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERATION , THERE IS STILL CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT WHAT FEDERAL MACHINERY IS TO BE SET UP AND WHEN. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH AHAM ON 1 SEPTEMBER THE EGYPTIAN VICE PRESIDENT, HUSAIN AL SHAFEI, WAS NOTICEABLY EVASIVE ON THE QUESTIONS OF FEDERAL DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION ( PARTICULARLY AT THE UN ), THE LIFTING OF CUSTOMS BARRIERS, THE COMPOSITION AND SIZE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE SITE OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. HE SAID HOWEVER THAT THE VARIOUS FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS WOULD TAKE TWO YEARS TO SET UP AND THIS MAY REFLECT BOTH AN EGYPTIAN DESIRE TO SLOW THE PACE AND A REALISATION THAT, GIVEN THE DIVERSITY OF OUTLOOK OF THE THREE COUNTRIES, AN EFFECTIVE FEDERAL STRUCTURE CAN ONLY BE ESTABLISHED IN THE VERY LONG TERM. AL SHAFEI HINTED HOWEVER THAT THERE MAY BE MINISTERIAL CHANGES IN EGYPT IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

DEFCOMCEN PASS HQBFNE.

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SECRET

TO PRIORITY F.C.O. TELNO. 1082 OF 1 SEPTEMBER INFO PRIORITY TO WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, PARIS, MOSCOW, TEL AVIV, BEIRUT, TRIPOLI, KHARTOUM, AMMAN, BAGHDAD, HQBFNE.

(87) MY TELNO. 1073 : CONFEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS.

1. PLEASE AMEND SENTENCE 2 OF PARA 2 TO READ :  
"IT REPRESENTED A DETERMINED ATTEMPT TO BRING TOGETHER ABOUT HALF THE POPULATION OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES".

2. ERROR REGRETTED.

DEFCOMCEN PASS HQBFNE.

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TO PRIORITY F.C.O. TELNO. 1074 OF 31 AUGUST INFO PRIORITY TO  
WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK PARIS MOSCOW TEL AVIV  
BEIRUT TRIPOLI KHARTOUM AMMAN HQBFNE BAGHDAD.

MIPT : CONFEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS

1. THE MANNER IN WHICH SADAT PRESENTED THE CONFEDERATION TO  
THE EGYPTIAN PUBLIC CONFIRMS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT HE SEES THE  
CONFEDERATION, UNPOPULAR THOUGH IT IS HERE, AS AN ESSENTIAL  
INGREDIENT OF HIS POLICY TOWARDS THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT  
(SEE PARA 9 OF MY DESPATCH 1/1 OF 24 AUGUST ON "SADAT'S EGYPT").

2. SEE MY TELEGRAM NO. 1075 (NOT TO ALL) ON UAR/JORDAN.

DEFCOMCEN PASS PRIORITY TO HQBFNE.

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TO PRIORITY F.C.O. TELNO. 1073 OF 31 AUGUST INFO PRIORITY TO WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, PARIS, MOSCOW, TEL AVIV, BEIRUT, TRIPOLI, KHARTOUM, AMMAN BAGHDAD AND HQBFNE.

CONFEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS.

1. PRESIDENT SADAT ADDRESSED THE EGYPTIAN NATION ON RADIO AND TELEVISION LAST NIGHT ON THE EVE OF THE REFERENDUM TO BE HELD ON 1 SEPTEMBER ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS, WHICH WAS APPROVED ON 29 AUGUST BY THE UAR CABINET AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ARAB SOCIALIST UNION

2/9 (87)

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RECORDS

2. SADAT DESCRIBED THE CONFEDERATION AS A VITAL STEP IN THE BATTLE AGAINST ISREAL AND AS THE ANSWER TO THE STATE OF DISUNITY AND DISRUPTION IN THE ARAB STATES DEMONSTRATED BY RECENT EVENTS IN JORDAN, MOROCCO AND SUDAN. IT REPRESENTED A DETERMINED ATTEMPT TO ABOUT HALF THE POPULATION OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES .

HE STRESSED THAT EACH REPUBLIC IN THE CONFEDERATION WOULD HAVE ITS INDEPENDENT PERSONALITY AND ITS OWN NATIONAL MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT.

