

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							



UNCLASSIFIED

7 FEB 1960

V.1016/a.

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,

CAIRO.

February 3, 1960.

Dear Department,

The press has announced the issue of a Republican Decree to annul the decision taken by the Revolutionary Council on April 14, 1954, whereby all party Ministers who held office between February 6, 1942, and July 23, 1952 were deprived of political rights and the right to belong to councils and unions and other organisations. This Decree will have the effect of restoring their political rights to a number of persons (the press said 153) of whom the following are, or rather were, the best known:-

Former Wafdists:

Mustafa El-Nahas,
Osman Moharram,
Abdel-Salam Gomaa,
Abdel-Fattah El-Tawil,
Fuad Serag Eddin,
Ahmed Hanza,
Mahmoud Suliman Ghannam,
Abdel-Latif Mahmoud,
Ibrahim Faras,
Hamed Zaky,
Mohammed Salah Eddin,
Abdel-Fattah Hassan,
Hussein El-Juindi,
Abdel-meguid Abdel-Hak,
Abdel-Hamid Abdel-Hak.

Former Saadists:

Ibrahim Abdel-Hady,
Abdel-Meguid Badr,
Naguib Iskander,
Mandouh Riad,
Ahmed Moursy Badr,
Abdel-Razzak Ahmed El-Sanhoury.

Former Constitutional Liberals:

Ahmed Abdel-Ghaffar,
Abdel-Meguid Ibrahim Saleh,
Ahmed Aly Allouba.

Former Kotle Party:

Makram Ebeid.

The press gave a perfunctory welcome to this decree on the grounds that it showed that the political, economic and moral structure of the nation now rested on foundations so firm that it

/was

Levant Department,
Foreign Office, S.W.1.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							



- 2 -

was no longer necessary to maintain in being a measure which had been inspired by political calculation and not by revenge. There has been no further comment.

Yours ever,
LEVANT DEPARTMENT.

W.



UNCLASSIFIED

(1014/60)

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,

CAIRO.

February 10, 1960.

15 FEB 1960

Dear Department,

In our letter of February 5 we told you that the press had reported the issue of a Republican Decree to restore political rights to certain persons who held office under the old régime.

2. The Decree was not in fact promulgated until February 6. It contained two articles:-

- (1) Granting amnesty to a list of persons sentenced by the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Corruption Court.
- (2) Revoking the decision taken by the Revolutionary Council on April 14, 1954, and restoring political rights to certain persons.

An official commentary on the Decree added that it did not include persons found guilty of espionage or of contacts with British forces in the Canal Zone. Nor does the Decree cover sentences of confiscation, which were supplementary to the original sentences, and which have already been carried out.

3. The better-known beneficiaries of Article 2 of the Decree were listed in our letter under reference. Article 1 of the Decree applies to the following persons:-

(a) Sentenced by the Revolutionary Tribunal:

Ibrahim Abuel Hadi,
Ahmed Nasif,
Zaki Zahran,
Mustafa Shahin,
Ibrahim Farag,
Karim Thabit,
Mahmud Ghannam,
Ahmed Mohammed el Nakib,
Mohammed Hilmy Hussein,
Mohammed Kamel el Kawish,
Ahmed Abdel Ghaffar,
Mohammed Fouad Serageudin,
Abbas Halim Zeinab,
Abdel Wahed el Wakil.

(b) Sentenced by the Court of Corruption:

Dr. Ahmed Mohammed el Nakib,
Ahmed Mohammed Shoer,
Zeinab Abuel Wahed el Wakil,
Osman Moharrem,
Karim Thabit,
Mohammed Hassan el Solimani,
Mohammed Mustafa Khalifa,
Mustafa Fahmi.

Levant Department,
Foreign Office.

/ According

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						



- 2 -

According to "Al Ahram" all these persons had already been released on health grounds.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

Q.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ina	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 16,
(1011/60)

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,
CAIRO.

April 19, 1960.

2550
1011/60

Sir,

I have the honour to submit some observations on the composition and structure of the Government of the United Arab Republic. I am enclosing for ease of reference lists showing the composition of the Presidency of the Republic, the Central Government and the Egyptian and Syrian Executive Councils. I also enclose biographies of those Ministers who do not appear in the Report on Leading Personalities in Egypt for 1958 (Foreign Office Print No. JE 1012/2 of the 27th of February, 1958), nor in the Report on Leading Personalities in Syria for 1956 (Sir John Gardener's Despatch No. 132 of the 20th of August, 1956).

2. The present Cabinets were formed by Presidential Decree on the 7th of October, 1958. On the Egyptian side there has been only one change since that date. Sheikh Hassan Baquri, ex-Minister of Wakfs, resigned from the Central Government in 1959 over an Exchange Control scandal, and was replaced by Ahmed Toema, a young ex-Army officer. The Egyptian Executive Council remains unchanged.

3. The Syrians have suffered heavier casualties. The three Ba'athists, Akram Hawrani, Hassan Jabbara, and Salahuddin Bitar, have left the Central Government and not been replaced. There are now only five Syrians in the Central Government - Fakher el Kayyali, Minister of State, Amin el Nafuri, Minister of Communications, Bashir el Azma, Minister of Public Health, Ahmad Abdul Karim,

/Minister ..

The Right Honourable

Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P.,

etc., etc., etc.,

Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

- 2 -

Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs, and Farid Zainuddin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the Syrian Executive Council five Ba'athist Ministers have resigned during the period and their places have been filled mainly by young Syrian ex-Army officers.

4. The only professional politicians now remaining in the Government complex are the Syrian Fakher el Kayyali in the Central Government, the Egyptian Nuruddin Tarraf in the Egyptian Executive Council, and the Syrian Nihad Kassem in the Syrian Executive Council. For the rest, ex-Army and Air Force officers predominate - twelve in the Central Government, five in the Egyptian Executive Council and six in the Syrian Executive Council. The remainder are almost all technicians or administrators with expert knowledge in the fields of their particular Departments. The virtual disappearance of the Syrian Ba'ath party from the seats of power has therefore not only weakened the general Syrian position in the Central Government, but has also brought the Syrian Executive Council into line with its Egyptian counterpart. All three Cabinets now present a uniform non-political and para-military aspect.

5. This pattern is in keeping with President Nasser's general internal policy as exemplified by his concept of the National Union. He has expressed the view that the people should be represented at all levels not by opportunist party politicians, but by devoted men with no party affiliations, who represent the true popular interest. Such non-political characters are also more tractable and less likely to try to advance their own claims and doctrines against what Nasser considers to be the true interests of the State.

6. What real power does this complex of fifty-three Ministers exercise, both over the direction of the country's policies in general, and over their individual Ministries in particular?

/The common view ..

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

The common view is that the vast majority of Ministers are little more than rubber stamps, or, at best, glorified officials whose principal duty is to see to the efficient implementation of policies decided in advance over their heads. It is not difficult to adduce evidence in support of this thesis. For example, it is widely believed that the nationalisation of the Misr Bank and of the National Bank of Egypt was imposed on Dr. Kaissouni, the Minister of Economy, either without his knowledge or at least without his consent. Equally, the negotiations which resulted in the visit here last year by a British Council team to study the question of sending Egyptian students to the United Kingdom, were carried out through Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, the editor of "Al Ahram" newspaper, and later through a comparatively junior official in the Ministry of Education. Neither the President nor Heikal remembered to inform the Minister of Education until everything had been arranged. Moreover, British correspondents in Cairo say that Abdul Kader Hatem, the Deputy Minister for Presidential Affairs in charge of press and propaganda, cannot make even the simplest decisions on, for example, censorship matters, without referring them upwards to Nasser and his immediate entourage. And it is well known that Mahmud Fawzi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is a virtual cipher. I have little doubt that evidence could be found which would dispose of most of the members of all three Cabinets in a similar manner.

7. In this exceedingly confusing situation the only thing which is definite is that every decision of major, and an astonishing number of decisions of minor, importance is made by the President himself. It is extraordinary how much has to go to him, including such matters as the authorisation of visits abroad by junior officials. Nasser himself seems to consult with a relatively small group of associates. To call it a junta, or inner Cabinet, would, I feel, be giving this group too definite an existence; I suspect that its composition

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902					88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

varies with the problems that are in hand. Moreover, as in every dictatorship, there is constant jockeying for position to get the ear of the President and the influence of various individuals undoubtedly fluctuates from time to time. Subject to these reservations, I should be inclined to say that the heart of the group centres around Field-Marshal Amer, who is one of Nasser's closest and oldest friends, and Ali Sabri, the Central Minister for Presidential Affairs, who, as far as I can gather, has a hand in everything. Curiously enough, another person who, I think, is part of this group is Hassanein Heikal, who holds no official position. Thereafter one can only suggest that the following are probably brought into pretty constant consultation; the Central Minister of the Interior, Zakaria Mohieddin, the Vice-President, Abdul Latif Baghdadi, the Minister of State, Kemaluddin Rifaat, who has special responsibilities for the Arab countries and I suspect is in charge of U.A.R. intelligence services; and finally, Kemaluddin Hussein, the Minister of Education, who is rather a fanatic but seems to have improved his position since the incident referred to in paragraph 6 above and who is now the effective Head of the National Union.

8. Which way these various individuals pull the group is again impossible to say. Some of my colleagues maintain that Ali Sabri is inclined to be friendly to the Soviet Union, and Amer likewise because of the needs of the army. Vice-President Baghdadi, on the other hand, is said to be rather more pro-Western. I have seen no remotely circumstantial evidence to justify these assertions. It is very much more likely that these men as Nasser's protégés take the colour of their opinions from the moods and inclinations of their master.

/9.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

- 5 -

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Beirut, Amman, Baghdad, Tel Aviv, Washington, Tripoli and Khartoum, and to the Political Representative with the Middle East Forces.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,



(C. T. Crowe)

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Gamal Abdel Nasser	(Egyptian Personalities No.117) President
Abdul Latif Al-Baghdadi	(Egyptian Personalities No.27) Vice President and Central Minister of Planning
Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer	(Egyptian Personalities No.11) Vice-President, Central Minister of War and C-in-C of Armed Forces
Dr. Nuruddin Tarraf	(Egyptian Personalities No.175) President of the Egyptian Executive Council
Dr. Nuruddin Kahhala	(Syrian Personalities No.61) President of the Syrian Executive Council
Ali Sabri	(Egyptian Personalities No.136) Central Minister for Presidential Affairs
Fakher Al-Kayyali	(Syrian) Central Minister of State
Kamaluddin Rifa'at	(Egyptian) Central Minister of State
Abdul Qadir Hatim	(Egyptian Personalities No.76) Deputy Minister for Presidential Affairs
Jado Izzuddin	(Syrian) Minister of State for Presidential Affairs (Syrian Executive Council)

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902					88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Abdul Latif Mahmud Al-Baghdadi	(Egyptian Personalities No.27) Vice-President and Central Minister of Planning
Field-Marshal Muhammad Abdul Hakim Ali Amer	(Egyptian Personalities No.11) Vice-President, Central Minister of War, C-in-C of Armed Forces
Zakaria Abdul Magid Mohieddin	(Egyptian Personalities No.109) Central Minister of the Interior
Hussein Mahmud As-Shafe'i	(Egyptian Personalities No.158) Central Minister of Social Affairs and Labour
Kamaluddin Hussein	(Egyptian Personalities No.87) Central Minister of Education
Dr. Mahmud Fawzi	(Egyptian Personalities No.45) Central Minister of Foreign Affairs
Eng. Ahmad Abdu As-Sharabassi	(Egyptian Personalities No.162) Central Minister of Public Works
Dr. Abdul Moneim Al-Kaissouni	(Egyptian Personalities No.92) Central Minister of Economy and Central Minister of Treasury, p.i.
Fakher Al-Kayyali	(Syrian) Central Minister of State
Dr. Kamal Ramzi Stino	(Egyptian Personalities No.170) Central Minister of Supply
Dr. Engl Aziz Sidki	(Egyptian Personalities No.168) Central Minister of Industry
Eng. As-Sayed Marei	(Egyptian Personalities No.103) Central Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform

/Ali Sabri

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (Cont'd)

Ali Sabri (Egyptian Personalities No.136)
Central Minister of Presidential Affairs

Ahmad Abdul Karim (Syrian)
Central Minister of Municipal and Rural
Affairs

Amin Al-Nafuri (Syrian Personalities No.85)
Central Minister of Communications

Ahmad Abdulla Toeima (Egyptian Personalities No.177)
Central Minister of Wakfs

Kamaluddin Mahmud Rifa'at (Egyptian)
Central Minister of State

Bashir Al-Azma (Syrian)
Central Minister of Public Health

Farik (Lt.General)
Muhammad Ibrahim (Egyptian)
Central Minister of State for War Affairs

Hussein Zulficar Sabri (Egyptian Personalities No.137)
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Farid Zainuddin (Syrian Personalities No.120)
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Abdul Kader Hatim (Egyptian Personalities No.76)
Deputy Minister of Presidential Affairs

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE SYRIAN REGION

Nuruddin Kahhala (Syrian Personalities No.61)
President and Minister of Public Works and
Planning

Dr. Abdul Wahhab Humad (Syrian Personalities No.49)
Minister of Treasury

Jado Izzeddin Minister of State for Presidential Affairs

Husni Sawwaf (Syrian Personalities No.100)
Minister of Economy

Abdul Hamid As Sarraj (Syrian Personalities No.99)
Minister of the Interior

Yusuf Muzahim Minister of Wakfs

Ahmad Al Hajj Yunus Minister of Agriculture

Dr. Shawkat Al-Qanawati Minister of Public Health

Nihad Al-Kassem Minister of Justice

Dr. Tu'ma Al-Awdatullah Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs

Wajih As-Samman Minister of Industry

Muhammad Al-Alam Minister of Communications

Amjad Al-Tarabulsi Minister of Education

Jamal Sufi Minister of Supply

Thabit al Aris Minister of Culture and National Guidance

Ahmad Junaidi Minister of Agrarian Reform

Akram Diri Minister of Social Affairs and Labour.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE EGYPTIAN REGION

Dr. Nuruddin Tarraf -- President.
Ahmad Husni -- Minister of Justice
Muhammad Abu Nusair -- Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs
Dr. Eng. Mustafa Khalil Kamil Mustafa -- Minister of Communications
Hassan Abbas Zaki -- Minister of Economy
Sarwat Okasha -- Minister of Culture and National Guidance
Abbas Radwan -- Minister of Interior
Dr. Muhammad Mahmud Nassar -- Minister of Public Health
Eng. Musa Arafa -- Minister of Public Works
Ahmad Nagib Hashim -- Minister of Education
Ahmad Muhammad Al-Mahruqi -- Minister of Agriculture
Hasan Ahmad Boghdadi -- Minister of Agrarian Reform
Hasan Salahuddin -- Minister of Treasury
Muhammad Tawfiq Abdul Fattah -- Minister of Social Affairs and Labour

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Tawfiq Abdul Fattah

Born 1930 in Egypt. Graduated from the Egyptian Military Academy in 1940. Passed Staff College in 1942. Appointed Director of the Commander in Chief's Bureau and later Secretary-General of the Council of Ministers in 1958. Director of the Joint Arab Command Office in 1955. Appointed Minister of Labour and Social Affairs in the Egyptian Executive Council in October 1958.

Ahmad Abdul Karim

About forty years old. An officer in the Syrian Army. Director of the Syrian Army Troisième Bureau until he was appointed Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs for Syria on the formation of the U.A.R. in early 1958. Appointed Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs in the Central Government on October 7, 1958.

Muhammad Al Alam

Born 1910 and studied engineering in Europe. A native of Aleppo. He was Director of Railways there for 12 years and has also been Professor of Engineering at Damascus University. Appointed Minister of Communications in the Syrian Executive Council on October 7, 1958.

/Musa Arafat

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ma	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88035	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Musa Arafa

Born 1906, a graduate of the Engineering Faculty of Cairo University. Also qualified at Manchester University. Appointed Under-Secretary of State for Public Works in 1953 and for Communications the same year. Appointed Sequestrator-General for British, French and Australian property in 1957. An expert on irrigation affairs. Appointed Minister of Public Works in the Egyptian Executive Council on October 7, 1958.

Married with a daughter who works in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Thabit al Aris

Born 1907 and graduated in Arts at the Sorbonne. Professor of French Literature at the Faculty of Arts at Aleppo. Joined the Syrian Diplomatic Service and served in Haifa, Paris and in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Also served as Minister to Greece and Yugoslavia and finally as U.A.R. Ambassador in Belgrade. Appointed Minister of Culture and Guidance in the Syrian Executive Council on March 18, 1960.

