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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En c air

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL

Mr. Arthur

DISTRIBUTION

No. 966

D. 7.28 p.m. October 2, 1961

VG 1016/152

October 2, 1961

R. 7.53 p.m. October 2, 1961

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 966 of October 2.

Repeated for information to:

Amman Beirut

and Saving to: Washington P.O.N.E.C. (Cyprus)  
Ankara Baghdad

President Nasser this morning addressed a mass rally of students in the Cairo University precincts.

2. He described the present situation as a big setback for Arab unity. He referred to the governments which had recognized Syria and dealt scornfully with King Hussein who had proposed in Ramadan a truce in inter-Arab quarrels and had now deceived the U.A.R. and the whole Islamic world.

3. Nasser claimed that the situation in Syria was serious, with large scale disturbances in Aleppo, Damascus and Deir Ezor, in which the army and police had joined. The Syrian prisons were crowded, the curfew had been extended to twelve hours in Damascus and Aleppo, and all schools and universities had been closed. Yet the Syrians had accused the Egyptians of dominating and exploiting the country!

4. Nasser dwelt on the economic benefits which had accrued to Syria through the union. Only fifteen companies had been nationalized there as against three hundred in Egypt. Egypt had provided trained personnel including doctors, for service in Syria despite her own need of them. He also bitterly attacked the domination of capital and monopoly interests in Syria.

5. He was confident that the Syrian people - the people of the U.A.R. in Syria - who had fought first France and then imperialism, would not allow reaction and exploitation to

/return.

C. p telegram No. 966 to Foreign Office

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return. He also emphasized that Egyptian officers in Syria had been in the front line against Israel and not in Damascus.

6. He admitted that he had made mistakes, which would be lessons for the future. Imperialism had been acting against the U.A.R. since its formation. But this setback would not be a defeat; it would be the turning point for a "decisive move" against imperialism. He concluded by telling the crowd that they were troops for the protection of Arabism and the U.A.R. and exhorted them to "go forward with courage".

ADVANCE COPIES:

Lord Privy Seal  
Sir F. Hoyer Millar  
Sir R. Stevens  
Mr. Crawford  
Head of Eastern Department  
Head of News Department  
Head of N.E.A.D.  
Resident Clerk

PPPPP

ME/757/A/10

Our reply to your speech about the agents of imperialism is that we remind you of the fingers which used to play in the dark and which were exposed and are known by the Arab people regardless of how thick the curtain to hide them is. Fikri Abazah's hint about a settlement of the Palestine question at the expense of its sons was but a gesture of faithfulness.

Last but not least, are the sabotage tactics to which you finally resorted in order to disrupt the unity of the ranks of our people - thinking that there was a room for the disruption of the ranks - by sending your agents like Hasan Fahmi Abd al-Majid, who has so far paid about 10,000 Syrian pounds. As for the paratroopers and the shock troops whom you sent to help Latakia and the Coast Command as you claim, we say that, if this was the case, why then did you send 1,000,000 Syrian and Lebanese pounds - the Syrian money issued in Egypt? So that your shock troop members may enjoy themselves, or was it to buy consciences. We will not stand in the face of your agents because our people have consciousness enough to safeguard them against the agents. We will exhibit these sums on Damascus television for the people to see and compare the statements and speeches of Abd an-Nasir with his deeds.

The Syrian Government's Statement of Policy

Damascus home service 21.30 GMT 29.9.61 ("recording")

Text of "the ministerial statement of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic", read by the Premier, Ma'mun al-Kuzbari:

In these historic circumstances, dear Syria once again declares to the Arabs and Arabism that it was and still is the fortified stronghold of Arabism and its pulsating heart; and it proves that it has been in the forefront of the fields of sacrifice and redemption and that it opened its heart often to every Arab liberatory movement and occupied the position of a leader in the Arab procession. It was not satisfied with attaining its independence but it supported its sisters, the Arab States, in their battles for self-determination and the attainment of their freedom.

In response to this noble Arab spirit, Arab Syria extended its hand to its sister Egypt to lay the first brick in the edifice of a noble Arab unity. In this step Syria made the greater sacrifice. It did not think of any material gains. It made little of everything - whatever the cost - and marched along the road of unity. However, it had only advanced few steps when it began to feel that those who undertook to lead the unity - who were entrusted with strengthening and consolidating it - had begun to move with it in an Eastern direction and to lead it along a course which separated the Arabs from their aspirations for a noble, true unity free from domination and hypocrisy. They also did not respond to the various appeals for well-being which demanded that the situation be rectified and the deviation straightened, and that full equity should prevail as regards dignity and the dealings between the two sisterly countries for their joint good.