3. THE PRESIDENT OUTLINED EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE SIGNING IN DAMASCUS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATION: NAMELY THE TRIPOLI CHARTER (BEYOND WHICH HE SAID THE SUDAN WAS NOT YET READY TO GO) AND THE BENGHAZI DECLARATION OF LAST APRIL. HE ALSO DESCRIBED IN FAMILIAR TERMS THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ISRAEL SINCE THE SETBACK OF JUNE 1967 AND THE UAR'S EFFORTS TO IMPROVE HER DEFENCES.

4. AS FOR EGYPT'S NEIGHBOURS, LIBYA GVAE DEPTH TO THE STRUGGLE IN THE WEST AND THE SUDAN IN THE SOUTH. BUT JORDAN WAS OUTSIDE THE BATTLE. ''TODAY JORDAN IS CONCENTRATING ITS TROOPS AGAINST SYRIA AND NOT ISRAEL. IRAQ HAS WITHDRAWN ITS TROOPS COMPLETELY FROM JORDAN. UNFORTUNATELY NOBODY ELSE IS IN THE BATTLE. WE AND SYRIA ARE THE FRONT LINE, WITH LIBYA IN THE WEST AND SUDAN IN THE SOUTH....KING HUSSAIN HAS DESTROYED THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE COMPLETELY AND REGARDS THIS AS A VICTORY WHICH HE HAS PRAISED''.

5. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE CONFEDERATION WAS THE ANSWER TO ISRAELI AGGRESSION AND ''THE FIRST SOUND PROGRAMME IN ARAB HISTORY''. HE REFERRED TO STATEMENTS MADE BY ISRAELI LEADERS DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS AS SHOWING ISRAELI DISCOMFORT AT THE SETTING UP OF THE CONFEDERATION AND AS PROOF THAT THE ARABS WERE PROCEEDING ON THE RIGHT PATH. HE SAID THAT IF THE RESULT OF THE REFERENDUM WAS AFFIRMATIVE THE UAR WOULD BECOME KNOWN AS THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT WITH EFFECT FROM 2 SEPTEMBER. SADAT WENT ON TO REPEAT THAT 1971 WOULD BE A DECISIVE YEAR IN THE BATTLE. HE MENTIONED THE ROGERS INITIATIVE VERY BRIEFLY BUT SAID THAT HE WOULD RESERVE A DESCRIPTION OF THE UNITED STATES ATTITUDE TILL HIS NEXT SPEECH WHEN HE WOULD SPEAK ABOUT AMERICAN ''GUILE AND PROCRASTINATION''.

6. SEE MIFT.

DEFCOMCEN PASS HQBFNE.

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1. I AGREE THAT THE TONE OF THE DAMASCUS DECLARATION IS UNCOMPROMISING. IT STRESSES THE MILITARY POTENTIAL OF THE NEW GROUPING AND STATES THAT " THERE WILL BE NO PEACE OR NEGOTIATION WITH THE ZIONIST ENEMY OR RELINQUISHING OF EVEN ONE INCH OF OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORY". HOWEVER THIS FORMULA GOES NO FURTHER THAN THE BENGHAZI DECLARATION OF 18 APRIL ( PARA 8(11) OF TRIPOLI TELNO 849) AND PRESIDENT SADAT HAS ALREADY SHOWN THAT HE IS NOT PREPARED TO ALLOW THE EVEN MORE SPECIFIC KHARTOUM PRINCIPLES OF 1967 TO INHIBIT HIS SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OR AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT. AS FAR AS WE CAN TELL FROM THE TEXT PUBLISHED HERE, THE NEW FEDERAL CONSTITUTION WILL NOT TIE HIS HANDS ANY FURTHER

2. EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS HAVE SINCE APRIL TAKEN THE LINE WITH US THAT THE NEED FOR A UNANIMOUS VOTE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL WOULD ENSURE THAT THE EGYPTIANS RETAINED THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION AND THAT THE UAR GOVERNMENT THEREFORE ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS PRINCIPLE. YOU WILL RECALL THAT IN THEIR REVISED VERSION OF THE BENGHAZI STATUTES PUBLISHED IN CAIRO ON 30 APRIL THE EGYPTIANS MANAGED TO HAVE UNANIMITY SUBSTITUTED FOR THE MAJORITY VOTING PROVIDED FOR IN THE ORIGINAL VERSION- SEE PARA 2 OF MY TEL NO 527 OF 30 APRIL. IN THE EVENT SADAT SEEMS TO HAVE HAD TO GIVE WAY ON UNANIMITY AT DAMASCUS AND ARTICLE 18 OF THE CONSTITUTION SIGNED THERE PROVIDED FOR MAJORITY VOTING IN THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL.