Tue'ma Awdatullah

Born 1921, an army officer who rose to the rank of Lt. Colonel in the First U.A.R. Army. Appointed Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs in the Syrian Executive Council on October 7, 1958. Accompanied Nasser on his State visit to India and Pakistan in March-April, 1960.

/Bashir Azma

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902					88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

Bashir Azma

Born 1910. Graduated in medicine and became Professor of Internal Diseases at Damascus University. Has studied in France and England. Appointed Minister of Public Health in the Central Government on October 7, 1958.

Akram Dirî

Born 1925 and graduated from the Damascus Military College in 1947. After attending military courses in France he passed through the Syrian Staff College. Took part in the Palestine War of 1948/49. After the merger he occupied various military posts in the First Army, the last of which was Director of Organisation and Training. Appointed Minister of Social Affairs and Labour in the Syrian Executive Council on March 18, 1960.

Ahmad Nagib Hashem

Born 1907. Graduated at the Cairo Teachers' Training College in 1928. Served in various teaching posts and appointed Director of the Egyptian Cultural Centre in London in 1945. Subsequently Director of the Cultural Mission's Bureau in Washington. Transferred to Cairo as Director of Educational Missions and subsequently Secretary-General of Alexandria University.

In 1952 appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs and Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Education in 1957. Headed a Cultural Delegation to Russia in September 1958 to implement the U.A.R./Soviet Cultural Agreement.

/Married ..

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902					88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

Married with two children. His daughter has a degree from an American university. On October 7, 1958 appointed Minister of Education in the Egyptian Executive Council.

Dr. Abdul Wahhab Homad

Born in Aleppo in 1915. A Moslem. Graduated in Law in Paris. Professor of Law at the Syrian University from 1951 to 1956. Elected a Deputy for Aleppo in 1947, 1949 and 1954. Minister of Education from August 9 to November 25, 1951. Minister of Finance 1955 and Minister of Education again in 1956. A former member of the Syrian Populist Party. He has written several books in Arabic and French on legal and social reform. His political views are very similar to those of the Ba'ath. Appointed Minister of Justice for the Syrian Region after the merger with Egypt. In October 1958 appointed Minister of the Treasury in the Syrian Executive Council.

Lt. General Mohammed Ibrahim

Born 1903. Graduated from Sandhurst. Became Director of Army Training and later Professor at the Egyptian Military Academy. Appointed Chief of Staff and, on May 11, 1959, Minister of State for War Affairs in the Central Government. Apparently a self-made man, and a keen professional soldier for the last 20 years.

Jado Izzuddin

Born in 1926. Graduated from the Syrian Military College in 1947. Passed Staff College in France. Took part in the Palestine War in 1948/9. Was Commander of the Southern Front in the First Army in 1959/60. Appointed Minister of State for Presidential Affairs in the Syrian Executive Council on March 18, 1960.

CONFIDENTIAL

114

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

Ahmed Junaidi

Born 1926. Graduated from the Syrian Military College in 1947. Passed Staff College in France. Took part in the Palestine War of 1948/9. Commanded the Armoured Brigade of the First Army after the merger and then joined the Joint Command Headquarters in Cairo. Appointed Director of Marshal Amer's Bureau in 1959. Appointed Minister of Agrarian Reform in the Syrian Executive Council on March 18, 1960.

Nihad el Kassem

Born 1908, a lawyer by profession. Was Minister of Education in Said Ghazzi's Cabinet in 1954. Has served as Chief of State Inspectorate Office in Damascus. Appointed Minister of Justice in the Syrian Executive Council in early 1959.

Fakher El Kayyali

Born about 1910 and graduated in Law in France. He practised Law in Syria and got involved in anti-French political activities for which he was imprisoned several times. Three times Minister of National Economy in Syria and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1951. Appointed Minister of the Treasury in the Syrian Executive Council in March 1958 and subsequently Minister of State in the Central U.A.R. Government.

Dr. Ahmad Mahruki

Born 1919. Graduated from the Faculty of Agriculture in Cairo in 1937 and obtained a doctorate at Cornell University in 1943. Appointed Director-General of the Horticultural Department of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1956 and Under-Secretary of State for Supply in the same year. Under-Secretary of State for Agriculture in 1958. Visited a number of East and West European countries between 1948 and 1956. Appointed Minister of Agriculture

CONFIDENTIAL

/in

15

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

in the Egyptian Executive Council on October 7, 1958.

Married with two children.

Yusuf Muzahim

Born 1922 near Damascus. Graduated at Damascus University and specialised in Economics. Appointed a teacher in the Syrian Ministry of Education in 1944 and subsequently appointed Director of Finance in the Damascus Secretariat. Appointed Director-General of the Police in 1957 and later Governor of Deir ez Zor. He was Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Interior in the last months before the merger. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Union in the Damascus area. Appointed Minister of Wakfs in the Syrian Executive Council on March 18, 1960.

Major-General Muhammad Mahmud Nassar

Born in 1912. Graduated at the Cairo Faculty of Medicine in 1936 and joined the Army as a doctor. He has been Director of the Almaza Hospital and of the General Military Hospital. Also served as Director-General of the Armed Forces Medical Services. Elected in 1957 President of the Doctors' Union and of the Federation of Medical Provisions. He organised the abortive Public Medical Service in Egypt in 1958. Appointed Minister of Public Health in the Egyptian Executive Council on October 7, 1958.

/Sarwat Okasha

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

Sarwat Okasha

Born 1921. Graduated from the Egyptian Military Academy in 1939. A cavalry officer. Passed Staff College 1948 and obtained a diploma in journalism the same year. Fought in the Palestine War of 1948 - 49 and later served as Military Attaché in Bonn and Paris. One of the Revolutionary officers. Appointed Ambassador to Italy in 1958 and on October 7, 1958 appointed Minister of Culture and National Guidance in the Egyptian Executive Council. Original editor of "Tahrir". Married with two children. In March 1960 visited Belgium and France and given an honorary Doctorate of Letters at the Sorbonne.

Dr. Shawkat Qanawati

A Syrian. A doctor by profession he has been Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the Syrian University and subsequently Rector of the University. Appointed Minister of Health for the Syrian Region on the formation of the U.A.R. and confirmed in the appointment on October 7, 1958.

Abbas Radwan

Born 1922. An Egyptian Army officer. In 1953 he was appointed Director of the Public relations Bureau in the Egyptian Commander in Chief's Office. Deputy Director of Intelligence Services in 1958. Appointed Minister of the Interior in the Egyptian Executive Council in October 1958.

Kamaluddin Rifaat

Born 1923. An Egyptian Army officer. He was Commander of the Kantara Zone in November 1956 and was subsequently elected for Kantara in the National Assembly. Appointed Deputy Minister for Presidential Affairs in March 1958 and in October 1958 Minister of State. He assumed responsibility for the Ministry of Wakfs when Baquri resigned in February 1959 until Toema took over in October the same year.

1	2	oms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Hassan Salahuddin

Born 1907. Graduated at the Cairo Faculty of Commerce in 1930. Served in various appointments in the Ministry of Justice and in the State Audit Office. Director-General of Technical Research at the Audit Office. Was at one time Government delegate to the Misr Bank and appointed Under-Secretary of State for Finance and Economy and later for the Treasury in March 1958. Appointed Minister of Treasury in the Egyptian Executive Council on October 7, 1958.

Married with four children.

Wajih Samman

Born 1909. Educated in Paris. Was Director-General of the Electricity Board in Damascus and subsequently Dean of the Faculty of Engineering at Damascus University. Appointed Deputy President of the Economic Development Organisation of the Northern Region. Appointed Minister of Industry in the Syrian Executive Council on October 7, 1958.

Jamal As-Sufi

Born 1931. Graduated from the Syrian Military College in 1947. Passed Staff College in France. Served in the Palestine War of 1948/49 and was wounded four times. Appointed Minister of Supply in the Syrian Executive Council on March 18, 1960.

Amjad Tarabulsi

Born 1918, a graduate of the Sorbonne. Was Professor of Arabic at Damascus University for 13 years. A member of the Ba'ath Party. He was acting Minister of Culture and National Guidance and Minister of Education in the Syrian Executive Council until Thabit al Aris (qv) took over the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance in March 1960, when he retained the portfolio of Education.

/Ahmad el Hajj Yunus

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Ahmad el Hajj Yunus

Born at Homs in 1922. A businessman and journalist by profession. He owned a newspaper in Homs in 1950 which was suspended by Colonel Shishakli. A Deputy in the old Syrian Parliament. Appointed Minister of Agriculture in the Syrian Executive Council in October 1958.

CONFIDENTIAL

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

V G.1016/b

FROM Damascus, Syria to
Levant Department.

Confidential.

No. 1014/60.

Dated May 4.

Received May 9.

SUBJECT:

Resignations of AMIN NAJURI and AHMAD ABDEL
KERIM were submitted months ago. shortage of
Syrians in the central government.

References

-/s.

MINUTES

Minutes.

The Ba'ath Ministers
resigned in late December. It was
rumored in February that these two
Ministers would resign but the news was
denied by Cairo. A month
later (mid-March) the Syrian Executive
was re-shuffled and now these two
have been allowed to go.

The only significance in not
allowing them to go in February was probably
because Cairo could not allow them to
do so following on the previous resignation.
Meanwhile N. has visited Syria, re-increased
his popularity with stirring speeches and
restored much of his prestige in the Arab

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

13.6.60.

(Main Indexed)

23- 86

would own the "Cigarette". Clearly if they were to go this was the ideal time when nobody would notice it. There has been no comment in the Caris press.

Number of copies
Number of copies of enclosures

AKJ
10/5

Mr. Dooling. 10/5
F.O.R.D.
(initials) 11.5

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902					88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						



CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED
SECRET
V
VC1016/6

(1014/60)

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,
CAIRO.

May 4, 1960.

Dear Department,

Would you please refer to Cairo telegram No. 385 about the resignations of Amin Nafuri and Ahmad Abdul Kerim.

2. We understand that these two Ministers were Ba'athi sympathisers who submitted their resignations some months ago. For some reason or other, Nasser only accepted these on May 2. There is therefore no fresh significance in their departure from office.

3. The Central Government is now very short of Syrians. The only two remaining Syrian ministers are Fakher Kayyali, Minister of State, and Bashir el Azma, Minister of Health. We gather that Nasser wants to redress this lack of balance and is trying to persuade Abdurrahman el Azm, at present UAR Ambassador in Madrid, to join the Central Government as a Vice-President, and Asad Muhaisin, UAR Ambassador in Rabat, to take on the Central Ministry of the Treasury. According to our informant, el Azm is a "very enthusiastic" character, who would not be likely to last long, whilst Muhaisin is reluctant to accept a Ministerial job. The former has some following in Syria and is a member of the influential family of which Khalid el Azm is the head, but the latter has no political connexions.

4. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chancery at Beirut and to Pomef.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

Q.

Levant Department,
Foreign Office, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
70 JUN 1960
161016/2(A).



BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,
CAIRO.

June 4, 1960.

Sir R. Stanger
We wrote it
to
but Research
Dept. Cairo
then sent it
to you

By Dem John,

This is just a line to thank you for sending us the paper on the U.A.R.: State of the Union and to be so presumptuous as to congratulate you (and Research Department) on such an admirable paper. Not only is it sound, but it is short. It just shows what the Office can do when it keeps clear of the soldiery! We shall have one or two comments to make which we shall send you when we have collated them, but I thought you would like to have this preliminary note.

Yours,
C. T. Crowe
(C. T. Crowe)

J.G.S. Beith, Esq., C.M.G.,
Levant Department,
Foreign Office.

R 9/6.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

(LR 6/22)

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT MEMORANDUM

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC: THE STATE OF THE UNION

Summary

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
20 MAY 1960
16 1014/8

Conclusions

The Union, in spite of the physical separation of the two regions and other practical handicaps, subsists and appears to have far greater promise than the ill-fated Arab Union of Jordan and Iraq ever had, but a much less permanent appearance than say Pakistan. Syria has retained much of its own separate personality, though its leaders (except Sarraj) are eclipsed. The process of genuine unification has hardly begun, and Syria is reduced to little more than an Egyptian protectorate. She seems likely to acquiesce in remaining so as long as a worse fate appears likely to befall her outside the Republic, always provided that the Egyptians continue to look as if they may not make too bad a job of the administration, and that economic development becomes a reality in Syria as well as in Egypt.

2. Thus the Republic could continue much as at present for an indefinite period. Or, if there are radical changes in the outside conditions in which it maintains its equilibrium or a general upheaval in the Middle East, it could break up into its component parts at any time - though probably not without violence, since its continued existence as a going concern has become a vital Egyptian political interest. Its demise would damage President Nasser's whole position in the Arab world.

Argument.

3. The union was hasty and ill-prepared and the partners seemed ill-matched at the outset (para. 1). The snags turned out to be less serious than might have been expected (para. 2).

4. Egypt and Syria are dissimilar in a number of ways (para. 3) and similar in others. But their similarities did not facilitate the union in practice, though the mental attitudes they share gave them common political interests and outlook (para. 4).

5. Some practical measures of unification have been taken (constitutional, military, administrative, and trade) (para. 5). No major steps towards economic unification have been taken (para. 6). Some measures are planned - National Union, economic development (para. 7).

6. The Egyptian grip on Syria depends on security, the popularity of Egyptian leaders and the unpopularity of Syrian politicians, but mainly on successful administration and economic results (para. 8).

7. External factors are however much more important, and the future really depends upon what happens in Iraq, and upon any major changes in the Arab/Israel situation (para. 9).

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

1. Birth of the Union

When the Union took place in February 1958 it had an unnatural air because:

- (a) Egypt, the senior partner, had not sought it;
- (b) it took place in great haste, and constitutional and other problems had evidently not been thought out;
- (c) Egyptians and Syrians had - and have - strong mutual antipathies;
- (d) the physical separation of the two regions and the poor communications (President Nasser and Field Marshal Amer take strict and elaborate precautions when moving between the two regions) do not make for unity;
- (e) there were fundamental dissimilarities between Egypt and Syria; and
- (f) such similarities as there were, were in practice, unhelpful.

2. (a) above was however offset by Nasser's opportunism in exploiting the chance to set up a practical example of Arab unity in spite of the difficulties.

(b) created difficulties which, with the appointment of Hakim Amer as "viceroy", the Egyptians have only just begin to tackle seriously.

(c) can have importance when things go wrong, but has so far been offset by the personal popularity of Nasser and Amer.

(d) is a handicap but need not prove critical.

3. (e) - the main dissimilarities were:

	<u>Egypt</u>	<u>Syria</u>
(i) population -	25 million	4 million
	homogeneous;	mixed;
(ii) a static area based on the Nile - a strong unifying feature:		an area of historical movement and involvement with wider Arab movements;
	and	
(iii) rigid dirigiste economy;		laissez-faire economy.

4. (f) A number of the similarities were in practice disadvantageous to a union, such as:

/(1)

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

- (i) lack of heavy industry;
- (ii) dependence on agricultural exports;
- (iii) few natural resources; and
- (iv) oil transit, no (major) oil production (Egypt has since increased her - still minor - production).

The economies were in fact competing not complementary. On the other hand some similarities gave a community of interest:

- (i) both had struggled to expel foreign troops from their soil and against "imperialist occupation";
- (ii) both had rejected the Middle East Defence Organisation concept, and
- (iii) both had experience of dealing with the Soviet bloc arms and industrial development and trade.

5. Some practical measures of unification were taken:

- (a) constitutional - the establishment of a system of central and regional ministerial responsibility;
- (b) a joint military command already existed, but Amer became Commander-in-Chief and gained effective control of all the armed forces of the U.A.R. (there were switches of Egyptian officers to Syria and vice-versa - and consequential problems of pay differentials, jealousies and rivalry);
- (c) certain Egyptian measures were extended to Syria e.g. martial law provisions, agrarian reform, and (recently) nationalisation of banks and insurance companies;
- (d) customs, licensing and tariff regulations were adjusted to stimulate inter-regional trade (which more than doubled in 1959, though it is still marginal to the economies of both Egypt and Syria).

6. Many fundamental measures of unification have not been taken:

- (a) apart from the arrangements for inter-regional trade (see paragraph 5(d) above) no major steps have been taken towards economic unification;
- (b) the International Monetary Fund team surveying the Egyptian economy in 1959 were told that the National Bank of Egypt and the Central Bank of Syria had discussed unification, and the establishment of a board was under consideration to study the complex problems that would have to be resolved before attempting economic unification;
- (c) Amer said publicly (in Syria) that unification would not be attempted until it could be ensured that it would have no harmful effects on either region;
- (d) the two regions therefore retain separate

(1)

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

- (i) monetary areas
- (ii) exchange policies
- (iii) budgets (though they contribute to the central budget)
- (iv) currencies, and
- (v) reserves.