The result was the liquidation of the sincere national elements, particularly the Army officers and the flower of the youth. The proud officers tried to draw the attention of those responsible for the Army to the Army's and the country's painful situation and to point out that the continuation of this situation would serve only the interests of imperialism and the enemies of Arab nationalism. When the cup was full and the people's sanctities, rights and freedoms were violated to an extent which made silence impossible, the Arab revolutionary movement in this country rose to express the aims of the people and to respond to the call of Arab nationalism in order to straighten the deviation which distorted the landmarks of unity and made of it a bad example for the true comprehensive Arab unity which is the Arabs' main hope and the Mecca of their struggle.

In carrying out its blessed revolutionary uprising, the Arab Army truly expressed the sufferings of the Arab people in Syria as represented by stabs at their dignity, wounds in the core of their Arabism, oppressive and dictatorial measures, and improvised laws which lead to the deterioration of the country's economic situation and of its currency. Confidence between the ruler and the ruled was lost. Arab capital evaporated. The free men and those working in the economic, social, political and military fields were dispersed.

ME/757/A/11

The unity was converted into opinion, fraternity into slavery, and joint economic interests into embezzlement.

Unity was established on the basis of clear principles and depended on a sincere constitution. Those in power violated the principles and the constitution. The dark wrath of the people has prompted the Revolutionary Command to carry out its uprising, to assert the meanings of true unity, and to safeguard the fate of the Arab nation and the great hope attached to its great unity.

In accordance with the plan of the Arab Revolutionary Military Command, it has pledged itself to confine its mission to the protection of the country's borders, the defence of its territory, and the organisation of its ranks to be a shield for the Arabs and Arabism. Therefore it has entrusted the administration for this period to a temporary transitional Government, springing from the people and working for the people, which has undertaken to carry out the trust and to steer the helm in the current circumstances, depending upon God and upon the people's vigilance and support and inspiring its plan of action from their pains and hopes.

The Government hopes to lead the country to stable constitutional conditions within a maximum period of four months. The Government is confident that the people have responded to the movement in the best, splendid manner, and that they are rallying round it so that it may carry out its mission in leading the country to a social democratic life sound in practice, not in words, which will result in the realisation of the true Arab unity which the Arabs in all their countries long for. In presenting its statement to the people - the source of authority - it makes the following declaration.

Internal policy: (1) Above all, the Government will attend to the restoration in word and deed of the general freedoms to the citizens. It will guarantee the freedom of press and opinion and all the individual and general freedoms of which the citizens have been deprived. The Government of the revolution announces the abolition of the emergency law, of all types of censorship, and of the various measures restricting the freedoms of individuals and groups granted to them in accordance with the principles of basic rights and human rights. The Government will take care to implement the principle of equal opportunity, the sovereignty of law before which all the citizens will be equal.

(2) The Government will take particular care to complete the strength of the army, and to raise its standard of training, in order that it should carry out its duty at full strength in protecting the borders of the homeland and in carrying out its anticipated role in the realisation of the aims of Arab nationalism.

(3) The Government is most desirous to see that the workers enjoy the rights they have gained and will endeavour to strengthen and increase these rights. It will also patronise and strengthen the trade unionist movement and protect union freedoms. The Government will secure benefits for the workers through pension laws and insurance and through their participation in profit schemes and production income. It will also guarantee a high level of salaries and services for workers and will protect them from oppressive measures and unjust dismissal from work. The Government will also see that workers are represented at all levels including the boards of directors of companies and institutions. In short, the Government will raise the workers' standard of living within the framework of freedom, dignity and economic security and on the basis of true socialism.

The Government believes that fraternity between the interests of the workers and the employers and the establishment of good human relations between them are a basis for realising full employment and for realising stable, improved production in quality and quantity.

The Government will also attend to the application of reform laws and agricultural relations in such a manner as to achieve prosperity and ease for the peasant and the agricultural worker and to guarantee the organisation of agricultural workers in free professional unions.

ME/757/A/12

(4) In the economic and financial fields; Government policy is based on guiding the national economy, promoting economic activity and thus realising prosperity for all groups of citizens. The Government will supervise all economic activities with a view to protecting and promoting them, and to preventing any mistakes, mishaps, and defects, and to directing these activities in the interest of the public.

The Government derives its economic policy from reality, history, and the geographical position and development potential of the country. Your Government's motto is: Encouraging savings, investment, industrialisation, legal profit making, and restoring matters to normality so as to instil confidence and reassurance in the citizens about the destiny of their economy, currency and production projects.

The Government will also invite foreign capital, especially Arab capital, in the service of the national economy. The field of commercial, industrial and agricultural activity will be opened to individual enterprise (Arabic: al-badahah al-fardiyyah). The Government will confine itself to implementing economic projects connected with public utilities and projects which individuals cannot or do not wish to implement and to the projects imposed by the requirements of national defence.