3. HOWEVER THERE ARE TWO SIGNIFICANT RESERVATIONS WHICH REDUCE THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THIS EGYPTIAN CONCESSION. FIRST, MAJORITY VOTING WILL NOT APPLY IN CASES WHERE THE CONSTITUTION DEMANDS UNANIMITY. SECONDLY, IT WILL NOT APPLY IN MATTERS WHICH ANY MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL CONSIDERS SUFFICIENTLY IMPORTANT TO REQUIRE A UNANIMOUS VOTE. IN THE FORMER CATEGORY ARE " PEACE AND WAR" ( ARTICLE 14(1)B), ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS ( THESE MUST BE REPUBLICS - ARTICLE 9), THE RATIFICATION OF FEDERAL LAWS ( ARTICLE 37) AND MODIFICATIONS TO THE CONSTITUTION (ARTICLE 68). SADAT SHOULD THEREFORE HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN ENSURING VOTING BY UNANIMITY ON MOST OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL DECISIONS WHICH ARE LIKELY TO FACE THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL.

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4. IT IS CLEAR THAT , AS BEIRUT TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE POINTS OUT, THERE ARE SEVERAL ISSUES STILL TO BE DECIDED. THESE INCLUDE THE SITE OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL, WHETHER OR NOT CITEZENS OF THE FEDERATION SHOULD HAVE A SINGLE NATIONALITY, WHAT STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TOWARDS UNIFICATION OF THE LAWS OF THE THREE COUNTRIES ( ARTICLE 6 STATES THAT ISLAMIC LAW SHALL BE THE MAIN SOURCE OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION) AND THE INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL ( ARTICLE 16).

5. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN THE THREE COUNTRIES WILL INCREASE PERCEPTIBLY AFTER THE FEDERATION IS BROUGHT INTO FORMAL EXISTENCE FOLLOWING THE THREE SIMULTANEOUS REFERENDA ON 1 SEPTEMBER. IT WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO SET UP THE VARIOUS BODIES MENTIONED IN THE CONSTITUTION ( EG COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL COURT AND FEDERAL ASSEMBLY), PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE BAN ON ANYONE HOLDING A FEDERAL AND A NATIONAL POST AT THE SAME TIME '' EXCEPT IN EXCEPTIONAL CASES''. FOR THE TIME BEING THEREFORE I AM INCLINED TO THINK THAT IN PRACTICAL TERMS THE FEDERATION WILL BE LIMITED TO AN INFORMAL PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL, AND THAT THE RAIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION WILL NOT LEAD TO A NOTICEABLE INTENSIFICATION OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE THREE COUNTRIES.

6. FULL TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION FOLLOWS BY BAG TO FCO , BEIRUT AND TRIPOLI ONLY.

FCO PASS SAVING INFO ALGIERS RABAT TUNIS BAGHDAD JEDDA ADEN.

DEFCOMCEN PASS HQBFNE.

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REFERENCE SL

MY TEL NO 1014 ( NOT TO KHARTOUM): PRESIDENT SADAT'S MOVEMENTS.

1. TODAY'S CAIRO PRESS REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT SADAT WILL LEAVE JEDDA TODAY TO FLY TO KHARTOUM FOR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT NUMEIRI.

DEFCOMCEN PASS HQBFNE.

BEAUMONT

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PP TRIPOLI

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FM CAIRO 210655Z

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TO IMMEDIATE BEIRUT TEL NO 51 OF 21 AUGUST, INFO PRIORITY TRIPOLI.

PERSONAL FOR SINDALL FROM GOULDING.