7. Practical measures planned or in progress:

- (a) The National Union is to be extended to cover the whole of the U.A.R. with the ultimate aim of "one parliament"; the exact process and timetable is not yet clear; the next step is election of regional councils in both regions; the parliamentary assembly is supposed to be constituted before the anniversary of the revolution on July 23, 1960;
- (b) an Economic Development Organisation for Syria, corresponding to that in Egypt, is being set up;
- (c) increased effort is being directed towards economic development in Syria to match the great effort in Egypt; Syria is clearly dependent upon the Egyptian capacity for securing aid from both East and West; for example, a United States team of businessmen studied trade opportunities in Syria as well as in Egypt, and the United States extended technical and economic assistance to Syria under an agreement signed on April 3 (which specifically mentioned civil aviation, development and census tabulating equipment); Nasser took the opportunity of his visit to Syria in February/March to announce many new projects and plans (including rural development, irrigation and a university and airport at Aleppo); a Russian mission is visiting Syria to study development plans.

8. Strength of Egyptian grip on Syria:

- (a) security - day-to-day administration is left to Sarraj, but the administration and control is very much in the hands of Amer, Nasser's "Viceroy" (the question is, can he stay there indefinitely?);
- (b) popularity - Amer created a good impression by e.g. setting up complaints bureaux and introducing administrative reforms, with sops to the business community, and emphasis on the welfare of the people; Nasser's recent visit has strengthened his hold on the country where he casts a personal spell; the aim is clearly to create the impression of an all-embracing interest by Nasser in the development of the welfare of the Syrian people; Nasser is credited with having got rid of the communists and Amer with having got things done;
- (c) unpopularity of the Ba'ath - the Ba'ath took the blame for economic troubles caused mainly by bad harvests, and it was easy for the Egyptians to point to the misfortunes which party politics brought to Syria; the Ba'ath party was weakened in the early National Union elections; its leaders were bypassed by Amer -

/openly

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902					88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

openly when he set up the committee for agrarian reform; the resignation of half a dozen Ba'ath Ministers in December, 1959 aroused no noticeable resentment in the country; and

(d) the Ba'ath Ministers who resigned were replaced in mid-March by seven new appointments, four army officers three civil servants, with one exception (the respected economist who is now Minister of Economy) politically obscure and under 40, without popularity or party backing; thus the Syrian Executive Council will have little political colour (only two Ba'athists are left); a new post of Minister for Presidential Affairs in the Syrian region may perhaps improve coordination with Cairo; the two vice-presidencies are still vacant. In short the Egyptian grip depends, insofar as internal factors are concerned, mainly on successful administration and the ability to produce economic results. Any failures could be aggravated by the basic mutual antipathy between Egyptians and Syrians, and possibly by Egyptian heavy-handedness. Moreover the Egyptians, not the Ba'ath must now carry the blame for failures. External factors are however even more important (see following paragraph).

9. External factors.

(a) Iraq. A nationalist, moderate Iraq offering Syria federation, with no fear of communist domination, might have attractions in the future; meanwhile so long as the danger of communism clearly persists in Iraq, there is little attraction in the idea of an Iraqi adventure for Syria;

(b) the recent incident (January/February) on the Israel border (at Tawafiq) probably had a unifying influence; that was why Nasser exploited it; he can be counted upon to exploit anything which rouses pan-Arab emotions e.g. United States trade union boycott;

(c) conversely any major rift within the Arab world which created conflicting loyalties for Syria would endanger the Union;

(d) Iraq's present lack of attraction for Syria (see (a)), common fear of communism and Nasser's championship of the Arab cause against Zionism and imperialism, work in Egypt's favour.

10. Conclusions.

Just as the Union was created under stress of external influences, so its future depends in the main on outside events. So long as Iraq teeters on the edge of chaos or communism she has little attraction for Syria. While Arab/Israel tension continues but does not lead to major hostilities, it should tend to consolidate rather than disrupt the Union. Internal dangers also exist but are not acute. Provided there is reasonable economic progress, and tolerably satisfactory administration, the Union should endure and even become strengthened. A source of

/difficulty

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

difficulty is however the fact that Amer can hardly stay for ever, but would presumably hesitate to leave Sarraj in charge. Clearly the Egyptians must continue to work very hard to make the Union a success because of the grievous blow which Nasser's prestige would suffer if it failed.

11. The Union is indeed of key importance to Nasser. At the outset he may have expected it to exercise a strong attraction to other Arab countries, and may have hoped for more adherents either to it or to the United Arab States. It is doubtful now whether he has any immediate ambitions in this direction. The digestion of Syria has proved to be quite a difficult enough task in itself (The U.A.S. has remained more or less a dead letter). Nevertheless the U.A.R. does represent the first practical move towards Arab unity, and cannot therefore be allowed to fail.

Levant Department
and
Middle East Section,
Research Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

May 4, 1960.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

1014/60



BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,
CAIRO.

June 21, 1960.

RECEIVED BY ARCHIVES JUN 1960
V-1016/a

My dear John,

We have a few comments to offer on the excellent paper "The United Arab Republic: the state of the Union", sent to us under Research Department's compliments slip LR 6/22 of May 19.

2. First, I do not think that the paper brings out quite strongly enough the extent to which the Union depends at present on the personality of Nasser. His great popularity in Syria was brought into relief by the hysterical welcome he received during his visit there earlier this year. I do not believe, however, that this popularity includes the Egyptian régime in general or even any other prominent individual Egyptians, with the exception to some extent of Amer. If Nasser were to disappear from the scene, or if his image became seriously tarnished in Syrian eyes, e.g. if he compromised with Israel, I doubt very much if the Union would survive for very long.

3. Secondly, the paper does not perhaps deal sufficiently with the significance of the Syrian Army, which has been so notorious a factor in Syrian politics since 1946. I get the impression that Syrian officers are far more of the military adventurer than the "ideological Free Officer" type, and it is always possible that Army elements might try to stage a separatist coup. Nasser must be aware of this, and there is evidence that the First Army is being systematically penetrated by Egyptian officers. Nasser's real grip on Syria probably depends on the degree of this penetration more than on the other factors mentioned in paragraph 8(d) of the paper.

4. I agree that the Syrian and Egyptian economies are on the whole competing not complementary (for example, Syrian wheat which in a good year is exported is not of the type normally imported into Egypt as it is not best suited for making bread, which is what Egypt wants) and that there is no prospect of full economic union in the near future. On the other hand there is fairly steady movement towards integration in the sense that the same type of organisation is being imposed on Syria as exists in Egypt. As the paper mentions in paragraph 7 (b), an Economic Development Organisation is being set up in Syria on the Egyptian model. Again, the Mizr group of companies has been established in Syria, under local names. The development plans of the two regions are being more closely coordinated. Local firms and insurance companies are being Syrianised in Syria as they are being Egyptianised here. And so on. These are all fairly basic measures which qualify to some extent the

J.G.S. Beith, Esq., C.M.G.,
Levant Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

/ statement ...

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							



statement in paragraph 6 (a) that no major steps have been taken towards unification.

5. It remains true, however, that full union is still below the horizon. The ultimate obstacle is the existence of two different currencies, monetary areas and exchange policies in the two regions, and at present no one sees quite how this is going to be overcome. The root of it is the independent existence of the Lebanon. Free traffic between Syria and the Lebanon has continued since time immemorial, and I very much doubt if the Egyptians or anyone else are capable of physically isolating Syria from the Lebanon. So long as there is a free currency market in the Lebanon and traffic between the two is free it seems impossible for the sort of rigid exchange control system that operates here to be applied to Syria, and hence for the two separate currencies to be unified. One solution to the problem would, of course, be the annexation of the Lebanon by the U.A.R. But as the paper rightly says the digestion of Syria is quite a difficult enough task in itself.

Tim Crowe

Chin

(G.T. Crowe)

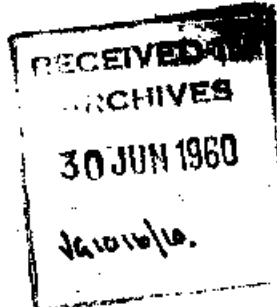
CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL



(1014/60)



BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,

CAIRO.

June 27, 1960.

Dear Department,

After a number of false starts over the past few months, the National Union has at last got under way. On June 11 a Republican decree was issued announcing the formation of the Supreme Executive Committee of the National Union (consisting of the two Vice-Presidents and 16 Cabinet Ministers); and the names of the appointed members of the National Union Congresses for the Egyptian and Syrian Regions (approximately 4,000 Egyptians and 1,400 Syrians) were announced on June 13. Members of the various committees for both Congresses were also appointed simultaneously.

2. On June 20 the Egyptian and Syrian Regional Congresses met in Cairo and Damascus respectively in a blaze of publicity. Kemaluddin Hussein, the Controller-General of the National Union, opened the proceedings in Cairo and Field-Marshal Amer performed a similar function in Damascus. Thereafter Executive Ministers in both Regions delivered long reports to the Congresses on the activities of their Ministries. Committees were then formed to discuss the Ministerial reports and the final resolutions of the Committees were published at the end of last week, when the Congresses dispersed.

3. Kemaluddin Hussein's and Amer's speeches were on similar lines, although Amer dwelt rather more heavily on Arab nationalism and Arab unity, no doubt in deference to his Syrian audience. They both referred to the National Union as having the prime objective of establishing a socialist, democratic and co-operative society. Kemaluddin Hussein spoke of the National Union as providing a framework of sound democracy and said that democracy could not be realised under a party system. The National Union represented the national conscience, and was based on full co-operation between all citizens and Government organs at all levels.

4. The Ministerial reports following the opening speeches contained little of interest and consisted of long catalogues of the achievements of the various Ministries. The final resolutions arising from the committee discussions gave evidence of some brisk debate having taken place, particularly in Syria. Their effect was, however, somewhat marred by the fact that they ranged freely from the sublime to the ridiculous - a resolution recommending an overall change in some aspect

/of

Levant Department,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL



of the country's life being followed immediately by something to do with milk at school luncheons.

5. The press pulled out every stop on behalf of the Congresses, and editorials were full of lavish praise for this formidable manifestation of democracy at work. Evidence is now however beginning to emerge that all was not quite as the press represented it. One journalist let slip in private that the papers have been having great difficulty over photographs, particularly when the committees were at work. The photograph file was coming in daily and it was very difficult to find photographs showing crowded halls. One, for example, showed Amer addressing a row of empty benches, which should have contained 400 members of a certain committee. Various members of the committees have said in private that their work was quite impossible since their committees were so large as to be totally unmanageable. The usual spate of jokes is beginning to emerge, one of which runs that there was a rush for membership of the committees so that people who wished to spend a night out in town could tell their wives that they were held up at the National Union. We also understand that the scope of the resolutions was inhibited by previous instructions that no resolution should recommend anything that went beyond the already agreed State budget.

6. Although there was relatively little public interest in the Congresses, there is a general feeling now that the National Union has at least made a start, and that some of the anomalies (such as the cumbersome committees) will probably be sorted out in the light of experience. The National Congress of the National Union is due to meet on July 9, and its members will be appointed shortly. Nasser has already described the National Congress as the supreme authority which will lay down national policy to be carried out by the Government, and will himself preside over the Congress, and deliver the opening speech. The following step will be the first meeting of the National Assembly scheduled to take place on July 21.

7. This letter is in the nature of a preliminary report. We are preparing a despatch on the general organisation of the National Union (which is incomprehensible to almost everyone, including Egyptians) and will report more fully when the present cycle has been completed by the meeting of the National Assembly.

8. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chancery at Beirut and to POMEF.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

(Signature)

CONFIDENTIAL

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1016/11.

FROM Mr. S. H. House, Beirut
 to Mr. J. J. S. Smith.
Confidential

No. 1014/60.
 Dated June 22.
 Received July 1.

SUBJECT:

Minute by Mr. PARSONS on the evolution of NASSER's thinking on internal policy.

References

MINUTES

FORD (ME). *first for any obs.* *12/4/7.*

I would agree generally with Mr. Parsons that ideology seems more and more to be creeping in to corrupt the purity of Nasser's early pragmatism.

2. As a nationalist Nasser was not much interested initially in questions of social organization. He was obsessed with the struggle against the foreigner. Even the dynasty was objectionable because it was foreign and was seen as part of the apparatus by which foreigners kept Egypt in subjection. Mixed up with his nationalism were some vaguely radical ideas but he had never consciously formulated them, and, as Mr. Parsons says, they hardly appear at all in the "Philosophy of the Revolution".

3. It is only later when his initial aims have been accomplished and the foreign bogey exorcised, and when he finds himself faced with the problem of government that he casts about for a set of principles which will meet his practical needs, will appeal to his public and help to keep him and his friends in power. He finds them in the co-operative socialist ideas which he has probably picked up in his contact with Nehru and Tito.

4. Nasser's chief task, as he sees it, is to make his country strong, independent and influential. To do this he must industrialize because in modern conditions power and influence are the prerogative of highly industrialized countries. But since the amount of capital in private hands in Egypt is insufficient and since Egyptian capitalists hesitate to risk such capital as they possess in industry the state must assume a major rôle as entrepreneur. Ownership of the confiscated foreign enterprises which formed the greater part of Egyptian industry gives the state a flying start.

5. Whether he desired it or not, Nasser would thus find himself pushed along the road to state capitalism. Actually, it suits him very well. It prevents the emergence of a class of private capitalists who might

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)
*App. Mr. S. H. House, Beirut
 from Mr. J. J. S. Smith July 22*

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
<i>Key 13.1.60</i>	<i>Jr 8.61 23</i>

come to challenge his political supremacy and it enables him to represent to the people that it is they who control the means of production. To help foster this illusion he will no doubt encourage a certain amount of private investment in the state controlled enterprises. But economic power, like political power, will rest more and more with Nasser and the small clique surrounding him.

B. G. Shearing

(B. G. Shearing)
July 8, 1960

It would be interesting to know more about the sources of Nasser's ideas on economic & social reorganisation: whether he is working them out for himself as he goes along or whether there are theorists in the background, whose ideas, if known, could give some clue to future developments. The indications from Nasser's own acts and statements - as his minute shows - are of a future growing more dictatorial & doctrinaire.

11. iii. 60.

M Jenkins
12/7

Atkinson
13/7

We might comment on the lines of the above minutes.

Please draft.

JD
July 15

Draft submitted.

M Jenkins

12/7

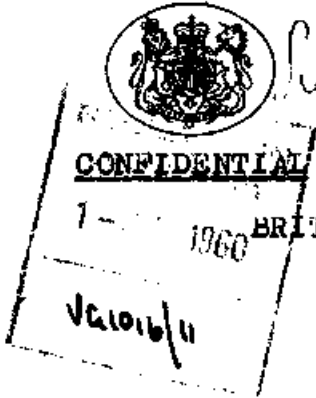
Atkinson
13/7

Sir R. S. ...
11/3/60

JD
July 15

Number of copies.....

Number of copies of enclosures.....



(1014/60)

C. T. Stevens ✓ *center*
V. interesting *ll*

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,
CAIRO.
June 28, 1960.

My dear Sir,

In my letter by today's bag to Roger Stevens on the internal situation I said I was sending you a minute by Tony Parsons on the evolution of Nasser's thinking on internal policy.

--- 2. Here it is. I think you will find it interesting and thought-provoking.

Yours ever,
C. T. Crowe
(C.T. Crowe)

J.G.S. Beith, Esq., C.M.G.
Levant Department,
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes.

NASSER'S INTERNAL POLICY -
PRAGMATIC OR IDEOLOGICAL?

During the past eight years the attention of commentators and writers about Nasser's Egypt has naturally been concentrated mainly on Nasser's foreign policies. His internal policies have generally been dismissed as being based on pure pragmatism. This attitude is summed up by Lacouture, who describes Egypt as the "Opportunist State" and the members of the régime, including Nasser, as "empiricists from first to last". Most of what has been written about Nasser's Egypt is, however, based on material collected up to the end of 1958 at the latest, and often on material of an even earlier date.

2. Since I have been here I have noticed a tendency amongst Egyptians, foreign diplomats and foreign correspondents to question the assumption that Nasser's internal policies are any longer purely pragmatic and to speculate on the possibility that a Nasserite internal political ideology is developing, or at least that Nasser is making a conscious effort to graft some form of ideology on to the pragmatic base. Such speculation has recently been stimulated by the nationalisation of the Cairo press.