In the financial and currency field, your Government aims at guaranteeing a balance between public expenses and income, distributing public charges (Arabic: Takalif) on a just basis and according to the financial ability of those charged and in proportion to their income. The Government will defend the strength of the national currency, the stability of its values, and ensure free conversion to other currencies. The currency system will be [word indistinct] in such a manner as to protect the basic interests of the country without affecting the system's traditional and new activities. Naturally, the Government will safeguard Syria's reputation abroad by fulfilling its obligations towards those who trust Syria and its economy.

The Government adopts the programme of increasing national production. It will also embark on development programmes so as to achieve full employment, increase the citizens' income raise their standard of living, and ensure a good distribution of the national income among the various groups participating in production. The Government endeavours to create some kind of equilibrium between the homeland's requirements for quick development and the need to observe the country's capabilities for development so as to avoid inflation [some words indistinct].

(5) The Government endeavours to place qualified, honest persons in suitable places in administrative work and it will assure to the official, employee and worker in the public and private sectors their complete rights and dignity so that they may devote themselves to rendering their public service in the best manner.

As regards the Arab field, the Government extends the hand of co-operation to all the Arab States and will work with them in achieving a true and a comprehensive Arab unity based on freedom and equality. This is the unity for which Syria has for long worked and made sacrifices - and still does. The Government directs its attention to the restoration of the usurped right to our brethren the Arabs of brave Palestine. It will fully support the Arab struggle in Algeria and everywhere in the Arab world. The Government confirms its respect for the Arab League charter. It will endeavour to strengthen this charter and co-operate within its framework with the other member States.

As regards the international field, Syria, which has been an example to others in observing international agreements and adhering to the laws of the UN and its organisation and to various international pacts and agreements, will endeavour to improve its relations with all States which extend the hand of friendship without any privileges. The Government affirms that, just as in the domestic field, so in the international field we are the advocates of peace, prosperity, and true humanity.

The Government which presents its statement emanates from the core of the desires of the people with all its groups; and, while thanking its brave army - officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers - for their blessed national revolution, affirms that it will always be at war with imperialism, individual domination, (usurpation) and domination in all its forms. It will not discriminate between groups. It will match words with deeds.

(2)

CONFIDENTIAL  
OUTWARD-SAVING-TELEGRAM  
FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

By Bag

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL

No. 459 Saving  
 October 4, 1961

DISTRIBUTION

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Addressed to Cairo telegram No. 459 Saving of  
 October 4, 1961.

Repeated for information Saving to:

Damascus	No. 69	Amman	No. 153
Beirut	No. 366	Taiz	No. 52
Washington	No. 4899	Tripoli	No. 114
Ankara	No. 278	Rabat	No. 295
Baghdad	No. 248	Tunis	No. 238
Tehran	No. 205		

Syria

The U.A.R. Ambassador called on Sir R. Stevens on October 3, at his own request, and launched into a statement about Syria, presumably on instructions. This was a very serious matter; his Government were determined to maintain the United Arab Republic at all costs; recent events in Syria were a setback, but it would not last for long; it was a movement which ran against the tide of history; no Middle East government could put the clock back for long; he did not propose to go into details about how the events of September 28 would be reversed, but he wanted to leave us in no doubt that they would be - and that before too long. He went on to enquire as to the policy of Her Majesty's Government. He hoped that there was no suspicion of Her Majesty's Government taking part in, or aiding, or acknowledging this rebellion, which would all be one and the same thing. There were also certain suspicions in the mind of his Government which he would like to see clarified; there were certain governments in the Middle East which were believed to be our friends and allies which had been very quick to recognise the so-called Government in Syria; there were the reports that Dr. Kuzberi had been in England; there was a feeling in Cairo that some signs of rejoicing were visible in certain British

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/newspapers

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Foreign Office telegram No. 459 Saving to Cairo

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newspapers. The Ambassador would be glad to be reassured as to British intentions.

2. Sir R. Stevens replied that the Ambassador's Government could rest absolutely assured that Her Majesty's Government had nothing whatever to do with the Syrian coup. They had given it no support; they had not been aware of it in advance. From President Nasser's first statement it was obvious that he for his part recognised that the coup was a purely indigenous affair; it was only the Cairo press and radio which had subsequently started implying outside inspiration. To the best of our knowledge no other country had had anything to do with it. It had all the appearances of a purely domestic matter brought about by the application of the nationalisation law to Syria. Our reassurance on the question of taking part in or aiding the rebellion, as the Ambassador had put it, was therefore absolute and categorical. We could not, however, accept his statement that to acknowledge the existence of the rebellion would be equivalent to supporting it. As for the other suspicions, the Ambassador could rest assured that we had not inspired - and indeed had had no previous warning of - the decision by Jordan, Turkey and Iran to recognize the new Government. Indeed the fact that they had done so had caused us some surprise.