ARE YOU INTENDING TO REPORT AND COMMENT ON THE DAMASCUS SUMMIT  
AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION ? IF NOT , WE WILL BE HAPPY TO DO SO.

BEAUMONT

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2/9 (79)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Reference

2/9

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H. of C. *MLG* 13/8  
 H.V.P. *interview* 14/8  
 Counsellor o.r. *2 sec*

b. n. 25/8  
 2/10/8

CALL ON THE FOREIGN EDITOR OF AL GUMHURIA

1. I called this morning on the Foreign Editor of al Gumhuria, Mr Muhammad al Azabi.

Federation of Arab Republics

2. Mr al Azabi said that as Egypt would be the only country of the Federation to make a significant contribution to any war with Israel she would retain complete independence over decisions on war or peace after the Federation came into being. Libyan money and Col. Qaddafi's enthusiasm were complicating factors but not overriding. Syria and Libya were not on very good terms but Syria would not raise the heat unduly as she got too much out of Libya financially.

Middle East Conflict

3. Mr al Azabi said that 1971 was unlikely to be a year of real decision. Despite President Sadat's statement that it would be, Mr Al Azabi was convinced that he would have no difficulty in arguing the contrary if the need arose. It was inconceivable that the UAR could reach the point militarily where she could force Israel to change her present attitude towards a peace settlement, either interim or overall, by the end of 1971.

Trials

4. Mr al Azabi said that it was a pity the trials were taking place at all since there was no real case against the conspirators. He said that Mr Mahir Hassan, the Public Prosecutor, had held this opinion and that this had led to the appointment of Mustafa Abu Zaid, Socialist Prosecutor General, who was prepared to concoct charges.

*We should report this in due course MLG*

Press

5. Mr al Azabi said that al Gumhuria was no longer closely linked to the ASU and should not be regarded as the party organ. This had been true in the past but al Gumhuria got nothing out of its links with the ASU and these had gradually become less and less substantial. Mr al Azabi said that al Gumhuria was a newspaper which, unlike Ahram or Akhbar, contained journalists of every conceivable shade of political opinion (communists, Muslim Brethren, pro-Chinese, etc) and therefore aimed to provide a representative reflection of UAR life and attitudes. Ahram was too much under the influence of one man (i.e. Haikal) to be able to do this and Akhbar had still not broken out of the mould designed and executed by Mustafa Amin. He confirmed that Gumhuria's circulation had gone up considerably in the last 8 months.

12 August 1971

J R Young

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SECRET

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PP TRIPOLI

PP KHARTOUM

PP BEIRUT

PP AMMAN

PP RABAT

RR TEL AVIV

RR PARIS

RR WASHINGTON

RR MOSCOW

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RR ALGIERS

GR 460

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FM CAIRO 191125Z

CONFIDENTIAL

TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 873 OF 19 JULY, INFO PRIORITY TRIPOLI KHARTOUM BEIRUT AMMAN RABAT AND ROUTINE TO TEL AVIV PARIS WASHINGTON MOSCOW ALGIERS.

M.I.P .T.: MERSA MATRUH TALKS.

1. IF THE LIBYAN EMBASSY HERE ARE TO BE BELIEVED ( PARAGRAPH 2 OF MY TELEGRAM NO 846), THESE TALKS BEGAN AS A BILATERAL MEETING BETWEEN EGYPT AND LIBYA TO DISCUSS EVENTS IN MOROCCO . PRESUMABLY SADAT AND QADDAFI HAD FAILED TO REACH AGREEMENT BY TELEPHONE AND ONE OR THE OTHER SUGGESTED THAT THEY SHOULD MEET. HOWEVER THE RESUMPTION OF OPERATIONS BY THE JORDANIAN ARMY AGAINST THE FEDAYIN HAD THE EFFECT OF WIDENING THE SCOPE OF THE MEETING AND, WITH THE ARRIVAL OF SYRIAN AND SUDANESE DELEGATIONS , IT TURNED INTO A QUASI-SUMMIT OF THE TRIPOLI CHARTER COUNTRIES.