3. "The Philosophy of the Revolution" does not reveal anything significant about Nasser's internal political ideas. Since its first /publication

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes.

publication in 1954 it has been revised twice, but so far as I can see the revisions do not contain any significant modifications of meaning. In this book Nasser does little more than set out the aim as being "a strong liberated Egypt" with social justice for all. He defines his own task as being transitional - "to define the landmarks of the road, to lead the wanderers back to where they should resume their march, and to catch up with those who are pursuing the mirage and to convince them of the futility of what they are doing". But he also maintains that "the July 23 Revolution should continue to retain the initiative and the ability of rapid movement so that it would be able to accomplish the miracle of carrying out the two (social and political) revolutions simultaneously." However, he gives no hint as to his methods to achieve these aims beyond the necessity to destroy all that was evil in past régimes.

4. A study of the period 1954 - 1957 reveals little but pragmatism in Nasser's direction of internal political and economic policies. All steps taken during the period can be simply explained in terms either of immediate political or economic expediency.

5. Something of a turning point is however noticeable at the end of 1957. In his speech at the Cooperatives Congress on December 5, 1957 Nasser said that the country was "moving to a new phase, a transitional phase - a socialist, democratic and cooperative (SDC) society free

/from

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes.

from political, social and economic exploitation." He believed in the "elimination of capitalistic individualism", but did not believe in "State capitalism". The State should be "a trustee over the people designed to protect small capitalists and small savers". This was the first occasion on which Nasser introduced the cliché about a socialist, democratic and cooperative society.

6. Since that time Nasser has reiterated this theme on a number of occasions, and has made frequent attempts to define his real meaning. For example, on January 27, 1958 he gave the following reply to a question by an American journalist:-

"I have said that (our régime) was a SDC system ... The Government has adopted a system of controlled economy, or to be more accurate the system of controlled capitalistic economy."

In a speech at the new Iron and Steel plant on June 27, 1958, he included the following remark on the subject of mixed capital:-

"The Government and the people share in the capital. We consider this a basis for achieving the aim of the Revolution ... the socialist aim."

In an interview with the Indian journalist Karanjia on September 28, 1958, he answered a question as follows:-

"We believe in private ownership but not exploitation. We do not have anything like

/what

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes.

what you call an economic doctrine. I do not like to enunciate any doctrine that that might lead people to make propaganda against it."

To a Lebanese journalist on November 16, 1958 he said:-

"Our policy is to destroy monopoly and exploitation, but not to impose a Government monopoly."

In an interview with an American journalist on May 18, 1959, he said:-

"We have set up ... a SDC system ... we encourage capitalists to work and produce, but the State must have a big share in the country's renaissance and in the development of its resources. When private capital is unable to serve the interests of the whole, the State should intervene ... "

In his Revolution Day speech on July 23, 1959 he included the following passage:-

"Under our SDC system we consider the State has tutelage over both private and public property ... naturally private capital is accorded liberty and public capital intervenes to prevent the control of private capital over the country's rule."

In another public speech on July 24, 1959 he said:-

"When we declare that we are building a SDC society we mean that public, state and private capital cooperate in serving the public interest."

At the opening of the Caustic Soda factory

/on

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes.

on July 30, 1959 he made the following remark about the Bank Misr which rings strangely now:

"The Bank Misr ... is owned by small investors. In this way it represents the true philosophy of the Revolution, which calls for the cooperation of public and private capital in serving the general interests of the society."

But then he added:-

"I hope to see the Bank Misr as a popular organisation owned by the whole people, take part in the second Five Year Plan."

A warning of the nationalisation to come?

At Mahalla el Kubra on August 8, 1959, he said:-

"Our SDC system is not a written book ... every step is the result of experience. During the past seven years we worked on the basis of trial and error. We then put our experience into action ... through the participation of the Government in industry ... with a big proportion in order that the socialist sector might be balanced."

His most recent attempt to define the SDC was made at Damietta on May 9 this year.

"Socialism means the participation of the sons of the whole people, first in work and then in production. Efforts would then be directed to ensuring a fair distribution of the results of their work among them."

/Cooperation

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes.

Cooperation means the collection of limited individual efforts representing equally limited economies to form a major collective effort with a corresponding major economy.

The true and sublime meaning of the democracy which we wish to bring about is that each one must follow the opinion of the majority and believe in it."

7. The above extracts are not isolated examples; there are many more of a similar kind, and in recent months Nasser has seldom failed in public speeches to reiterate this theme in one form or another.

8. To my mind, certain trends can be detected from these quotations. To some extent Nasser's original pragmatism remains. This is demonstrated by his refusal to define an economic doctrine, and by his insistence on the part to be played by private capital in the country's economy. He has in fact retained some flexibility. On the other hand, a tentative groping towards some kind of ideological base emerges fairly clearly. It is equally clear that this ideology is totalitarian and that private enterprise is only being grudgingly tolerated.

ADP

(A.D. Parsons)

June 23, 1960.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Handwritten notes in the right margin, possibly including the name "A.D. Parsons".

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

(VG 1016/11)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

July 20, 1960.

Thank you for your letter (1014/60) of June 28 enclosing Tony Parsons' minute about the development of Nasser's thought on internal policy. We found it stimulating and it has evoked the following comments, which you might like to have.

2. It certainly seems as if Nasser was increasingly feeling the need to water the wine of his revolutionary pragmatism with draughts of assorted ideology. As a nationalist he was initially absorbed by the struggle against the foreigner rather than by questions of social organisation. Mixed up with his nationalism were some vaguely radical ideas but he had never consciously formulated them and, as Parsons says, they hardly appear at all in the "Philosophy of the Revolution".

3. It is only later, now that his initial aims have been accomplished and the foreign bogey exorcised, and he finds himself faced with the problem of government, that he casts about for a set of principles which will meet his practical needs, will appeal to his public and will help keep him and his friends in power. He finds them partly in the co-operative socialist ideas which he may have picked up from Tito and possibly Nehru. But it would be interesting to know more about the sources of these ideas and to what extent there are theorists in the background whose thinking, if known, could give some clue to future developments. The indications from Nasser's own acts and statements would seem to be of a U.A.R. Government increasingly dictatorial and doctrinaire.

4. Nasser's chief task, as he sees it, is to make his country strong, independent and influential. To do this he must industrialise, because in modern conditions power and influence are the prerogative of highly industrialised countries - not to speak of Egypt's need to cope with her pressing population problem. But since the amount of capital in private hands in Egypt is insufficient and since Egyptian capitalists hesitate to risk such capital as they possess in industry the state must assume a major rôle as entrepreneur. Ownership of the confiscated foreign enterprises, which formed the greater part of Egyptian industry, gives the state a flying start.

5. Whether he desired it or not, Nasser would thus find himself pushed along the road to state capitalism. Actually, it suits him very well. It prevents the emergence of a class of private capitalists who might come to challenge his political supremacy and it enables him to represent to the people that it is they who control the means of production. To help foster this

/illusion

C.T. Crowe, Esq., C.M.G.,
Cairo.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	CMS	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	MS	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

illusion he will no doubt encourage a certain amount of private investment in the state controlled enterprises. But economic power, like political power, will rest more and more with Nasser and the small clique surrounding him.

(J.G.S. Beith)

CONFIDENTIAL

1960

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG1016/12

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

FROM Mr. E. T. Crowe
 Director R. Stevens
 Confidential
 No. 16419/60
 Dated June 28
 Received July 5

SUBJECT:
 Parent unrest in Egypt.
 Fear of nationalization. Young extremist officers exerting more influence.

References
 -/11 - V 37-60
 VG1641/12 - V 246-60
 VG100/68G
 (Submission)

MINUTES

Mr. Crowe's letters of June 28 and July 5 may be read together.

2. There is nothing new in Mr. Crowe's reports of increasing anxiety in Cairo about prospects of further nationalisation and Government control. But what is new is the suggestion (para 4 of the earlier letter) that a new and more extremist group of army officers is beginning to emerge as a political force. Also news is the reported plans for a coup d'état by right-wing nationalist officers opposed to the nationalisation programme.

3. It is difficult to evaluate these reports. Information about the ~~army~~ army was hard to get when we had a full Embassy in Cairo and is harder now. Nasser and the other revolutionary leaders are now in their fortresses and it is possible that a younger group of officers may be growing up with different ideas. It is also possible that there may be two groups with quite different reasons for criticising the régime. A number of army officers were drawn from the traditional ruling classes and may feel that the socialist tendencies of the régime are going too far. I doubt if such a faction would be very strong. There is clearly room for a more doctrinaire and extremist faction. The revolution, as Nasser himself has admitted, has only just begun. Many must feel that it is still incomplete when, for example, Pashas like Abboud, the cotton king, are still in business. There must be officers too who have relished the ~~power~~ power which their appointment to positions in big organisations has given them and would like to exploit them further.

4. I discussed this in general terms yesterday with my Yugoslav colleague, Mr. Vukovic, having in mind the sympathy between Yugoslav and Egyptian leaders and our belief that Yugoslavia serves as a model in some respects for Egypt. He confirmed that the Egyptians are extremely interested in the social experiments in Yugoslavia where, for example, they have nationalised urban buildings (c.f. para 3 of Mr. Crowe's letter of June 28). The subject had not,

/he

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed) (Main Indexed)
 24/8/60 27/8/60

he averred, been discussed between President Nasser and President Tito at their recent meeting which had been mainly concerned with the role of the uncommitted countries in world affairs following the Summit failure.

5. I do not think we can do more at this stage than note these tendencies and look out for corroborative evidence.

F.O.R.D. (M.E.)
 P.U.S.D. (Mr. Day) 11/19

R. Arculus
 (R. Arculus)
 July 7, 1960.

Number of copies.....
 Number of copies of enclosures.....

I find these two letters (of June 28 and July 5) somewhat confusing, although they give an interesting indication that there is a certain amount of political ferment in Cairo. I find the account in the letter of June 28 easier to understand than the latter report about an abortive coup by certain junior officers "said to be right-wing nationalists". It certainly looks as if Nasser is feeling his way towards a régime based on the Yugoslav model (vide the two recent major nationalisations of the Banque Misr and the Press). I should have thought that this was very much in the style of the revolutionary Government and that the officer caste had little to lose from such developments. This would also be entirely consistent with the sort of reports quoted in paragraph 4 of the letter of June 28 to the effect that extremist groups of officers were taking advantage of the nationalisations and throwing their weight about, having pushed for these measures to be carried out.

2. But it is news to me that some of the junior and more extreme officers may be in sympathy with the sort of financial and commercial, upper middle-class interests, who would be shocked by the recent nationalisations.

3. I agree with Mr. Crowe and Mr. Arculus that we can only watch to see how this develops.

J.G.S. Beith
 (J.G.S. Beith)
 July 7, 1960.

Yes.

L.P. [unclear] [unclear]

Thank you. Su.

N. [unclear] P.D. 8.7. [unclear]

8.7.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
5 JUL 1960
VG-1816/12

CONFIDENTIAL

(16719/60)

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,
CAIRO.
June 28, 1960.

My dear Roger,

VG 167/12

In my letter of June 16 to John Beith, I reported some current rumours about developments here in the internal situation. The following are some more general comments.

2. There has been a good deal of uneasiness under the surface about the way things are going for the past eighteen months or more among various sections of the community, notably businessmen, Copts and other minorities. The businessmen have been worried by increasing Government control of their operations, limitation of profits and latterly outright nationalization. In spite of innumerable exhortations from the Government the Cairo Stock Exchange has remained firmly in the dumps for well over a year. Members of the Italian community have been leaving the country and a lot of Greeks would do likewise if they were not discouraged from doing so by the Greek Government. For their part the Copts feel that Moslem discrimination against them is growing (it is interesting in this context to note that of the 145 members so far appointed to the higher echelons of the National Union, only one is a Copt).

3. Since the nationalisation of the press last month, this atmosphere of uneasiness has intensified and come much closer to the surface, and has spread to further sections of the community including Moslems. There is a widespread feeling that Nasser is now launched on a nationalisation spree and everyone is wondering what he is going to do next. The consensus of opinion is that housing will be next on the list (specifically it is claimed apartment houses over ten stories) and we have been reliably informed that a number of owners of large apartment buildings have already panicked and sold their property for what they can get for it - not much in the present atmosphere. There are also stories that the import and export business will shortly be nationalised and that further measures of land reform are pending which will reduce the present maximum acreage which an individual is allowed to own. Nasser gave nothing away in his speech at Alexandria on June 24, but many people expect him to reveal a few more cards from his hand in his speech to the General Congress of the National Union on July 9.

/4.

Sir Roger Stevens, K.C.M.G.,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

4. Some vague and rudimentary evidence is also beginning to accumulate that a new generation of army officers is beginning to emerge as a political force and that they are penetrating key positions in the National Union and elsewhere. These young officers are said to be more doctrinaire and extremist than Nasser and most of his contemporaries. This thesis goes side by side with another view that the wilder and more doctrinaire elements among Nasser's original entourage, such as Kemaluddin Hussein, are also improving their position and exerting more influence on Nasser. Firm evidence to support these ideas is very difficult to come by, but the following are examples of things that seem to be happening.

(i) Shell are finding that in their dealings with the Egyptians they are bumping up more and more against the National Union, particularly where labour is concerned. The senior Egyptian ex-army officers who hold sinecures in Shell (who were put in during Sequestration), appear to be terrified of certain young ex-army officers (former subordinates of theirs) who seem to control various National Union committees. Whenever there is a dispute between Shell's ex-army officers and the National Union the former always give in to these young men. Glendinning, the British second in command of Shell here, says that these young ex-army officers in the National Union often override Ministerial decisions and are beginning to use the same methods of control and intimidation that the Brownshirts used in the early days of Hitler's Germany.

(ii) The Greek Press Attaché told Parsons a few days ago that the Greek language newspapers published in Cairo have been receiving a stream of directives from the National Union since the nationalisation of the press (Greek language papers are still theoretically independent). These directives, one of which instructs the Greek papers to give 75 per cent of their space to Egyptian affairs, are said to emanate from "a committee of officers".

(iii) A number of reasonably well informed people say that the nationalisation of the press was brought about by pressure on Nasser from the extremists in his entourage in the teeth of opposition from his more pragmatic and moderate advisers.

(iv) "Gumhuriya", which was Government owned before the nationalisation of the press, is run by two Majors, not by Salah Salem or its impressive editorial board.

5. I am inclined to believe that there is something in all this and that we are entering a period of some ferment in U.A.R. internal affairs. At the moment this ferment seems likely to lead to increasing totalitarianism, further centralisation of the economy and to the emergence of some kind of ideological base for Nasser's internal and economic policies, i.e. that the "socialist, democratic and cooperative" concept on which Nasser harps nowadays with increasing frequency, is more than an empty cliché. Nasser's leadership is, so far as I know, not in question, but the possibility exists that

/the

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

the younger group of ex-army officers allied to his own older extremists, may be tending to prevail increasingly over his more pragmatic advisers. It looks as though we are witnessing something more analogous to Mussolini's fascism than Tito's communism emerging but it is all so vague and inchoate that one cannot make a judgement. Only one thing is clear and that is that we shall need to do more demonology on Nasser's speeches in the future than we have done in the past and as a start I am sending to John Beith by this bag an interesting minute by Tony Parsons on the evolution of Nasser's utterances about a "socialist, democratic and cooperative society" which will give the Department something to work on.

6. I should like to report all this rather more formally by despatch or Savingram, but the evidence is so thin that I hesitate to do so. I am rather worried lest people in Whitehall should jump to broad conclusions which are not warranted by this information. I hope you will try to prevent this happening.

7. We are of course watching these developments as closely as we can. Perhaps Nasser will enlighten us further in the very near future. Not only is he scheduled to deliver the opening speech at the General Congress of the National Union on July 9 but also at the opening of the National Assembly on July 21.

Yours etc.

Chris Crowe
(C.T. Crowe)

CONFIDENTIAL

Alamy 4/10/6/13

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
15 JUL 1960
V61016/13

By Bag

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Crowe

No. 87 Saving
July 12, 1960

R. July 14, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 87 Saving of July 12.
Repeated for information Saving to Amman, Beirut, Baghdad, P.O.M.E.F., H.C. B.F.A.P., U.K. Mission New York, U.K. Del. NATO, Washington, Tel Aviv.

My telegram No. 85 Saving: National Union General Congress.

On July 10 Vice-President Abdul Latif Baghdadi, Nuruddin Kahhala (Chairman of the Syrian Executive Council) and Mahmud Fawzi (Minister for Foreign Affairs) delivered speeches to the Congress.

2. Baghdadi spoke about economic affairs. He said that before the Revolution the economic structure of Egypt was designed to serve imperialism and feudalism and their supporters. In the early years after the Revolution, partial reforms had been introduced, such as the establishment of the Permanent Council for the promotion of National Production. Comprehensive reform began with Nasser's instructions on November 27, 1958 for the preparation of the Five-Year Plan. Baghdadi justified central economic planning in the light of the low standard of living and productivity in the country, the shortage of skilled labour and the inequality in the distribution of wealth. He then gave a comprehensive statistical review of planning in all sectors of the national economy.