3. As regards Dr. Kuzbari, all we knew was that there had been press reports that he had left the United Kingdom on September 10 after a stay of indefinite duration. He had had no contact with official representatives. As for the British press, its restraint and moderation had seemed quite remarkable. So far from complaining he ought to be reporting that it had shown remarkable and commendable detachment. As for the reports that we had an agent in Damascus and that we had been the first to resume communications with Damascus after September 28, these were both quite false.

4. On the subject of recognition the Ambassador was told that we certainly did not intend to take precipitate action, that we had not as yet had any request from Damascus, and that if and when we did it would have to be most carefully weighed. In

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/considering

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Foreign Office telegram No. 459 Saving to Cairo

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considering this difficult problem we should not be swayed by political emotions; we should have to examine the position quite cold-bloodedly. One factor in this connexion which he must bear in mind was that the British Government had always taken a realistic and so to speak non-political attitude towards recognition. This had been our basic position for so long that if after a time the coup in Damascus appeared to have assumed all the attributes of government, and stability and security were maintained throughout the Syrian region, it might be very difficult for us, on the basis of long-accepted practice, to withhold recognition, at any rate de facto. He was being told this by way of warning as to what might happen in the future and not because we thought that the situation was imminent.

5. Finally the Ambassador was told that the thing to which we attached most importance in the Middle East was stability. For the last three and a half years this had been successfully achieved in Syria; what worried us about recent events was that a new element of instability had been introduced. The Ambassador had said that in the view of his Government the U.A.R. continued to exist and that the coup of September 28 would have to be reversed. We took note of these words with some concern. If he was referring to the possibility of the use of force, that was a position which we should view with great anxiety; it might lead to the most serious repercussions throughout the Middle East. There was the attitude, for instance, of Jordan and Iraq to be considered. We had heard several most favourable comments over the weekend on the great restraint of President Nasser's statements on September 29. We earnestly hoped that the problems created by this Syrian affair could be settled amicably between Arabs on a mutually satisfactory basis. This was our main concern, since if this did not happen most serious consequences might ensue for us all.

FPPPF

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VC.1016/158

BRITISH EMBASSY,  
CAIRO.

(1014/61)

September 29, 1961.

UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Department,

Cairo telegram No. 940 of September 29 summarised editorial comment in the Cairo press on the Syrian situation.

2. The news pages gave the following version of the events of September 28:-

5.00 a.m.

(i) An official message from the H.Q. of the First Army at Damascus reported that certain units from Qatana Camp had moved to Damascus, occupied the radio building and surrounded the H.Q. of the First Army.

(ii) The aeroplane which had left Cairo at 3 a.m. carrying Cairo newspapers for Damascus was turned back from Damascus when approaching to land.

(iii) Cairo Aerodrome was informed that Damascus Airport had been closed just as the morning aeroplane for Damascus, carrying among others Abdul Qadir Hatem, Minister of State for Information, was about to take off.

5.15 a.m.

President Nasser was informed of events. At 5.30 he was in his office at his home. The picture of the situation was then that six officers from Qatana (those later dismissed by President Nasser) at the head of one infantry and one armoured unit had moved on Damascus. Several communiqués were broadcast in the name of the "High Revolutionary Command of the Armed Forces". The fourth communiqué

/announced

North & East African Department,  
Foreign Office,  
LONDON, S.W.1.

announced that Syrian ports and aerodromes were closed until further notice.

Field-Marshal Amer and General Jamal Feisal, the Commander of the First Army were told of events early in the day and went to the H.Q. of the First Army where they were joined by Toema El-Awadatullah, Minister of Housing and Public Services. These succeeded in contacting President Nasser by wireless. The President decided that the coup was aimed at the national unity and that he should be first to inform the people.

At 8.00 a.m.

Cairo Radio was told that the President would broadcast, and at 8.45 a.m. he arrived to make his first speech to the country. In the meantime some of the Syrian officers approached the Ministers then in Damascus and ordered them to leave for Cairo by air. Akram Dirri, Minister of Economy, tried to parley with the mutineers but was shot in the foot immediately.

Meanwhile, Hakim Amer reported that the rebels had sent him a message demanding that he find a compromise solution, since they were about to lose control of the situation. The same happened with General Feisal. Hakim Amer reported that he rejected the offer; Feisal did likewise. The Syrian Ministers later left for Cairo. At the same time an attempt was apparently made to deport Abdul Hamid Sarraj to Cairo.