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2. ON MOROCCO, MY GUESS IS THAT THE GOING MUST HAVE BEEN TOUGH. SADAT'S POLICY HAS BEEN TO MAINTAIN AS GOOD RELATIONS AS HE CAN WITH AS MANY ARAB COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE AND, UNLIKE NASSER, HE HAS NOT PICKED GRATUITOUS QUARRELS. INITIALLY THE UAR REACTION TO THE ATTEMPTED COUP IN MOROCCO WAS CAUTIOUS AND SADAT PROBABLY HAD HOPES OF USING THE MERSA MATRUH MEETING TO RESTRAIN QADDAFI. IN THE EVENT THE COMMUNIQUE IS UNEXPECTEDLY STRONG IN ITS CRITICISM OF THE REGIME IN MOROCCO. THIS MAY BE PARTLY AT LEAST DUE TO KING HASSAN'S HAVING KEPT HASSAN SABRI AL KHULI KICKING HIS HEELS FOR THREE DAYS (RABAT TELEGRAM NO 109), A GESTURE WHICH CANNOT HAVE ENCOURAGED SADAT TO MAINTAIN A MODERATE LINE. INDEED WE HAVE IT FROM A SOURCE WHO HAS PROVED RELIABLE IN THE PAST THAT THE UAR CABINET DECIDED ON 13 JULY THAT AL-KHULI SHOULD RETURN TO CAIRO IF HE DID NOT SUCCEED IN OBTAINING AN AUDIENCE BY THE FOLLOWING EVENING (WHICH IN THE EVENT HE DID).

3. THIS EPISODE MAY ALSO BE AN INDICATION OF THE WAY IN WHICH EGYPT'S ARAB POLICY IS GOING TO BE INFLUENCED BY HER MEMBERSHIP OF THE FEDERATION. NOT ONLY HAS SHE BEEN OBLIGED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF QADDIFI'S EXTREME VIEWS, KING HASSAN'S ATTITUDE TO THE EGYPTIAN EMISSARY MAY PERHAPS ALSO HAVE REFLECTED A FEELING THAT BECAUSE OF THE FEDERATION EGYPT WAS TO SOME EXTENT TARRED WITH THE LIBYAN BRUSH.

4. THERE ALSO SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN SHARP ARGUMENT AT MATRUH ABOUT JORDAN. ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE REFERRED TO IN PARA 2 ABOVE, QADDAFI URGED THAT SYRIAN TROOPS BE COMMITTED TO SUPPORT THE FEDAYEEN AND OFFERED LIBYAN EQUIPMENT FOR THEIR USE. THIS WAS REJECTED BY THE OTHERS, WHO WERE NOT PREPARED TO GO BEYOND VERBAL CONDEMNATION OF THE LATEST MOVES AGAINST THE FEDAYEEN (THE LEAST THEY COULD DO IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES). I AM REPORTING SEPARATELY ON EGYPTIAN PRESS TREATMENT OF THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN JORDAN.

URWICK

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LWY NR 188/19

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RR MOSCOW

RR ALGIERS

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TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 872 OF 19 JULY , INFO PRIORITY TRIPOLI  
KHARTOUM BEIRUT AMMAN RABAT ROUTINE TEL TEL AVIV PARIS WASHINGTON  
MOSCOW AND ALGIERS.

MY TELEGRAM NO 862: MERSA MATRUH TALKS.

1. THE TALKS BETWEEN SADAT, QADDAFI , AYUBI AND THE SUDANESE  
DELEGATION , MEETING AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUR TRIPOLI  
CHARTER COUNTRIES, ENDED ON 17 JULY.

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2. A COMMUNIQUE WAS ISSUED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN THE FOUR CAPITALS CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS:

(A) THE MOROCCAN AUTHORITIES ' ' AGGRESSION' ' AGAINST THE LIBYAN EMBASSY IN RABAT AND THEIR ILL-TREATMENT OF LIBYAN NATIONALS THERE CONSTITUTED A BREACH OF THE PRINCIPLES OF DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.

(B) THE LIBYAN AUTHORITIES, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD TAKEN CARE TO PROTECT THE MOROCCAN EMBASSY AND MOROCCAN NATIONALS IN LIBYA.