3. Kahhala confined himself to a long statistical survey of economic and social development planning for the Syrian Region up to the year 1965.

/4.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Cairo telegram No. 87 Saving to Foreign Office

20.11.58

- 2 -

4. Fawzi delivered a confused and imprecise speech on Foreign Affairs. He spoke in emotional terms about Arab unity and noted that there had been diversity in the pace of progress in the various Arab countries. Some Arab countries had been led astray, while some were deliberately misleading others. This was quite normal amongst neighbours in their day to day relations. He spoke warmly about the Sudan, saying that the clouds which had threatened relations between the two countries had disappeared, in spite of attempts to sow dissension. He mentioned the liberation of Egypt from imperialism, the British evacuation in spring 1956 and the "tripartite aggression." After this unsuccessful aggression, the imperialists and their stooges had begun to harass Syria, and to threaten her independence. These moves had been defeated by the act of union between Egypt and Syria. The aggressors had then pretended to the world that the independence of Jordan and Lebanon was at stake. This battle had been won by the Arab resolution in the United Nations on October 21, 1958. Subsequently the forces of international Zionism had gone into action with the support of their friends the aggressors. These forces had decided to use the Suez Canal as a means to defame the U.A.R. There was also the Cleopatra incident. Israel had realised the gravity of this mistake but Israel and her allies were still planning to paralyse the advance of the Arabs. Fawzi concluded with references to Afro-Asian solidarity, the responsibilities of the positive neutralist countries following the failure of the Summit, and the problems of Palestine and Algeria.

5. On July 11 the Congress was addressed by Field-Marshal Amer, Abdul Hamid Serraj, and Kemaluddin Hussein, Supervisor-General of the National Union.

6. Amer gave a long review of U.A.R. defence policy and of developments in the Armed Forces. He referred to the supply of British Centurion tanks and French jet aircraft to Israel, and stressed that the U.A.R. Forces would always prevail against Imperialist and Zionist conspiracies. He mentioned the "Tripartite Aggression" of 1956, Turkish intimidation against Syria in 1957, U.A.R. support for the Iraqi Revolution in 1958 and the Tawafiq

/incident

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Cairo telegram No. 87 Saving to Foreign Office

- 3 -

incident of 1960. All these events had proved the superiority of Arab unity and military might. On the subject of armaments, Amer said that U.A.R. military factories were now producing small arms ammunition, anti-aircraft ammunition, explosives and an Arab-designed machine gun. The final test of the new Arab armoured car "El Walid" would be carried out on July 16.

7. Serraj devoted his speech mainly to the value of the National Union in the context of Arab unity and of social and economic development in the U.A.R.

8. Kemaluddin Hussein gave a detailed review of the achievements of the Southern Region Congress of the National Union.

9. The Congress has now split up into committees to consider the speeches already delivered and to prepare resolutions. The final plenary meeting of the Congress will take place on July 16, with Nasser in the chair.

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG 1016/14.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

FROM Mr C.I. Brown, Cairo
 to Mr Smith.

SUBJECT:

Rumours heard in Cairo that a number of Egyptian officers were planning a coup d'état.

SECRET

to: FO 14,606.
 dated July, 5.
 received July, 18.

References

12.

MINUTES

MP Jenkins
 19/7

Mr. Saunders.

(Printing Instructions)

F.O.R.D. (ME)
 24/7

(Outward Action)

I.R.D. acc
 4/8

About June 6 the Egyptians were rather worried about Israeli intentions along the frontier with Syria and it is possible that some of the less reliable officers were moved elsewhere. If 100 had been arrested we should have heard more of this from Beirut and elsewhere, other interested posts.

W. Jones
 19/7

VR 25/20

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

REC 12 8.100

DM
 23.8.61

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,
CAIRO.

(1014/60G)

SECRET

RECEIVED July 5, 1960.
ARCHIVES
78 JUL 1960

By dear John,

There are persistent rumours in Cairo that a number of Egyptian officers were arrested recently for planning a coup d'état.

2. Wilton Wynn (the Cairo correspondent of the Associated Press and perhaps the best-informed of all foreign correspondents here) told Tony Parsons on June 30 that he had heard from a number of independent sources that forty three junior infantry officers and three brigadiers were arrested at the time of the Courban Bairam (about June 6). One version of the story was that the officers were simply indulging in loose talk in the Officers' Club, but the other version was that they had been planning a coup. They were said to be right-wing nationalists to whom Nasser's nationalisation of the press was the last straw.

3. The Turkish Embassy have got hold of a similar story through their Service Attachés, who also believe that about a hundred Syrian officers from units on the Israeli frontier were recently arrested. The Turks add that their Service Attachés have been struck by the way junior Egyptian officers of their acquaintance now criticise Nasser freely in private conversation.

4. The German Embassy have heard similar stories about arrests of Egyptian officers, but they have been quite unable to get anything concrete. Equally Ahmad Abul Ela of the National Bank of Egypt recently told Stevens of the Bank of England that there had been trouble in the Army.

5. It looks as though something must have happened, though nobody can say just what. The Germans are not inclined to attach too much importance to it, and I think that they are probably right. Nasser left for Greece and Yugoslavia on June 5 and could easily have curtailed his visits if anything really serious was afoot here. It is, however, the first indication we have had of any rift between the régime and elements in the Army.

/6.

J.G.S. Beith, Esq., C.M.G.,
Levant Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

6. I am sending copies of this letter to the Chanceries at Amman, Beirut, Tel Aviv and Washington, to P.O.M.E.F. and H.Q. B.F.A.P. and to United Kingdom Delegation N.A.T.O.

Y. M.
C. T. Crowe
(C.T. Crowe.)

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

RESTRICTED

ADVANCE COPY IV

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

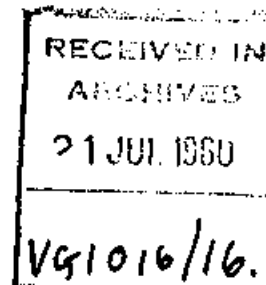
FROM BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

By Bag

From C.T. Crowe

No. 94 Saving
July 19, 1960.

RESTRICTED



Addressed to F.O. telegram No. 94 Saving of July 19
repeated for information Saving to Amman 23

Baghdad 19
Beirut 68
POMEF 44
HQBFAP 7
Washington 27
UKDel NATO 15
UKMis New York 28
Paris 12
Tel Aviv 16
Ankara 4

The General Congress of the National Union

The General Congress of the National Union held its closing session on July 16. President Nasser opened the proceedings by introducing Kemaluddin Hussein who read out the resolutions of the various committees. The following is a summary of the more important resolutions, especially those dealing with external affairs.

Arab Affairs

2. The Congress announced its confidence in Arab nationalism and its determination to achieve Arab solidarity and continue the struggle for the liberation of every inch of the Arab world from colonialism, Zionism, colonialist agents and traitors. Arab unity should be achieved through the free and independent choice of each member of the Arab nation.

3. The resolutions on Palestine and Israel included condemnation of arms supplies to Israel by Britain, France and America, recommendations for the establishment of a Palestine administration and a Palestine Army, condemnation of attempts by colonialist stooges to force Palestinians to abandon their nationality in favour of another nationality, and warning against Israel's claim to represent world Jewry.

/4.

RESTRICTED

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

4. On Algeria the Congress held the colonialist powers responsible for the continuation of the war through the provision of military and financial aid to France by the West and NATO. The Congress called for volunteers for the Algerian Army, and invited all peoples of the world to recognise the provisional Algerian Government and to furnish it with all possible material and moral support.

5. On the Arabian Peninsula the Congress supported the Arab struggle for freedom in Oman, the Arab Gulf, Aden and other Arab territories, condemned counterfeit pacts concluded by British colonialists with their agents in the Arab world, as well as colonialist attempts to dilute the Arabism of certain parts of the Arab world by allowing non-Arabs to settle permanently there.

6. The Congress resolved to take all formal and popular measures to ensure the restoration to the Arabs of the province of Alexandretta and other usurped parts of the Arab world.

International Affairs

7. The Congress reaffirmed the U.A.R.'s policy of peaceful co-existence, positive neutralism, non-alignment and opposition to pacts, blocs, military bases and zones of influence. It expressed the determination of the Arab people to continue the struggle against imperialism until it was completely eradicated.

South Africa

8. The Congress expressed indignation at racial discrimination, and exhorted the U.A.R. to keep in contact with all friendly countries in order to put an end to the barbarous actions of the South African Government. It supported the decision of the Addis Ababa Conference and recommended the annulment of the mandate of the South African Government over South-West Africa.

Israel

9. The Congress mentioned collusion between Israel and imperialist powers, and the dangerous role being played by Israel in the newly independent African countries. Israeli economic penetration of Africa enabled imperialists to return in an indirect manner. The Congress recommended contacts with the African Governments to reveal the intentions of Israel and the imperialists.

Economic Blocs

10. The Congress condemned economic blocs set up by
/certain

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902					88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

certain countries as screens for a new economic imperialism, and advocated measures to frustrate these manoeuvres.

Atomic tests and disarmament

11. The Congress condemned nuclear tests for military purposes, demanded the banning of nuclear weapons and advocated general disarmament with an effective system of control.

Congo

12. The Congress supported the Congolese people in their struggle against imperialist conspiracies to destroy their liberty and violate their independence. It appealed to the Afro-Asian peoples and to the United Nations to support the Congo Government.

Domestic Affairs

13. There was nothing of particular interest in the resolutions of the committees on Defence, Economic and Industrial affairs, Agriculture, Co-operatives, etc., etc. The socialist democratic and co-operative idea was stressed in the resolutions of all committees, and emphasis was laid on the necessity to strengthen the co-operative movement. In the Economic Affairs Committee one resolution was included encouraging private capital and recommending co-ordination between the public and private sectors. In the Labour Committee mention was made of the honourable stand of the Arab workers over the Cleopatra incident and their frustration of the imperialist/Zionist conspiracy.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

By Bag.

From C.T. Crowe.

No. 96 Saving
July 19, 1950.

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office Saving Telegram No. 95
of July 19 repeated for information Saving to Amman 25

Bahdad 21
Beirut 70
Pomef 45
A.C. B.F.A.P. 9
Washington 29
U.K. Mission New York 30
U.K. Delegation NATO 17
Paris 14
Tel Aviv 18
Ankara 6

My telegrams No. 94 and No. 95 Saving:

The General Congress of the National Union

There is nothing very new in the resolutions except for the mention of Alexandretta (paragraph 6 of my telegram No. 94 Saving), which was no doubt included at Syrian insistence.

2. Nasser's speech was moderately worded and delivered without bombast. He spoke with sincerity and emotion about the achievements and duties of the National Union. On foreign affairs the highlight of his speech was the passage on Africa (my telegram No. 585) and his remarks about Kenya gave the impression of having been delivered extempore. His references to imperialist stooges clearly included King Hussein, but there was nothing specific on Jordan, and very little about Israel. The statement about settling foreign nationals on Arab soil presumably refers to Aden or parts of the Gulf.

3. Nasser's speech was well received by the Congress and the public galleries were packed with people whose adulatory interruptions frequently irritated him. He managed however by personal magnetism to revive an audience which had become completely torpid during Kemaluddin Hussein's two and a half hour long recitation of the resolutions. The only resolutions which evoked enthusiasm were those on Algeria, Palestine, Africa, imperialism etc. The long passages on domestic affairs were received in bored silence.

CONFIDENTIAL

1950

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V ✓
G1016/18.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

FROM Mr. Lawrence (Cairo)

SUBJECT:

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 53.

Dated July, 22.

Received July, 27.

The National Union - History,
organisation and prospects - composition
of the Committees.

References

MINUTES

I think this could have F.O.W.H.
distribution

MPJ
29/7

(Printing Instructions)

Volume R.

F.O.B.D. (M.E.)

(Outward Action)

So much has been said and so little understood about the National Union that this attempted elucidation by Cairo should be much appreciated.

∴ The effects of all this are certainly going to be lost on the majority of the men in the street and in the fields who do not think at the best of times. And to those who will try to understand, it is for some time to come going

/to

(Action completed)

27.10.6

(Main Indexed)

861
23

to look like Big Brother's
big stick - as it indeed it is.
Political party life in Egypt
is well and truly cramped for
a long time.

A. Mander
29/7

Too long for FOWH. V. M. only.

A. M.
29/7

This is a most valuable account of the structure of the National Union. But we are still in the dark about the powers of the lower formations. Perhaps these have not been defined in any of the Decrees. The powers of the higher formations can perhaps be guessed at, since the Supreme Executive Council seems pretty well equivalent to the Government.

2. Nassir's claim that the N.U. is not a party is scarcely borne out by this account: para 12 seems to indicate that the N.U. has the essential characteristics of a political party in that it requires from its members a subscription to its principles and to its funds.

3. I think there can be little dissent from the conclusion at the end of para 18.

A. M.
F.O.R. 2. H.E.
4. viii. 60.

Number of copies.....
Number of copies of enclosures.....

W

Minutes

We must clearly look out for evidence of National Union effectiveness, both in bolstering the régime and in due course perhaps in criticising it. We should also keep a watch for evidence of interference by National Union committees in other activities (c.f. paragraph 19).

2. The despatch does not recall that the Egyptian National Assembly, before it was disbanded to make way for the U.A.R. Assembly, was already showing some signs of independence. There were, for example, criticisms of Government extravagance and bungling in the development of 'liberation' provinces. We deduced from this that there might come a time when criticism of this kind might even exercise an influence on the régime in internal matters. It ~~will~~ be interesting to see whether the same sort of thing happens in the new Assembly. If it does, the position of the Speaker, to which Mr. Anwar Sadat has just been elected, may become important. Mr. Sadat told me that his position was equivalent to that of Speaker in the House of Commons and agreed that it was a difficult rôle. It may be that Mr. Sadat will prove to be more important than paragraph 8 of the despatch makes out. *According to the U.A.R. Charge Affairs are taken precedence after Nasser now.*

R.
(R. Arculus)

August 8, 1960.

10/8/60
F.O.R.D. (M.F.) again.

F.U.S.D. (Mr. *W*) - paragraph 1 above.

B.U. 1 month.

Noted. H24/2

b.v. Oct 10.

Ms. Blake to see o.a.

*PARb.
26/10*

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

CONFIDENTIAL

The History, Organisation and Prospects of the National Union.

SUMMARY



The Egyptian Constitution of 1956 provided for the formation of a National Union, but nothing had been done by February 1958, when the United Arab Republic came into being. Later in 1958 some progress was made towards imposing the framework of the National Union from above; but this was scrapped in July 1959, when members of the local committees were elected by universal suffrage. The régime was thus able to represent the National Union as a bold experiment in democracy. In Egypt the elections were reasonably free (paragraphs 2 - 7).

In November 1959 local committees elected their officers, and district and provincial committees had been formed by the end of the year in Egypt. After some delay (probably due to Syria) the structure was completed in July 1960 with the assembly of the General Congress (paragraphs 8 - 10).

The structure of the National Union is pyramidal, but so complex as to be almost incomprehensible. The seven main levels of committees, together with the congresses and sub-committees, are described. (paragraphs 11 - 12).

The organisation of the National Union combines as much election as possible with ultimate control from the top. It is not likely to get out of hand. It owes

/something

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

something to Portugal and Yugoslavia, and is often compared to "basic democracy" in Pakistan. Comparisons with fascism, communism etc. are officially rejected: the National Union is held to embody the whole nation (paragraphs 13 and 14).

President Nasser's aims in the National Union are probably to mobilise popular support, to provide a channel for propaganda, to improve his control whilst giving it a democratic facade, to cement the union with Syria, and to create an instrument of social revolution. The National Union has not so far lived up to these aims: there is very little enthusiasm for it. (paragraphs 15 and 16).

The National Union should not however be dismissed too lightly. Given energetic members, local committees and sub-committees could have an important influence. But the omens are not good: it is difficult to find evidence of constructive activity in the National Union, which seems on present form very likely to remain simply an instrument of government. Interference in business concerns is already being carried out in its name (paragraphs 17 - 19).

President Nasser and his colleagues are sensitive to criticism of the National Union, especially from abroad. They genuinely believe that it is the best organisation for furthering their revolutionary aims. They have not however breathed life into it. If they could do so, the National Union might indeed change the state of the United Arab Republic (paragraph 20).