At 5.00 p.m. Hakim Amer and Feisal left Damascus by air for Cairo, where they arrived at 8.10 p.m. They were met at the Aerodrome by Kemaluddin Hussein and others, who accompanied them to a meeting with President Nasser. The President conferred throughout the night of September 28 with his staff.

3. The customary Friday article by Hassanein Heikal has been suspended in to-day's issue of Al Ahram. Instead a supplement has been published with photographs of President Nasser at the Cairo broadcasting station.

4. We are sending copies of this letter to Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus, PONEC (Cyprus) and Washington.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.  
*P.S.*

L'orient 30.9.61

# DERNIERE HEURE

## LE PROGRAMME DU CABINET KOUZBARI INSISTE SUR LES LIBERTES PUBLIQUES

**Le Chef du Gouvernement syrien promet un régime constitutionnel et une politique économique « fondée sur la vocation géographique de la Syrie »**

### La loi d'urgence et tous les contrôles sont abolis

Damas, 29 Sept. — A minuit et demi, la Radio de Damas a annoncé que le Président du Conseil, M. Kouzbari, a reçu les représentants de la presse syrienne et étrangère au Palais présidentiel de Mohajirine, et leur a lu sa déclaration ministérielle en les invitant à lui donner une large diffusion et à la transmettre aux gouvernements des pays qu'ils représentent.

La déclaration ministérielle du Cabinet Kouzbari commence par ces mots : « La Syrie recouvre sa qualité de forteresse de l'arabisme. »

Après avoir rappelé le rôle joué par la Syrie dans l'histoire de la renaissance arabe et du mouvement d'émancipation nationale, M. Kouzbari a souligné que son pays s'est toujours situé en tête du mouvement unionniste arabe pour lequel il a consenti de nombreux sacrifices. Enchaînant, le Président Kouzbari a fait le procès de l'expérience unionniste avec l'Egypte.

Passant aux buts du mouvement révolutionnaire déclenché par l'Armée, le Président syrien déclare qu'il vise à instituer, à la suite d'une courte période transitoire, un régime constitutionnel et un « socialisme authentique en fait et non en paroles. »

#### UN PROGRAMME EN 7 POINTS

M. Kouzbari définit ensuite son programme ministériel en 7 points :

##### 1) EN POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE :

« Avant tout », rétablissement et garantie des libertés publiques, de la liberté d'opinion, de la liberté de la presse, de « toutes les libertés », insiste plusieurs fois le Chef du Gouvernement transitoire.

• Abolition de la loi d'urgence et de tous les contrôles contraignants aux droits de l'homme.

##### 2) RENFORCEMENT DE L'ARMEE, de son équipement et de son niveau.

3) POLITIQUE SOCIALE : les droits acquis des salariés seront respectés, le mouvement syndical sera protégé, les libertés syndicales respectées. Le droit à la retraite, à l'assurance, à la participation aux bénéfices, à la di-

rection des entreprises est reconnu.

La solidarité du patronat et du salariat est affirmée de même qu'est soulignée l'importance des « rapports humains » entre les deux classes comme condition du développement harmonieux du travail.

Le programme ministériel fait une mention spéciale de la réorganisation de l'agriculture et des droits des ouvriers agricoles parmi lesquels le syndicalisme sera poussé.

##### 4) POLITIQUE ECONOMIQUE ET FINANCIERE : « dirigisme national » et protection de la production ; politique « s'inspirant d'une façon générale, des réalités, de l'histoire de la Syrie et de sa position géographique. »

Respect des droits et des libertés, rétablissement de la confiance, encouragement des capitaux étrangers et, en particulier, arabes ; encouragement à l'initiative privée dans tous les secteurs.

Equilibre du budget, justice fiscale ; normalisation du régime des changes et de la monnaie afin de faciliter les échanges, sauvegarder la réputation du pays sur les marchés extérieurs, relever le standard de vie, éviter l'inflation.

##### 5) ADMINISTRATION : place sera faite à la compétence et à l'honnêteté.

6) POLITIQUE ARABE : « Nous tendons la main à tous les pays arabes. Nous œuvurons avec eux à la réalisation de l'unité totale et complète sur la base de la liberté. »

La Syrie s'emploiera à rétablir les droits des Arabes en Palestine, ceux des Algériens en Algérie et aidera à la libération de tout territoire arabe encore occupé.

Respect du Pacte de la Ligue

et consolidation de cette organisation.

##### 7) SUR LE PLAN INTERNATIONAL : respect de tous les accords internationaux, de la charte de l'ONU ; amitié avec tous les pays qui offriront la leur, « sans alignement, ni parti pris. »

En terminant, le Président Kouzbari adresse ses remerciements à tous les officiers, sous-officiers et hommes de troupe pour leur « révolte béne ». « Le Gouvernement, termine-t-il, est pour tous, sans parti pris. »

## Biographies des nouveaux ministres syriens

• M. Léon Zamaria, ministre des Finances dans le nouveau cabinet syrien, est né en 1904 à Alep. Il a été Bâtonnier des avocats de cette ville et a déjà été ministre des finances en 1954 et 1955. Il s'était depuis consacré à son étude d'avocat.