(C) THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUR STATES EXPRESSED THEIR DEEP CONCERN AT THE EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES UNDER WHICH ' ' OUR ARAB PEOPLE IN MOROCCO' ' WERE HAVING TO LIVE AND AT THE EXECUTION OF MOROCCAN CITIZENS WITHOUT TRIAL.

(D) THEY HAD STUDIED ' ' THE REGRETTABLE AND BLOODY EVENTS IN JORDAN WHICH HAD REACHED A LEVEL WHICH ARAB AND HUMAN CONSCIENCE COULD NO LONGER TOLERATE' '. WHAT WAS HAPPENING WAS A CLEAR BREACH OF THE CAIRO AND AMMAN AGREEMENTS.

(E) THEY HAD HAD MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE AND HAD BEEN IN TOUCH BY TELEPHONE WITH PRESIDENT ASSAD: THEY COMPLETELY SUPPORTED SYRIA'S RESPONSE TO THE PALESTINIAN REQUEST THAT SHE SHOULD SEND A COMMITTEE TO JORDAN AND WERE AWAITING THE RESULTS OF PRESIDENT ASSAD'S EFFORTS WITH DEEP CONCERN.

(F) THEY HAD DECIDED TO HOLD ANOTHER MEETING IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO ADOPT AN APPROPRIATE STAND IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESULTS OF THE LATEST EVENTS IN JORDAN.

3. SEE M.I.F.T.

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RECEIVED

MIPT AND BY TELNO. 852 : MERSA MATRUH TALKS.

(73)

1. A SYRIAN DELEGATION LED BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT, MAHMUD AL AYUBI, AND TWO PALESTINIAN LEADERS, ABU AYYAD AND HAYEL ABDUL HANID, ARRIVED IN MERSA MATRUH YESTERDAY TO JOIN THE TALKS BETWEEN SADAT, QADDAFI AND THE SUDANESE. HASSAN SABRI AL KHULI ALSO WENT STRAIGHT TO MERSA MATRUH ON HIS RETURN FROM RABAT.
2. NONE OF OUR CONTACTS IN CAIRO HAS ANY FIRM IDEA OF WHAT IS BEING DISCUSSED, BUT MOROCCO AND JORDAN PROBABLY TOP THE AGENDA. AL KHULI'S RECENT INVOLVEMENT IN EVENTS IN BOTH COUNTRIES WILL MAKE HIS PRESENCE PARTICULARLY USEFUL.
3. OTHER SUBJECTS ON THE AGENDA MAY INCLUDE THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS (PARAGRAPH 3 OF MY TELEGRAM 582) AND THE PROSPECTS FOR AN ARAB SUMMIT IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN MOROCCO AND JORDAN.
4. SEE M.I.F.T. (NOT TO ALL)

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MY TELEGRAM NO 846 ( PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 3): SADAT - QADDAFI TALKS  
IN MERSA MATRUH.

ACCORDING TO TODAY'S PRESS COLONEL QADDAFI DID NOT ARRIVE  
IN MERSA MATRUH UNTIL THE AFTERNOON OF 14 JULY. HE WAS  
ACCOMPANIED BY LT. COLONEL YUNIS, MAJOR HAMZA AND MAJOR AL HUNI OF  
THE LIBYAN R.C.C. THE TWO DELEGATIONS HELD TWO SESSIONS OF  
TALKS. A SUDANESE DELEGATION LED BY MAJOR ZAIN AL ABDIN ABDUL  
QADIR ARRIVED IN THE COURSE OF THE EVENING AND, ACCORDING TO  
SOME CAIRO PAPERS ( BUT NOT AHAM), A SYRIAN DELEGATION IS  
ALSO EXPECTED.

2. AHAM'S CORRESPONDENT IN MERSA MATRUH REPORTS THAT THE  
TALKS CONCENTRATED ON GENERAL ARAB QUESTIONS, BUT THAT THE  
ATTEMPTED COUP IN MOROCCO AND THE CLASHES IN JORDAN ALSO FEATURED  
ON THE AGENDA.

3. IF THE SYRIAN DELEGATION IS HEADED BY PRESIDENT ASSAD,  
IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE THREE HEADS OF STATE MAY TAKE THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE  
FEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS ( CAIRO TELNO 824 ( NOT TO ALL) REFERS).