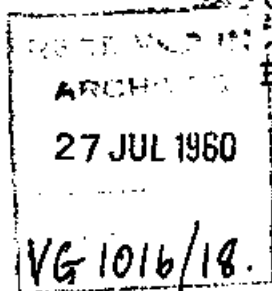
CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 53

1014/60



BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,

CAIRO.

July 22, 1960.

Sir,

With the assembly of the first General Congress in Cairo on the 9th of July, the structure of the National Union in the United Arab Republic was completed. In this despatch I have the honour to give an account of its history and organisation and to offer some comments on its significance. I am indebted to Mr. Arthur for the considerable study he has devoted to this, as will be seen, extremely complicated, not to say baffling, subject.

2. Both the 1956 Constitution of Egypt and the provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic provided for the formation by the people of a National Union, to work for the achievement of the political, economic and social aims of the revolution and to nominate candidates for a National Assembly. On the 2nd of November 1957 a presidential decree defined the organisation of the National Union and laid down the conditions of membership and the responsibilities of members. But no concrete steps had been taken by February 1958, when the establishment of the United Arab Republic interrupted plans for a political system which had been designed for Egypt alone.

The Right Honourable

Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P.,

etc., etc., etc.,

Foreign Office,

London, S.W.1.

13.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

3. In April 1958, however, it was announced that the National Union would be fashioned in Egypt by the middle of the following month and established in Syria immediately afterwards. At the same time a presidential decree of the 3rd of April reserved to members of the National Union the right to stand for election to trades union committees. There followed a good deal of propaganda about the new organisation; and Anwar Sadat, who had been appointed its Secretary-General, predicted its early expansion in frequent announcements. But nothing happened in May and June; and the Iraqi revolution of July diverted the attention of the public, and the energies of their rulers, to more pressing and congenial affairs. Anwar Sadat nevertheless resumed his provincial tours in August, to supervise the formation of local committees, which would, it was announced, be ready by the middle of September. Lists of committee members were in fact published for three provinces of Upper Egypt, only to be ignored and quickly forgotten; and it was admitted later that no progress had been made with the formation of committees in Cairo and the Delta. No further steps were taken in 1958, except for the formal establishment in October of a central organisation with a Chairman (President Nasser), Secretary-General (Anwar Sadat), Director of the Political Office (Ali Sabri) and Assistant Secretaries for Labour, Press, Finance, Foreign Relations, Youth, and so on. Apart from lending its name to propaganda and the sponsorship of rallies, this organisation displayed no activity and was soon allowed to lapse.

/4.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

4. These false starts demonstrated that President Nasser and his associates had not yet developed fully the ideas which were later to inform the structure of the National Union. It may be that after their unfortunate experiences with the short-lived National Assembly of 1957, they were feeling shy of popular organisations. At all events, both the decree of November 1957 and the sporadic activities of 1958 betrayed the intention of imposing the framework of the National Union from above. The decree did not provide for the election of local committees by universal suffrage: it stated specifically that the function of such committees was to carry out the instructions of "higher echelons", to explain policy to the masses, and to recruit active members. The general impression derived from its provisions, and from the uncertain moves of 1958, none of which offered even the pretence of democratic choice, is that the National Union was originally designed as an instrument of President Nasser's autocracy, and nothing more.

5. In 1959 the emphasis seemed to change. President Nasser promised in February that "elections" for the National Union would take place "after Ramadhan", which straddled March and April; and on the 15th of May he promulgated a law regulating the elections to the lowest formations, the local committees in town wards or divisions and villages. The elections were to be held on the 15th of July and all the people were to vote. The President soon let it be known that candidates would not be screened, and in view of this dispensation the date of

/the ...

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the elections was advanced by one week. The press celebrated this decision as a unique act of faith in the maturity and responsibility of the electorate; and the régime launched a campaign, which is still being sustained, to represent the National Union as a bold native experiment in genuine democracy.

6. The elections took place on the 8th of July. Just over 39,000 committee members were to be chosen (about 30,000 in Egypt and some 9,500 in Syria) from thrice as many candidates. The press claimed a large turnout, estimated at between 75 and 95 per cent in both Regions: failure to vote without good reason was in theory punishable by a fine of £E1 in Egypt and £S10 in Syria. In Cairo at any rate there was plenty of electoral enthusiasm, with all the outward paraphernalia of democracy, such as posters (one of our local candidates' chief claim was a Cambridge education), banners, manifestos and loud-speaker vans: the Calirenes evidently thought it was great fun. At that time it seemed as though Nasser had at last made his bid for positive support at the "grass roots" and was succeeding in getting it.

7. All Ministers (including Field Marshal Amer, who was mysteriously exempt from the rule that serving members of the Armed Forces could not stand) were returned, usually with the largest majorities in their districts. It was generally thought that these majorities were faked, though they might equally have been produced by the Egyptians' awe of authority, but that the elections were otherwise conducted with unusual freedom and honesty in Egypt. In Syria it was said that the authorities had intervened to prevent the election of Ba'athist

/candidates;

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



v. Quantifiable

candidates; but subsequent events have shown that the Ba'ath were so unpopular that most of them would probably have been defeated without intervention. The press hailed the dawn of democracy and the beginning of the real revolution, which was to bring justice and prosperity for all and finally erase the last vestiges of the imperialist works of Cromer and Allenby. They had been fortified in this interpretation of the elections by an interview, published on the 2nd of July, in which President Nasser said that the real revolution was only then about to start and that the National Union would have an important part to play in it.

8. After the elections public interest soon faded and the press turned to other matters. It was not until the 22nd of October, when Field-Marshal Amer was given full powers in Syria, that interest in the National Union was stimulated afresh; for on the same day Kemaluddin Hussein, the Central Minister of Education, was appointed "Controller-General" (since styled "Supervisor-General") of the National Union in Egypt and Abdul Hamid Sarraj Secretary-General for Syria. Anwar Sadat, the Secretary-General, was left with the obscure task of coordination between the two Regions; and though he enjoys high precedence at National Union functions, he has clearly lost all power and importance to the Supervisor-General, who was provided with assistants in specific fields.

9. On the 27th of October 1959 a further decree regulated the formation of committees in districts and divisions of towns, and it was announced that the local committees would elect their officers (who are represented on the next higher committee) on the 2nd of November in

/Egypt ..

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

Egypt and on the 20th and 27th of November in Syria. Other stages would follow in quick succession, so that the structure would be complete and the first General Congress summoned, in January 1960. That the fulfilment of this programme was delayed six months seems to have been due to confusion and delay in Syria; for further regulations for the formation of provincial and Governorate committees were promulgated on the 15th and 20th of November and the 18th of December, and by the end of the year the electoral processes had been completed, and the names of most of the provincial committee members published, in Egypt.

10. The General Congress of the National Union was to be preceded by regional Congresses in Egypt and Syria. Preparatory committees for these began their work in May 1960 and the congresses finally met in Cairo and Damascus on the 20th of June. Meanwhile, on the 5th of June a final decree had ordained the formation of the U.A.R. General Congress and General Committee and of the Supreme Executive Committee. The latter began to meet at the beginning of July, and the General Congress had its first session in Cairo from the 9th to the 16th of July, exactly a year after the election of the local committees.

11. The structure of the National Union - and this at least can be claimed as a native Egyptian feature - is pyramidal. The principle is simple, yet the formation of the various committees is so complex, at any rate in Egypt, that I have not been able to find anyone, whether native member or foreign observer, who claims to

/understand

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

understand it fully. The decrees often appear to be self-contradictory, and the charts and explanatory notes issued by the Information Department add so much to the confusion that the difficulty of understanding has become matter for humour and a pretext for apathy. Apart from confusion of terminology, the complexity seems to be due in part to the mixture of election and appointment, but chiefly to the anomalies of the Egyptian administrative system. If we set aside these anomalies, the structure may be summarised as follows, in ascending order of formation:-

(a) Local Committees

Elected by universal suffrage in July 1959. Each Committee elected two officers (a secretary and a treasurer) in November 1959.

(b) District Committees

Formed from the secretaries of local committees and members of the (elected) committees of district towns. Each district committee elects four officers.

(c) Provincial Committees

Formed from the officers of the committees in districts and certain towns. Each provincial committee elects six officers.

(d) Regional Congresses

Two-thirds of these are the officers of provincial committees and representatives of district committees. One third of Congress members are appointed by the President.

(e) Regional General Committees

Composed of some officers of provincial and district committees, plus half as many appointed members.

/(r)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

(f) Regional Executive Committees

Have sixteen members in Egypt and nine in Syria. All appointed by the President.

(g) General Congress

The President, Vice-Presidents, Ministers, officers of provincial committees, representatives of district committees, and appointed members in number not exceeding the elected members.

(h) General Committee of the National Union

The President, Vice Presidents, Ministers etc. plus some officers of provincial committees and appointed members.

(i) Supreme Executive Committee

The President and 18 members appointed by him.

A more detailed description of the composition of these committees is given in the appendix to this despatch.

12. The committees described in (a), (b) and (c) of the preceding paragraph are all "executive committees".

At each level there are also:-

(a) a general committee, "which consists of the members of the "executive committee" (who are elective) plus the members of the sub-committees (see below), who are co-opted, appointed, or ex officio, and

(b) sub-committees for specific questions, e.g. health, agriculture, youth etc., on which officials, local experts etc. serve as well as a member of the "executive committee."

/All

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	line	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

All committee members, whether elected or appointed, must be active members of the National Union. Present regulations require that such persons must be over sixteen years of age, have no criminal record, have faith in the aims and principles of the National Union, and subscribe not less than Pt. 2 (about fourpence) per month.

13. The organisation of National Union committees is clearly designed to combine as much election as possible with ultimate control from the top. All executive committees up to provincial level, as well as two-thirds of the members of the Regional Congresses and at least one half of the non-Ministerial members of the General Congress, derive their authority from the popular vote. But it must be difficult for persons who do not support the régime to pass so many electoral filters. At every level there are appointed members; and though these do not vote in the election of representatives for the next higher stage, their influence on the voters must be considerable. In any case, the President is empowered (though he has not yet found it necessary) to appoint enough persons to the General Congress to ensure a majority in it, whilst all the members of the Regional and Supreme Executive Committees are appointed by him. Brooding over all are Kemaluddin Hussein, with his permanent staff, in Egypt, and Abdul Hamid Sarraj, who combines the jobs of Minister of the Interior and Secretary-General of the National Union in Syria. It is hard to imagine the National Union getting out of hand.

14. It is often said in Cairo that the original conception of the National Union owes much to Portuguese

/experience

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

experience. But this is never admitted officially: revolutionary Egypt could hardly recognise a debt to reactionary, "imperialist" Portugal. Yugoslav influence, on the other hand, is publicly acknowledged; and comparisons are freely made with the "basic democracy" of Pakistan, and an allegedly similar organisation in Guinea, as though to demonstrate that the United Arab Republic is not alone in choosing the true way to social regeneration and cooperative democracy. Apologetic for the National Union often starts from definition of what it is not. It is not fascist, for it is not restricted to a trained élite; not communist for it does not aim at the monopoly of power by a single party with a fixed doctrine; not like Ataturk's one party, which was avowedly transitional, for in the next half century it will, in the words of one of its propagandists, "create a personality for the nation". It is held to be rather the embodiment of the whole nation, created by the electoral process and enriched with the special skills of appointed members. It is most commonly (and perhaps most accurately) described as the channel through which the people's voice may reach the supreme executive and through which the latter's plans may be conveyed to the people.

15. So much for the outward form and the claims of official propaganda: the inner life of the National Union cannot yet be discerned clearly. Both idealism and cynicism presided at its birth. President Nasser has always hankered after a "return to democratic life". He seems to realise that his military régime cannot last, or at any rate cannot achieve the revolution he believes

/ls

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cma	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

is necessary, without organised popular support. He has chosen to be dynamic; and with Egypt's position in the Arab world and her rising population, he probably had no other choice. But the modern Egyptians (and for that matter Syrians too) though excitable enough, have not been distinguished for the constructive energy which his plans and ambitions demand. These considerations, together with the shape of the National Union and its history to date, suggest that the main aims of President Nasser and his colleagues are first, to mobilise popular support for the régime in an organisation which will fill the potentially dangerous gap left in Egyptian and Syrian political life after the dissolution of the Moslem Brotherhood and the parties; secondly, to provide an effective channel for the propagation of their ideology and the interpretation of their policies; thirdly, to improve their control of the country whilst maintaining the facade, and perhaps at the lower levels granting some of the substance, of democratic freedoms; fourthly, perhaps as an after thought, to help consolidate the Union with Syria; and finally, to forge an instrument which will enable them to carry out their revolution and create the "democratic socialist cooperative society."

16. It cannot be said - indeed it could hardly be expected - that the National Union has so far lived up either to the aims of its creators or to the image projected by official propaganda. It is hard to find in Cairo a private exponent of its virtues, much less an enthusiast, even among the people who should be most concerned to promote it. Questions about its organisation

/and

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

and progress are apt to draw a nervous smile and an obvious desire to change the subject. The President himself admitted in autumn 1959 that the task of putting life into the National Union was not likely to be an easy one; and the press found it necessary at that time to remind those who had not succeeded in being elected to office that they must not sit back and assume that they were not wanted. The recent General Congress produced a vast amount of propaganda and a book full of fine resolutions: and there is plenty of cheering at National Union rallies when people pledge themselves to the genial and effortless task of fighting "imperialist and Zionist conspiracies." But when faced with more laborious demands the rank and file remain inert.

17. Nevertheless, I do not think that it would be safe to assume from the present apathy that the National Union holds no promise of achievement. The machinery is ready to hand; and as they grow familiar with it the people may learn how to use it. Given but one energetic member, village sub-committees could effect important local improvements, in hygiene, for example, and there are stories that this is already happening in a few villages of Lower Egypt. At district and provincial level, too, the committees of the National Union could in theory exert a considerable influence on local government: official propaganda has indeed emphasised the role of the National Union in the creation of provincial centres of authority, which will permit the greater decentralisation which is one of the avowed objectives of the régime and for which the new administrative law provides. This is the most active and promising function

/of

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

of the National Union, the one in whose success the President and his colleagues would take most pride.

18. Whether this leaven will be able to act on the Egyptian mass or not, it is too early to say. The omens are not good; and though President Nasser and Kemal Adin Hussein paid regular visits to the committees of the General Congress and gave them avuncular tuition and encouragement, for all the world like an Inspector of Education and a Headmaster visiting a classroom, and though the discussion in these committees seems to have been entirely free, the tendency was for all the resolutions to support the policy of the Government (whose agents helped to draft them) in every department. It will be a long time before the Egyptians can bring themselves to feel safe in expressing publicly, and maintaining in the face of evasive answers, a view contrary to the one held by the authorities. Syrians are perhaps less cautious, and some more lively scenes have been reported from Damascus, where members of committees and the Regional Congress have been asking why it is so difficult to get an exit visa to spend the summer in Lebanon. But such questions are merely expressions of general and well-known complaints; they do not indicate deep differences of approach, nor are they evidence of constructive activity within the National Union. On present form it is hard to resist the conclusion that the National Union organisation is likely to conduct the President's wishes to the people more often than the voice of the people to the President.

19. In Cairo the National Union is already becoming a power to be reckoned with, but its power does not lie in

/any

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902					88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

any authority it may have derived from the people. It takes more than one form. Sometimes it is invested with something of the character of a government department, or public corporation, as when it suddenly found itself the owner of most of the Cairo press by a presidential decree of the 24th of May. At other times it seems more like a pressure group or channel for patronage; and the Shell Company, for example, are finding that the "National Union" is increasingly interfering in such matters as the dismissal and recruitment of staff. It looks as though the National Union, in the capital at any rate, will be exploited by the close supporters of the régime and their protégés: things the electors never dreamed of are being done in its name.

20. President Nasser and his associates are as sensitive about the National Union as they are about other new products of the United Arab Republic. They cannot tolerate foreign criticism, however objective, and they spend a great deal of their time defending their creation from the real or fancied sneers of the West. They have clearly concluded, after much casting about, that the National Union is the best way of avoiding the schism and venality of a system of political parties, whilst providing an outlet for political energy, a means of propaganda, and an opportunity for constructive association at all levels of society. Sometimes they have seemed to show faith, at other times distrust, in the people; and after free elections in the first stage, government control of the National Union was asserted in the higher formations. They have created an organisation which may well suit the society of the United Arab Republic and further the aims they are pursuing. But they have not yet managed

/to

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

to give it life. It has the seeds of life, I think; but these will suffer the various fates described in the parable of the sower. If enough of them fall on fertile ground, and the National Union can be coaxed into flourishing as its authors intend, the face of the United Arab Republic will indeed be changed and we shall see an authoritarian state resembling a cross between Mussolini's Italy and Tito's Yugoslavia.