• Me Adnan Kouatly, ministre de l'Intérieur, est né en 1918 à Damas. Il est docteur en droit et professeur à la faculté de droit de Damas. Il a été Bâtonnier des avocats de la capitale et est actuellement secrétaire de l'Union des avocats arabes.

• M. Amine Nazif, ministre de l'Agriculture et de la réforme agraire, est né en 1904 à Damas. Il est ingénieur agronome et a occupé pendant longtemps le poste de secrétaire général du ministère de l'Agriculture.

• M. Aouad Barakat, ministre de l'Economie et de l'Industrie, est né en 1913 à Damas. Docteur en droit, il a dirigé l'Office des Changes et est actuellement directeur des banques réunies.

• M. Izzet el-Noss, ministre de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement et de l'Orientation nationale, est né en 1914 à Damas. Il est docteur en lettres et occupe une chaire à la faculté des lettres de Damas.

• M. Daoud el-Adel, ministre des affaires sociales et du travail, est né en 1922 à

• Me Ahmed Sultan, ministre de la justice est né en 1904 à Hama. Licencié en droit, il s'est toujours consacré à son étude d'avocat.

• M. Osman Hourieh, ministre des travaux publics et des communications, est né en 1925 à Lattaquieh. Ingénieur du Génie civil, il a été président de la Municipalité de sa ville natale en 1955 et 1956.

• M. Naaman Azhari, ministre du plan, des affaires municipales et rurales, est docteur en droit. Il est actuellement directeur de la Banque de l'Orient Arabe.

• M. Farhan el-Jandall, est né en 1910 à Hama. Il est docteur en médecine. Il a détenu le portefeuille de l'économie en 1950 et a été élu à deux reprises député de Hama.



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No. 22.

(1011/61)

British Consulate-General,

DAMASCUS.

September 30, 1961

RECEIVED IN  
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4 OCT 1961

VCT 1016/161

VCT 1016/109

My Lord,

With reference to my telegram No. 83 of to-day's date, I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying French translation of the communiqué issued this morning by the administration formed by Dr. Ma'mun Kuzbari. The translation was furnished by the Department of Protocol.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Beirut, Amman and Baghdad.

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

*G. H. Clarke*

(G. H. Clarke)

The Right Honourable  
The Earl of Home,  
etc., etc., etc.,  
Foreign Office,  
London S.W.1.

La Déclaration Ministerielle  
du Gouvernement  
de la République Arabe Syrienne

Dans ces circonstances historiques, la Chère Syrie reprend sa voix pour assurer aux Arabes qu'elle a été et demeure toujours la forteresse immuable du nationalisme arabe et son cœur battant. Elle revient pour donner encore une preuve qu'elle a toujours été la première dans le domaine des sacrifices et de l'abnégation. Elle a toujours ouvert ses bras à tout mouvement arabe de libération, comme elle a occupé la première place, la place de tête dans le convoi arabe. Elle ne s'est pas contentée de reconquérir son indépendance, mais elle a soutenu les autres Etats arabes frères dans leur lutte pour l'auto-détermination et la conquête de leur liberté. Pour répondre à ce sentiment et à cet esprit arabe profond, la Syrie Arabe a tendu sa main à sa soeur l'Egypte pour instituer la première pierre dans l'édifice de l'unité arabe complète. Dans ce cas, la Syrie a agi dans le sens de l'abnégation et du sacrifice plutôt que par esprit de gain matériel. Elle a donc tout sacrifié pour suivre avec élan le chemin de l'unité. Mais elle a à peine fait quelques pas qu'elle a remarqué que ceux qui ont accaparé le commandement de l'unité qui leur a été confiée en vue de la consolider et de la faire progresser, se sont pris à l'orienter dans un sens individuel pour la conduire sur une voie éloignant entre les arabes et l'unité complète à laquelle ils aspirent et qui ne sera pas sujette à aucun accaparement ou despotisme.