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2/9 (72)

TO ROUTINE F.C.O. TELNO. 824 OF 9 JULY INFO ROUTINE TO TRIPOLI, BEIRUT, HKARTOUM, WASHINGTON AND AMMAN.

(70) GOULDING'S LETTER 2/9 OF 30 JUNE TO HOLDING : FEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS.

1. THE UAR VICE-PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY THAT THE THREE-POWER DRAFTING COMMITTEE HAD PRODUCED A DRAFT FEDERAL CONSTITUTION ' ' IN FINAL FORM ' ' FOR APPROVAL BY SADAT, QADDAFI, AND ASSAD WHO ARE EXPECTED TO MEET TO DISCUSS THE DRAFT DURING JULY.

2. ACCORDING TO THE UAR VICE-PRESIDENT, THE HEADS OF STATE WILL ALSO DISCUSS ARRANGEMENTS (INCLUDING PUBLICITY) FOR THE 1 SEPTEMBER REFERENDA ON THE CONSTITUTION, AND PROCEDURE THEREAFTER, INCLUDING THE AGENDA FOR THE FIRST MEETING OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL.

BEAUMONT.

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TO ROUTINE FCO TEL NO 661 OF 3 JUNE, INFO ROUTINE TRIPOLI  
BEIRUT KHARTOUM WASHINGTON.

FEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS.

1. ACCORDING TO TODAY'S CAIRO PRESS PRESIDENT SADAT HAS  
APPROVED THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE DRAFT FEDERAL CONSTITUTION  
PREPARED BY THE EGYPTIAN COMMITTEE ( PARAGRAPH 2 OF GOULDING'S  
LETTER 2/9 OF 19 MAY REFERS). THE DRAFT WILL NOW BE CONSIDERED  
BY A COMMITTEE OF DELEGATES FROM THE UAR, LIBYA AND SYRIA, ON  
WHICH SUDAN WILL BE REPRESENTED BY AN OBSERVER.

2. FULLER REPORT FOLLOWS BY BAG.

BEAUMONT

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*Minutes*

*This is most useful & I assume 2 Sec will incorporate it in our next letter on the Confederation to the F.C.O. Given the emasculated creature that is emerging from all these deliberations, Ali Sabri & Co. need not have made such a fuss.*

✓ Counsellor  
 H.E. 11/16  
 P.O. 11/16  
 2 Sec

*AAH*  
10/4

CONFEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS

1. When Dr Ibrahim Shihata (of Tutankhamun fame) came in for his visa this morning he said that he was a member of the Egyptian Committee which had prepared the first draft of the Federal Constitution. They had been a committee of technicians and had aimed to produce something that would be workable in practice. However, their draft had been approved by President Sadat and *(as we already had)* been transmitted to the Libyans and the Syrians. He did not know when the Tri-partite Committee would consider the draft, but he thought that it would be within the next two weeks. He expected a good deal of trouble from the Syrians (though he said, contrary to what I was told by Ambassador Muhammad Riad, that the Syrians had agreed to, and indeed signed, the revised version of the Statutes).

2. Dr Shihata said that as a result of the Committee's attempt to produce something workable, the competence of the federal institutions had been even further whittled down in the draft Constitution. For instance, the Benghazi Statutes provided that "questions of peace and war" were one of the functions of the Federation. But how could this be practicable, given the unanimity rule? It was not reasonable that the UAR should be committed to continue the war against Israel just because Syria and Libya wanted to (similarly, though he did not say this, it would not be reasonable that Syria and Libya should be compelled to make peace just because the UAR wanted to). The draft Constitution therefore stated that the Federation was responsible for "co-ordination and collaboration in questions of peace and war".

3. I asked Dr Shihata about the report

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*Minutes*

in Ahram that the Federation would be open to other Arab states even if their system of government differed from that of the existing members. He said that this report was *an echo* of a provision in the Constitution for which he himself had been responsible. In the light of his experience in Kuwait, he felt that the Federation should not be restricted to "liberated Republics". He had therefore persuaded the Committee, against some opposition, that only three conditions should be specified for the accession of new members, viz:

- a. That, whether republics, monarchies or shaikhdoms, they should declare that they were "socialist states";
- b. That they should accept the Federal Constitution;
- c. That their application for accession should be unanimously approved by the existing members.