21. I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Khartoum, Tripoli and Washington, and to the Head of the Political Office with the Middle East Forces.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,


(C. P. Crowe)

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

Composition of the committees of the National Union
in Egypt

1. Local Committees

(a) Local Executive Committees were elected by all the people, on a theoretical ratio of one member for every five hundred citizens, on the 8th of July, 1959. Villages, or groups of villages, could elect from 3 - 10 members; district or provincial towns*, or city divisions, from 10-- 30 members, according to size.

(b) Nonelected persons may serve on special committees or sub-committees; and these, together with the elected members, form the Local General Committee. Village sub-committees deal with youth, agriculture and rural industries, education, social affairs, health, women's activities, and local administration.

(c) Local executive committees elected their officers (a secretary and a treasurer each) in November 1959.

2. District Committees

(a) District (merkaz) Executive Committees are composed of the secretaries of the local executive committees ~~and~~ plus one member for every five from the executive committees in district towns which have no subdivisions.

(b) These executive committees elect four officers - chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer.

(c) Divisional (qism) executive committees of cities have the same four officers. If the division has no sub-divisions, these posts are filled by the four persons who received the greatest numbers of votes in

/the

*Note "district town" means the centre of a district, "provincial town" the capital of a province.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

the elections of the 8th of July 1959. If the division has sub-divisions, the executive committee is composed of the members of the executive committees of those sub-divisions; and in that case it elects its own officers.

(d) The District General Committee is composed of the officers of the executive committee, the secretary and treasurer, plus one other elected representative, of all local committees, two out of every five members of the executive committee of the district town, and appointed members whose numbers should not exceed half that of the elected members.

3. Provincial Committees

(a) Provincial (mudiriya)* Executive Committees are composed of the officers of the executive committees in districts, city divisions, and towns which are not incorporated in districts.

(b) These executive committees elect (under the supervision of the minister of the Interior) six officers - chairman, first vice-chairman, second vice-chairman, first secretary, second secretary and treasurer.

(c) Provincial Executive Committees supervise all National Union formations in the province.

(d) The Provincial General Committees consist of all members of the executive committees of district or equivalent level and above. The Provincial Congresses

/(to meet

*Note By recent decree all provinces in Egypt are henceforth to be called 'muhafizat' (as in Syria and in other parts of Egypt - see (e) below); but I have retained the term "mudiriya" to avoid confusion with the "Governorates" of Cairo, Alexandria etc.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

(to meet at least twice a year) are composed of all members of executive committees in all provinces at all levels.

(e) The formation of committees in Governorates (muhafizat) - i.e. Cairo, Alexandria, Canal Zone towns and the Western Desert Administrations - is slightly different but based on essentially the same principles.

4. Regional Congresses

Two-thirds of these are the officers of the executive committees of Provinces and Governorates, plus representatives from each executive committee. One third of the Congress members are appointed by the President from trades unions, the universities, professions, senior civil service, commerce, the arts and so on. Thus:-

(a) Egypt

Officers of provincial executive committees	819
Representatives of district executive committees	1451
Appointed members	1164
Total	3434

(b) Syria

Officers of provincial and district exec. committees	742
Appointed members	371
Total	1113

To these must be added the regional ministers.

5. Regional General Committees

Composed of some of the officers of executive committees in provinces, the chairmen of committees at districts and equivalent level, plus half as many appointed members. In Egypt the Regional General

/Committee

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee has 342 members (228 + 114) and in Syria 225 (150 + 75). Appointed members include ministers, under-secretaries, university people, unions, journalists, representatives of chambers of commerce and professional people.

6. Regional Executive Committees

Appointed by the President. In Egypt - 16, under Kemaluddin Hussein, including 9 Ministers. In Syria - 9, under Abdul Hamid Sarraj, including 6 Ministers.

7. General Congress of the National Union

(a) The General Congress consists of:-

- (i) The President,
- (ii) Vice Presidents; the Controller- and Secretaries-General, ministers, deputy ministers, advisers to the President,
- (iii) Officers of the Executive Committees of Provinces,
- (iv) members of Provincial executive committees,
- (v) Appointed members, in numbers not exceeding (iii) and (iv) above.

(b) The first General Congress, held in Cairo in July 1960, was made up as follows:-

	Supreme Executive Committee	18
	Ministers and advisers to the President	36
<u>Egypt</u>	Officers of provincial executive committees ..	120
	members of provincial executive committees ..	628
	Nominated members	581
<u>Syria</u>	Officers of provincial executive committees	57
	Elected members	445
	Nominated members	168
	Total	<u>2053</u>

/8.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

8. General Committee of the National Union

The General Committee consists of (i) (ii) and (v) above, plus three officers from each provincial executive committee in Egypt and one officer from each such committee in Syria.

9. Supreme Executive Committee

Chairman - The President

members - 18, appointed by the President

(18 Egyptians, 6 Syrians, all ministers).

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

By Bag.

From C.T. Crowe.

No. 98 Saving
July 22, 1960.

UNCLASSIFIED

20 JUL 1960
X XII I II III
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

Addressed to Foreign Office Saving Telegram No. 98 of July 22 repeated for information to
Saving Amman 26
Baghdad 22
Beirut 71
Pomef 47
H.Q. B.F.A.P. 10
Tel Aviv 19
Washington 30
U.K. Mis. New York 31
U.K. Del. NATO 18
Ankara 7

The National Assembly

The opening session of the National Assembly was held in Cairo on July 21.

2. In the morning the members of the Assembly were sworn in, after which the Speaker (Anwar el Sadat - the only candidate) and two Deputy Speakers (Mohammed Fuad Galal and Ratib el Husami) were elected. At the evening session President Nasser delivered his inaugural speech.

3. Nasser began by outlining the situation at the foundation of the United Arab Republic in 1958. The aggressors whose military forces had been defeated in Egypt were trying to attain their objectives by other means. Economic and psychological warfare was being waged against Egypt; forces of aggression were manoeuvring around Syria; conspiracies were being engineered to enable enemy forces to march against Damascus; and attempts were being made to smuggle arms to agents and stooges in Syria. Nuri Said was plotting in Baghdad. Adnan Menderes was threatening in Ankara. The American Sixth Fleet, armed with rockets and atomic weapons, was manoeuvring off Beirut. British activities in Jordan, in cooperation with reactionary elements, had nearly reached their climax. Israel was plotting and the Baghdad Pact was

/trying

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ina	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

tyring to restore the strength which had been weakened by the aggression against Egypt in 1956. Attempts were being made to consolidate the military bases of the Baghdad Pact with the funds of the Eisenhower Doctrine. Limitless funds were being devoted to the purchase of free men in the hope of frustrating Arab nationalism; and the mockery of the Hashemite federation was formed in an endeavour to destroy the unity of the Arab nation. The situation was critical, but the heroic nation had rallied its forces and shattered the imperialists, the Zionists and the Arab reactionaries.

4. At this time the U.A.R. was born. This was a moment of explosion of Arab potential which had the effect of an atomic bomb. Nuri Said disappeared from Baghdad and the throne created by colonialism was trampled under foot together with the Baghdad Pact. The Eisenhower Doctrine vanished like a mirage and the Sixth Fleet departed after a futile operation at Beirut in which it failed to protect those whom it intended to protect or to intimidate those whom it wished to intimidate. Arab reactionary elements had to take refuge behind castle walls. Israel was no longer faced by two divided fronts but by a united front in the north and south, able to retaliate with interest. Adnan Menderes eventually vanished from Ankara into the retirement in which he was preceded by Eden and Mollet. These fast-moving events would continue to develop until the remnants of the age of imperialism, of the Baghdad Pact, of Zionist aggression and of reactionaries had been swept away.

5. Nasser devoted most of the remainder of his speech to a detailed statistical survey of industrial development projects, in both regions of the U.A.R. These projects, he said, were the manifestation of the Arab potential which had been released at the birth of the U.A.R.

6. Finally he turned to ideological matters. The ideology of the U.A.R. had been formulated in the light of experience. He had not indulged in theorising in search of a way of life, but had devoted his life to searching for theories. Freedom of action had preceded ideology which had been extracted from the experience of events. It had not been imposed nor borrowed and had only been put into the form of a law after practical experience and application. A social or political ideology was a means not an end. It could not be a goal which would supersede the will to action. In the recent past the nation had risen against partisanship and corruption and the need was felt to establish democracy on a true basis. In order to ensure the exercise of free will for every citizen, the domination of feudalism and local capital, and of foreign domination which supported both, had to fall. The idea of the National Union could be described as the product of the unanimity with which Egypt faced the British and French and forced them to evacuate the country. Industrialisation was the U.A.R.'s reaction

/to the

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

to the economic blockade. The structure of the U.A.R.'s socialism was based on increasing production and fair distribution of the national revenue. All these ideologies were the outcome of experience. Through these experiences the U.A.R. had formed the concept of positive neutralism as the road to peace, of Arab nationalism as the road to Arab unity, and of socialist cooperative democracy as the road to social justice. The great energy of Arab nationalism which had produced the U.A.R. and consolidated its ideologies must be maintained to enable the U.A.R. to realise the following objectives:-

- (i) Peace through the preservation of independence, opposition to military pacts, strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity, resisting racial discrimination, narrowing the gulf between industrially developed and under-developed countries, and opposing monopoly over the prices of raw materials and manufactured goods.
- (ii) Arab unity through Arab solidarity, freedom, tolerance and evolution.
- (iii) Social justice through socialist cooperative democracy within the framework of national unity.

7. After Nasser's speech the Assembly adjourned until July 28.

	<h1 style="font-size: 2em; margin: 0;">V</h1> <p style="margin: 0;">LEVANT DEPARTMENT</p>	<h1 style="font-size: 2em; margin: 0;">V</h1> <p style="margin: 0;">G. 1016/20.</p>
UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC		

FROM Mr. S. G. House,
Cairo.

Confidential.

No. 54 (1016/20)

Dated August 8.

Received August 11.

SUBJECT:

Report on the first General Congress of the
National Union.

References

-/12/10/17/18
/10103/22
/10105/28/29.

MINUTES

Copy to U.K. Del to NATO, Paris.


This is useful for the record, and I have side-lined a few significant passages in the Despatch and enclosure.

2. A great deal of effort was put into the stage-managing of this Congress. Considerable trouble was taken over the Syrians. The Committees mentioned in paragraph 6 are no doubt those about which the Egyptian Minister of Communications spoke at the ACMET luncheon (see Sir Roger Stevens' minute of). Although questions were answered and discussion was free, the Committees were obviously guided firmly. There was a specific attack on the Government of Kenya in President Nasser's closing speech, as reported elsewhere. The Egyptians have confessed privately to the admission that the mention of Hatay was only put in to please the Syrians. There is a good deal about Socialist planning in the latter sections of the Annex, and an interesting reference to the importance of private enterprise (E3); there is much talk of co-operatives and the grouping of small units, and of the "Socialist supply policy". Indeed among the many resolutions there is something for practically everybody. As expected there are constant references to Israel.

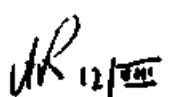
(Printing Instructions)



(Outward Action)

U.K. Del to N.A.T.O., Paris
Aug 13. 10. 24.0


 (R. Arculus)
 August 12, 1960.

Southern Dept. (para 10)
 African Dept. (para 8 and Sections A and B of Annex)
 F.O.R.D. (M.E.) 2416/8
 Lou. 17/8


 12/11/60

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
 1.11.60	 23-5/61

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
11 AUG 1960
VQ1016/20.

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION

CAIRO.

No. 59
(1014/60)

CONFIDENTIAL

August 8, 1960.

My Lord,

In my despatch No. 53 of the 22nd of July I described the history and structure of the National Union in the United Arab Republic. In this despatch I have the honour to give a fuller account of the first General Congress of the National Union, to which I referred in my Saving telegrams Nos. 85,

VQ1016/13

87, 94, 95 and 96.

2. The Congress met in Cairo University from the 9th to the 16th of July 1960. It was composed of the Supreme Executive Committee of the National Union, Ministers, advisers to the President, officers and members of provincial committees, and a proportion of nominated delegates. Out of a total membership of 2053, 1250 were elected and 749 (excluding Ministers) nominated; and (again excluding Ministers) 1329 members were Egyptian and 670 Syrian. The nominated members represented all professions, trade unions, and associations. The great majority of them were Egyptians (581 against 168 Syrians), most of them came from Cairo, and many of them, such as Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, the editor of

- VQ1016/18

- VQ1018/26

/"Al Ahram"

The Right Honourable
The Earl of Home,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

"Al Ahram", and Ahmed Said, the notorious commentator on the Voice of the Arabs, were prominent supporters or servants of the régime.

3. The administrative arrangements for the Congress were unusually efficient. The Syrian members were brought to Cairo in good time and suitably accommodated, we are told, in reserved rooms in hotels of varying standard and price. Information centres and other special services were set up for the convenience of delegates, who were supplied with well-produced pamphlets giving details and timetables of meetings and other useful information. Secretarial work seems to have been efficient, and the printing of documents prompt. Cairo took the Congress seriously, and numerous officials who have normally no direct concern with the National Union were mobilised to help make it a success.

4. President Nasser opened the Congress on the evening of the 9th of July with a long review of the foreign and domestic policies of the United Arab Republic. His speech (which was summarised in my telegram No. 85 Saving of the 12th of July) was moderate in tone and restrained in delivery: it was read in classical Arabic from a prepared script in an uninspired, not to say disinterested, manner. It may have added a few touches to Nasser's philosophy
/of political

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

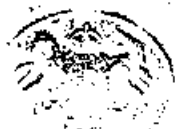
of political and social revolution; but it was only remarkable for a gratuitous contrast between the Soviet Union, which had warmly received the hand of friendship extended by the United Arab Republic, and the United States, whose connexion with imperialism and Zionism had proved a bar to the full development of friendly relations.

5. On the 10th of July the Congress was addressed by Vice-President Abdul Latif Baghdadi, Nuruddin Kahhala, Chairman of the Syrian Executive Council, and Mahmud Fawzi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs; and further speeches were delivered on the 11th of July by Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer, Abdul Hamid Sarraj, Minister of the Interior and Secretary-General of the National Union in the Northern Region, and Kemaluddin Hussein, Central Minister of Education and Supervisor-General of the National Union in Egypt. None of these speeches (which were summarised in my telegram No. 87 Saving of the 12th of July) contained anything of special novelty or interest. Baghdadi dealt with economic affairs and justified central planning on familiar lines, whilst Kahhala surveyed development plans for Syria for the next five years. Fawzi's speech on foreign affairs contained much that was incomprehensible, but nothing that was new; and Amer demonstrated the superiority

/of

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							



CONFIDENTIAL

of the military strength of the United Arab Republic. Sarraj and Kemaluddin Hussein spoke of the achievements of the National Union and its role in economic and social development and in the struggle for Arab unity.

6. After listening to these speeches, the Congress split up into twenty-one committees to discuss specific subjects and draft resolutions for submission to the closing session of the Congress. Each of these committees was attended by appropriate Ministers and senior officials, who were available to answer questions and give advice; and President Nasser himself, accompanied by Kemaluddin Hussein, paid short visits to all the committees, listened to some of their discussions, and held forth to them on various aspects of his policy. There is good evidence that discussion in the committees was free, and sometimes (as in the Legal Committee on the question of delay in litigation) heated and vigorous; and we have been told that Ministers went to considerable trouble to give answers to questions put by unknown delegates from remote provinces. Those who had anything to do with the Congress certainly looked tired during the week of its assembly; and Heikal himself told me that I could have no idea how exhausting it was to argue all day with Syrians.

/7.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-5-

CONFIDENTIAL

7. It is nevertheless difficult to avoid the impression that everything at the Congress, including the freedom of discussion in committees, was carefully stage-managed; and this is borne out by the five hundred and one resolutions which were read out by Kemaluddin Hussein and passed unanimously at the closing session on the 16th of July. You will see from the summary of these resolutions which is contained in the Annex to this despatch, that with very few exceptions they repeat and approve the declared policy of the Government. They could easily have been (and perhaps were) drafted before the Congress began; and we know that some of them were in fact composed by Government officials. They did not arouse much enthusiasm at the closing session of the Congress, which listened in a stupified silence to everything in Kemaluddin Hussein's rehearsal with the exception of emotive words such as Palestine, Algeria and imperialism.

8. After the unanimous passage of the resolutions, President Nasser closed the Congress with the speech summarised in my telegram No. 95 Saving of the 19th of July. Once again his tone was moderate, his delivery restrained, and his idiom classical. He spoke chiefly of the National Union and its functions in guiding the people towards socialist cooperative /democracy.