Ces responsables ne sont abstenus de répondre aux multiples appels qui leur ont été adressés, leur demandant de rectifier cette situation anormale et de redresser la déviation et d'établir une égalité parfaite, en honneur et traitements entre les deux pays frères pour le bien - être commun et général. Comme conséquences à ces appels, les éléments nationaux intègres

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et dévoués ont été liquidés en Syrie, et spécialement parmi les officiers de l'armée et la fleur de sa jeunesse. Ces braves officiers ont tenté d'attirer l'attention de ces dirigeants sur l'état douloureux où furent réduits et l'armée et le pays en entier. Ils ont nettement déclaré que la continuation d'un tel état ne servirait que les intérêts de l'impérialisme et des ennemis du nationalisme arabe. Ce n'est donc qu'à la dernière goutte qui fait déborder le vase et lorsque le peuple fut privé de ses droits et de ses libertés essentielles à un point qui a rendu tout silence impossible, que le mouvement Révolutionnaire Arabe en Syrie a pris son élan pour exprimer les aspirations du peuple et répondre à l'appel du Nationalisme Arabe réclamant le redressement de la déviation qui a déformé l'unité la rendant un mauvais exemple de l'unité arabe complète et correcte, unité qui est et qui a toujours été le ferme espoir des arabes et l'objectif de leur lutte.

L'armée arabe, en accomplissant son soulèvement révolutionnaire béni, a été la juste expression de ce qu'a enduré le peuple arabe en Syrie, en atteintes à sa dignité et en blessures à l'essence même de ses sentiments arabes, sans parler des mesures arbitraires dictatoriales et des lois improvisées qui ont abouti à l'écroulement de la situation économique dans le pays et à la dévaluation de sa monnaie. Ces mesures ont fait disparaître la confiance entre Gouverneur et gouverné, ont fait fuir les capitaux arabes comme elles ont fait disperser les nationaux libres et les éléments actifs dans les domaines économiques, sociaux, politiques et militaires, et ainsi, l'unité fut transformée en appauvrissement, la fraternité en servitude et les intérêts économiques communs une sorte de chantage.

L'unité a été établie sur les bases de principes clairs et nets et en vertu d'une constitution précise, mais les Gouverneurs responsables ont dénié ces principes et cette Constitution. Ainsi, la rancœur du peuple entier a exhorté:

3.

le Commandement Révolutionnaire à réaliser son soulèvement pour confirmer le vrai sens de l'unité et pour sauvegarder le sort de la nation arabe ainsi que le grand espoir que nous basons sur notre grande unité.

En conformité donc avec son plan, le Commandement militaire Révolutionnaire Arabe a décidé de limiter sa mission à la sauvegarde des frontières du pays, de sa défense et de l'organisation des rangs en vue d'en faire un bouclier pour les arabes et le nationalisme arabe. A cette fin, il a confié l'administration, pendant cette période, à un Gouvernement transitoire temporaire qui est du peuple et au service du peuple, gouvernement qui a pris la résolution d'accroître cette mission et de diriger l'Etat, comptant après Dieu, sur la bonne compréhension du peuple et sur son appui, s'inspirant dans ses actes de ses douleurs et de ses espoirs.

Le Gouvernement espère donc amener le pays à une situation constitutionnelle stable dans un délai de quatre mois au maximum. Ce Gouvernement est d'autre part convaincu que le peuple s'est harmonisé avec le mouvement Révolutionnaire de la façon la plus admirable qu'un peuple peut le faire et qu'il se rallie à ce mouvement en vue d'accomplir sa mission pour ramener le pays à une vie démocratique socialiste saine, en actes et non en paroles, aboutissant à la réalisation de l'unité arabe saine à laquelle aspirent tous les arabes dans leurs différents pays.

Le Gouvernement, en faisant sa déclaration au peuple, source suprême de l'autorité et du pouvoir, assure ce qui suit -:

Dans la politique intérieure -:

1. Avant tout, le Gouvernement se consacre à rendre aux citoyens, en actes et non en paroles, les libertés générales et publiques et à garantir la liberté de Presse, la liberté d'opinion ainsi que toutes les autres libertés individuelles et publiques dont le citoyen était privé. Il déclare qu'il annonce immédiatement l'abolition de l'Etat de Siège, ainsi que de toutes les mesures qui limitent la liberté des individus et des associations conformément aux principes des Droits essentiels et des Droits

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de l'homme. Le Gouvernement veille sur la réalisation du principe de l'égalité d'opportunité, de la souveraineté de la Loi, et de l'égalité des citoyens devant la Loi d'une façon effective.

2. Le Gouvernement accordera les plus grand soins à la perfection de la force de l'armée, à l'amélioration du niveau de son entraînement en vue de lui permettre d'accomplir son devoir à la perfection dans la sauvegarde des frontières et l'exécution de son rôle espéré dans la réalisation des aspirations nationales arabes.