*c.f. Sudan!*

It is interesting to speculate what the title of the Federation will become, if, for instance, Kuwait, were to be accepted as a member.

*M I Goulding*

M I Goulding

9 June 1971

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Am 19/5  
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 P O ✓  
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FEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS

1. Ambassador Muhammad Riad said yesterday that the Foreign Ministry had pressed very hard to get Article 8A of the Benghazi Statutes amended to provide that the decisions of the Federal Presidential Council should be taken unanimously rather than by majority vote. In the Foreign Ministry's view this amendment had been essential if the 3 states were in fact to retain separate international identities. He added that Messrs Sami Sharaf and Hafiz Ghanim had obtained Libyan agreement to the amendments but that (contrary to what we have hitherto believed) the Syrians had not yet accepted them.

*M I Goulding*

M I Goulding  
 13 May 1971

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FEDERATION OF ARAB REPUBLICS

1. In connection with your proposed telegram on the Federation of Arab Republics, you may wish to have a note of the consultations which have so far taken place in the ASU, the Cabinet and the National Assembly. This is perhaps relevant in view of reports of Syrian and Libyan ratification of the Statutes of the FAR.

ARAB SOCIALIST UNION

The Higher Executive Committee met for 7 hours on 21 April under the chairmanship of President Sadat. Meetings reportedly continued until 25 April when the Central Committee met, also under President Sadat, for nearly 5 hours. The Central Committee decided to set up a Technical Committee to correlate views on the FAR, since so many members wanted to express their opinions. The Technical Committee is due to report within about a week.

CABINET

The press announced on 19 April that a "yes" was expected from the Cabinet at its meeting on 20 April. In the event the subject was either not discussed or disagreement was marked that no statement was made on the subject of the FAR. Yesterday's press announced that today's Cabinet meeting would be devoted to discussion of the FAR, but the agenda for the meeting as printed in today's Ahran contains no mention of the Federation.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

According to the press the National Assembly is to discuss the setting up of the Federation at its session tomorrow 28 April.

2. I am hoping to glean some more information on the Central Committee discussions later this morning. In the meantime a study of the postponements and lack of decision within the 3 bodies

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listed above suggests that there is considerable disagreement, probably not only about the principle of federation, but also about the way it has been handled, ie lack of consultation with the ASU and the Cabinet.



J R Young  
27 April 1971

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CONVERSATION WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON 22 APRIL

UAR - LIBYAN - SYRIAN FEDERATION

1. My French colleague said that in conversation with him on 20 April President Sadat had said, as he had already caused Mr Bergus to be informed, that the signing of the Benghazi Agreement did not in his view in any way place restrictions on his freedom of action in the search for a peace agreement with Israel. The President said that with separate armies, separate diplomacy, separate representation at the United Nations, the Federation was extremely loose. When Monsieur Puaux asked whether the advent of 1 September and the coming into force of the majority rule would not restrict that freedom of action, President Sadat had replied that it might in theory but it would not in practice since the principle of "collegiality" would in practice reign and there would have to be unanimity between the three Presidents on any policy to be pursued and in the absence of such unanimity each country would go on pursuing its own policies. In this connection President Sadat said that the Libyan and Syrian Presidents had pressed him very strongly to repeat in the joint declaration that there would be "no recognition of Israel" as had been laid down in the Khartoum declaration together with no negotiation and no peace, but he had resisted this and they had had to accept. So, he concluded, even from now it was clear that the majority formula was not going to be followed.

2. Monsieur Puaux also said that President Sadat had indicated that one of the main factors which had driven him to sign the Benghazi Agreement was the fear that Col. Qadafi would be so upset if he did not that he would, under the influence of Major Jalud and others of the RCC, come to some similar understanding with Algeria in the pursuit of his dreams of Arab unity. This was an outcome, President Sadat said, which the UAR with its present bad relations with Algeria could not contemplate. He had therefore accepted association with Libya on the loosest terms possible.

24 April 1971



CONFIDENTIAL

*A sec into the example of France in IC E.E.C.!*

*J.P. MUH 3/4*