CONFIDENTIAL

U/1018/29

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ma	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							



CONFIDENTIAL

democracy. On foreign affairs he referred in his usual terms, but with less than his usual heat, to the inevitable subjects of Arab nationalism and unity, imperialism, Suez, Algeria, and Palestine.

The only fire was contained in an expression of support for the freedom of the Congo against colonialist and Zionist misrepresentation, and an attack on the Government of Kenya for violating political rights.

9. Cairo propaganda has called the resolutions of the Congress the "charter of the new society". They certainly constitute a fairly accurate statement of the main lines of the policy of the United Arab Republic Government. The most notable exception to this is the recommendation of the Arab Affairs Committee that steps should be taken for "the restoration of Alexandretta and other usurped Arab territories". Egyptians have confessed to us privately that the mention of Alexandretta was "a mistake" inserted to please the Syrians, whose numbers were equal to the Egyptians on that particular committee. It is not to be taken seriously; nor is the reference to "other usurped Arab territories", which nobody can understand, but which in the context (since everywhere else has been specifically mentioned) can only be interpreted to mean Khuzistan. Of the other resolutions on foreign
/affairs,

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-7-



CONFIDENTIAL

affairs, those which deal with Israeli activities in Africa and the importance of strengthening relations with Latin American countries are interesting indications of the most recent trends in United Arab Republic foreign policy.

10. The resolutions on economic policy reflect official propaganda, especially in their insistence on the association of private with public capital; and the resolution of the Supply Committee on the import of pharmaceuticals foreshadowed the Government's immediate decision, reported in my telegram No. 91 Saving of the 18th of July, to nationalise the distribution of these products. Perhaps the most bizarre resolution is the one of the Proposals Committee which recommends the establishment of a provident fund for nationalists who have fought against imperialism; and the most sinister, the threat contained in a resolution of the National Guidance Committee to "rewrite the history of the Arab nation".

11. Most of the Syrian delegates seem to have stayed on in Cairo after the end of the Congress, some to sit in the National Assembly a few days later, others to attend the celebration of the Eighth Anniversary of the Revolution. Relays of taxis, with posters proudly proclaiming their passengers' identity, took

/them

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-8-

CONFIDENTIAL

them on excursions to such destinations as "Port Said the Eternal", where they were shown the sights and given civic entertainment. Perhaps the only sure achievement of the Congress was that it brought nearly seven hundred influential persons from all parts of Syria to Egypt; and such movement, like the pilgrimage to Mecca on the wider Islamic scale, is bound to contribute to the strengthening of the unity between the two Regions of the United Arab Republic. If President Nasser is wise, he will see that the next General Congress is held in Damascus, 1962. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Khartoum, Tripoli, and Washington, and to the Head of the Political Office with the Middle East Forces.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient Servant,



(C. T. Crowe.)

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

A N N E X

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN RESOLUTIONS
PASSED BY THE GENERAL CONGRESS OF THE
NATIONAL UNION ON THE 16TH OF JULY, 1960

A. Arab Affairs Committee

1. Declaration of faith in Arab nationalism and determination to achieve the total liberation of the Arab fatherland from imperialism and Zionism and their treacherous agents.
2. The achievement of full Arab unity, of which the union between Syria and Egypt is the forerunner. This Arab unity shall be based on the free and independent choice of all Arab peoples, having first achieved full national unity within their existing frontiers.
3. The continuation of the struggle against Israel, the spearhead of imperialism in the heart of the Arab fatherland, until Palestine is restored as a free Arab state.
4. Condemnation of the supply of arms to Israel by America, Britain and France.
5. The creation of a Palestine entity on Palestinian soil.
6. The establishment of a Palestine army.
7. Condemnation of attempts to absorb or resettle Palestinian refugees.
8. The preservation of Palestinian nationality and opposition to attempts by imperialist and Zionist agents to force Palestinians to relinquish their nationality in favour of another nationality.
9. Consideration of immigration into occupied Palestine

/as

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-2-

as aggression against the Arab fatherland by Israel and by those countries and organisations assisting her.

10. Denial of Israel's claim to represent world Jewry.

11. Condemnation of French genocide in Algeria.

12. Holding imperialist countries responsible for the continuation of the Algerian war by the extension of financial and military aid from Western and NATO states to France.

13. Recommendation to Arab youth to respond to the call for volunteers for the Algerian Liberation Army. Arab Governments should offer such volunteers all facilities.

14. An appeal to the peoples of the world to recognise the provisional Algerian Government and to assure it of all moral and material aid.

15. Support for the Arab liberation struggle in Oman, the Arab Gulf, Aden and other parts of the Arab fatherland and still under the yoke of imperialism.

16. Condemnation of false and unequal treaties concluded by British imperialism with its agents in the Arab world, and of imperialist endeavours to neutralise the Arab character of certain parts of the Arab fatherland by settling non-Arabs there.

17. Recommendation to take all steps, official and popular, for the restoration of Alexandretta and other usurped Arab territories.

B. Foreign Affairs Committee

1. Continuation of the policies of support for world peace, peaceful coexistence, positive neutrality and

/non-alignment

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

-3-

- non-alignment; opposition to military alliances or blocs, military bases and spheres of influence.
2. Determination to pursue the struggle against imperialism, and support for all nations fighting imperialism until it is finally extinguished.
 3. Condemnation of racial discrimination of all kinds and denunciation of massacres, persecution, torture etc. of Africans and other races.
 4. Measures to be taken to bring to an end the barbarous acts of the Government of South Africa.
 5. Endorsement of the resolution of the Addis Ababa Conference for sanctions against the Government of South Africa.
 6. The termination of the South African Government's mandate over South-West Africa.
 7. Assertion of collusion between Israel and imperialist powers for economic penetration of newly independent African states in the interests of imperialism and monopoly.
 8. Contact to be made with the Governments of African countries to expose Israeli intentions and collusion with imperialism.
 9. Condemnation of economic blocs established by certain countries to tighten the grip of imperialism over small nations producing raw materials in Africa and Asia.
 10. Resistance to these economic blocs, particularly by co-ordinating the production of Arab countries and encouraging economic co-operation between them and friendly countries who are also working against this new
- /aspect

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-4-

aspect of imperialism.

11. Denunciation of atomic tests for military purposes.
12. Recommendation of general disarmament and the institution of an adequate control system.
13. Assertion of the importance of the potential role to be played by uncommitted countries in the service of world peace.
14. Endorsement of the Government's policy of abiding by the United Nations Charter.
15. Support for Afro-Asian solidarity.
16. Support for the Congolese struggle against imperialist plots to undermine Congolese independence and unity.
17. Welcome for the newly independent African states and determination to expedite the exchange of diplomatic representation with them as well as exchanges of technicians, experts, students, etc.
18. Strengthening of relations with Latin-American countries, in particular to enlighten their public opinion on the Palestine problem.

G. Defence Committee

1. Approval of the national policy of strengthening the armed forces.
2. Approval of the policy of achieving self-sufficiency in the production of light and heavy weapons.
3. Approval of the policy of accepting cadets and officers from Arab and friendly Afro-Asian countries for training in U.A.R. military colleges.
4. Expressing the hope that the Arab countries and
/their.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-5-

their armed forces will stand together for the destruction of imperialist conspiracies and Zionist ambitions.

5. Calling for the extension of training centres for national guards, popular resistance forces and Arab women.

D. Planning Committee

1. Approval of national planning as the basis for the organisation of economic and social activity.

2. Approval of the five year plan as the first step towards doubling the national income in ten years in accordance with socialist, democratic and co-operative principles.

3. Support for the policy of financing development projects in a way designed to avoid inflation.

4. Recommendation that the responsibility of each Government Department in regard to the five year plan should be clearly defined and that the private sector should be encouraged to take its share in the plan in co-operation with the public sector.

5. Preparation of a detailed plan for each year of the five year plan and periodical examination of the implementation of the plan.

6. National Union organisations to invite citizens to discuss aspects of planning and submit their proposals to the authorities.

E. Financial and Economic Committee

1. Application of socialist, democratic and co-operative principles in all sectors of economic and social life.

/2.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

-6-

2. Appreciation of the important contribution of public investment to development.
 3. Emphasising the role of private enterprise in the economic life of the country; considering that the private sector should be afforded all facilities by way of funds, technical guidance, etc., in order to ensure economic growth and to prevent monopoly and exploitation
 4. Stressing the necessity for co-operation between the public and private sectors.
 5. Enumerating measures to consolidate economic unity between the two Regions of the U.A.R., such as the application of Foreign Trade and Payments agreements to both Regions, encouragement of joint investment projects, promotion of the mobility of capital, labour, and technical experience, co-ordination of tax legislation, etc.
 6. Consolidation of Arab economic integration and co-operation with other Afro-Asian countries.
 7. Extension of credit facilities to small producers and merchants.
 8. Mitigation of currency restrictions, co-ordination of the taxation system and simplification of customs formalities.
- F. Industry and Power Committee
1. More attention to basic industries such as iron and steel, minerals, and the petroleum and chemical industries.
 2. Appreciation of major power projects such as the Aswan and Euphrates Dams. Measures to speed up studies to cut the cost of electrical power for industry.
 3. Calling for the establishment of more higher
/technical

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

-7-

technical institutes and for special attention to be paid to sending students abroad for technical training and for the provision of a class of industrial managers.

4. Encouraging the establishment of industrial co-operatives for small enterprises.

5. Calling for the extension of rural industries.

G. Agriculture and Irrigation Committee

1. Emphasising the great contribution of the agrarian reform laws in both Regions, and resolving that the remaining agrarian reform lands should be distributed promptly.

2. The importance of co-operation as a means of developing agriculture.

3. Development of the Agricultural Bank and the Agricultural Co-operatives Credit Bank.

H. Co-operative Committee

1. Recommending an extension of agrarian credit throughout the Republic and the application of co-operative insurance to all crops.

2. The consolidation of co-operative marketing of vegetable and animal products.

3. Recommending the establishment of more industrial small producers, crafts and handicrafts co-operatives, and the exemption from taxation of those co-operatives in which the majority of members are workers.

4. The development of co-operative finance by mobilising popular savings, further state subsidies and credits.

/5.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

287

5. The establishment of a co-operative bank in the Northern Region and the conversion of the Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank in the Southern Region into a purely co-operative bank.

6. The amalgamation into a general co-operative confederation of the Regional co-operatives, to be directed by a Supreme Co-operative Council with representation of both public and private sectors.

7. The establishment of co-operative relations between the U.A.R. co-operative movement and co-operative organisations in the rest of the Arab world and elsewhere.

I. Supply Committee

1. Continuation of the socialist supply policy by reducing the cost of essential commodities.
2. The establishment of a supply policy for the import of pharmaceuticals and encouragement of their local production.
3. An appeal to the public to abstain from unnecessary consumption, especially of luxury and imported goods.

J. Public Services and Communications Committee

1. Encouraging housing co-operatives, particularly for limited income groups, through loans, a system of priorities and insurance.
2. Organisation of an urban transport service either through direction by the municipal authorities or by state participation. Completion of construction of railways in the Northern Region, particularly the line Latakia - Aleppo - Deir Ez Zor - Hassetche - Qamishli,

/and

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-9-

and resumption of the operation of the Hejaz railway.

3. Reduction of passenger and freight charges for long distance railway journeys.

4. To accelerate the construction of Damascus International Airport, and the conversion of Aleppo Airport to international standards.

K. Social Services Committee

1. Revision of the law controlling societies and associations.

2. The exemption from taxation of benevolent societies.

3. Extension of aid to Bedouins to improve their agricultural production and animal husbandry.

L. Feminist and Family Committee

1. To review existing legislation on divorce, polygamy, enforced obedience of women to their husbands etc. in order to achieve stability in accordance with the Moslem law.

2. Unification of feminist societies in order to establish a general organisation of all women in the U.A.R.

3. Encouragement of the training of women in trades.

4. Appealing to women to reduce their spending on luxury goods and demands for unnecessarily high dowries.

5. Recommendation that working mothers have holidays without pay and be allowed to work on a part-time basis where necessary.

6. The establishment of vocational training centres for domestic education, and the increase of women's vocational and industrial schools.

/7.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref.: FO 371 / 150902				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

-10-

7. The expansion of child and maternity centres and a review of legislation on child welfare and juvenile delinquency.

M. Health and Medical Services Committee

1. To extend the new health insurance scheme to include all classes of the population.
2. To establish co-operatives for medical services and pharmacies.
3. To increase efforts to combat malaria and bilharzia, and to improve health services in remote areas and schools.
4. To reduce customs duties on imported pharmaceuticals.

N. Labour Committee

1. The amendments of the existing labour law to prevent breaches of contract with workers and their arbitrary discharge.
2. The gradual extension of the social insurance law to cover all workers including agricultural workers.
3. The acceleration of the formulation of an unemployment insurance law.
4. Expression of the belief of the workers of the U.A.R. in co-operation between all classes working in production.
5. The strengthening of relations between workers in the U.A.R. and in Afro-Asian countries.
6. The establishment of an African federation of trade unions and of a general Arab labour fund.
7. Appreciation of the solidarity of Arab workers

/in

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-11-

in the face of the "tripartite aggression" of 1956 and in frustrating the imperialist/Zionist conspiracy which began with the boycott of the S.S. "Cleopatra" in New York harbour.

O. Youth Committee

1. Creating a social conscience and national awareness amongst Arab youth.
2. Insistence on belief in God.
3. Consolidation of brotherly relations between Arab and Afro-Asian youth.
4. Unification of youth movements within the National Union.
5. Encouragement of sporting activities and increasing radio programmes for the guidance of youth.
6. Encouraging the composition of more national songs for youth.

P. Legal Affairs Committee

1. The adaptation of existing laws to the principles of the socialist, democratic co-operative society.
2. Acceleration of the unification of laws between the two Regions.
3. Elimination of delay in the settlement of legal cases.
4. Settlement of legal disputes in courts of justice only and not in administrative departments.
5. Reorganisation of the legal profession as approved at the Fourth Arab Lawyers' Conference.

Q. Proposals Committee

1. Arrangements for periodical meetings of the General
/Congress

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902						88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

-12-

Congress of the National Union and of the Regional Congresses.

2. Co-ordination between the various trade unions, associations and societies, and the National Union.
3. Arrangement of regular meetings of provincial committees of the National Union.
4. Simplification of governmental routines.
5. Attention to Al Azhar to enable this great institution to carry out its important mission.
6. The establishment of a provident fund for nationalists who have fought against imperialism.

R. Local Administration and Security Committee

1. The speedy implementation of the new local administration law and its standardisation throughout the U.A.R.
2. Representation of the people by local National Union committees at provincial councils in areas not yet included in the new local administration system.
3. Preparation of a plan to increase the number of police stations in rural areas.
4. Extension of anti-narcotics activities.

S. National Guidance Committee

1. Assertion that socialist co-operative democracy is the fulfilment of the principles of the U.A.R. and that Arab unity is the effective means for the achievement of all the objectives of the Arab nation.
2. The National Union is the practical expression of the will of the people.

/3.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

-13-

3. A permanent committee to be formed to explain Arab causes and "mobilise national alertness".
4. To cultivate brotherhood between Arabs and to project the concepts of Arab nationalism and unity.
5. To extend moral and material aid for the liberation of those parts of the Arab homeland which have not yet achieved freedom.
6. To promote national alertness against the menace of imperialism and Zionism.
7. To lay down a code of ethics for persons engaged in all forms of information work.
8. To rewrite the history of the Arab nation, asserting its past rôle in the world civilisation and the part it is playing at present, and giving prominence to Arab feats of valour throughout history and in the struggle against imperialism.

T. Education Committee

1. To develop and to expand technical education and to establish more technological institutes.
2. To encourage research work and improve teachers' training colleges.
3. To mobilise efforts to prosecute the anti-illiteracy campaign.
4. To improve the education of women.
5. To increase the number of students abroad.
6. To accelerate the process of carrying out all instruction at universities in the Arabic language.

U. Arts and Science Committee

1. Encouraging foreign cultural exchanges.

/2.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 150902			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

-14-

2. Unification of copy-right legislation between the two Regions.
3. Establishment of an organisation to translate foreign literary and scientific works into Arabic, and Arabic works into foreign languages.
4. Unification of scientific and technical terminology in both Regions.
5. Expansion of the theatre, cinemas and libraries.
6. Requesting the broadcasting authorities to strengthen Arab literary programmes.
7. Encouraging the publication of Arabic books and easing customs restrictions on their export.
8. Production of more documentary films designed to serve the national interest.
9. Encouragement of an artistic renaissance to match the industrial development of the U.A.R.
10. Planning a general policy for decoration of Government offices with the works of Arab artists.