3. Le Gouvernement affirme son grand souci de faire jouir les ouvriers de leurs droits acquis comme il assure qu'il les soutiendra et leur accordera de nouveaux droits. Il protégera le mouvement syndical, le soutiendra et sauvegardera les libertés syndicales. Il veillera à faire bénéficier les ouvriers des lois sur la retraite et les assurances et à les faire participer aux parts des bénéfices et aux revenus de la production. Il leur garantira un juste niveau des salaires et des services et les protégera des mesures arbitraires et des licenciements. Il leur garantira de même leur représentation et leur participation dans les Conseil d'administration des Sociétés et des Institutions, et en conséquence, le relèvement de leur niveau de vie, dans un cadre de liberté, de dignité, de garantie économique et sur les bases d'un vrai socialisme. Le Gouvernement est convaincu que la fraternisation et l'harmonie entre les intérêts des ouvriers et des patrons, ainsi que l'institution de relations humanitaires entre eux, sont la base de la réalisation de l'emploi parfait pour arriver à la stabilisation de la production et son amélioration en quantité et en qualité.

Le Gouvernement s'intéressera de même à l'application des Lois de la Réforme et des Relations Agraires d'une façon qui assurera le bon développement de l'agriculture et le bien-être au paysan et à l'ouvrier agricole tout en assurant l'organisation des ouvriers agricoles dans des syndicats professionnels libres.



5.

•. Dans le Domaine Economique et Financier

La politique du Gouvernement est basée sur le dirigisme de l'Economie Nationale en vue de la pousser en avant et assurer le floressance à toutes les catégories des citoyens et ce en contrôlant les activités économiques pour les protéger et les soutenir, afin de leur éviter tout faux pas et les orienter dans le sens de l'intérêt public.

Le Gouvernement, dans sa politique économique s'inspirera de la réalité historique et géographique du pays ainsi que des possibilités de son développement. Le but donc de votre Gouvernement est d'encourager l'épargne, le placement, l'exploitation, le gain légal et de rendre aux affaires leur cours normal en vue de faire naître la confiance et la tranquillité dans l'esprit des citoyens sur le sort de leur économie et de leur monnaie ainsi que de leurs entreprises productives. Le Gouvernement vise à favoriser les capitaux étrangers et notamment les arabes dans le service de l'économie nationale et à laisser libre cours à l'initiative individuelle. ~~Il laissera le champ libre devant le travail commercial, industriel et agricole.~~ L'activité du Gouvernement dans ce domaine se limitera aux entreprises économiques relatives aux Services Publics ou aux entreprises dont les individus seraient incapables, ou qu'ils ne désirent pas ou enfin nécessitées par les besoins de la Défense Nationale.

Dans les deux domaines financier et monétaire, votre Gouvernement vise à assurer l'équilibre entre les dépenses et les recettes publiques et à répartir d'une façon équitable les contributions sur la base des possibilités des contribuables et dans une proportion de leurs revenus. Le Gouvernement s'emploiera aussi à défendre la force de la monnaie nationale et la stabilisation de ses prix. Il assurera la liberté de virement de la monnaie en d'autres monnaies et réglera le régime du change de façon à protéger les intérêts primordiaux du pays sans paralyser son activité traditionnelle et son nouvel élan.

6.

Naturellement, le Gouvernement veillera à sauvegarder la renommée syrienne à l'étranger dans l'exécution de ses obligations vis à vis de ceux qui ont eu confiance en elle et en sa monnaie.

Le Gouvernement adopte le plan de l'augmentation de la production nationale et les programmes constructifs pour réaliser le parfait emploi et pour assurer l'augmentation du revenu des citoyens et le relèvement de leur niveau de vie. Il assurera la bonne répartition du revenu national entre les différentes catégories qui participent à la production. Le Gouvernement s'efforcera à établir une sorte d'équilibre entre les besoins de la nation et du pays pour un développement rapide et les nécessités de prendre en considération la possibilité du pays pour ce développement pour éviter les conséquences néfastes d'un développement outré.

5. Le gouvernement s'emploiera à placer les capacités et les probités dans les places qu'elles méritent dans l'échelle du travail administratif sous réserve d'assurer au fonctionnaire, à l'employé ou à l'ouvrier, dans les deux secteurs Public et privé, leurs droits, leur dignité et leurs mérites de sorte qu'ils puissent se dévouer à la parfaite complition de leurs devoirs pour l'intérêt public.

Dans le domaine arabe:-

Le Gouvernement tendra une main, largement ouverte à tous les Etats Arabes et travaillera avec eux aux fins de réaliser une vraie unité arabe complète, sur les bases de la liberté et de l'égalité, cette unité pour laquelle la Syrie a toujours travaillé et pour laquelle elle a tout sacrifié et elle est prête à sacrifier. Le Gouvernement s'assigne comme mission de faire rendre leurs droits usurpés à nos frères les arabes de Palestine indomptable, et appui au maximum la lutte du peuple arabe en Algérie et dans tous les pays arabes.

Le Gouvernement confirme son respect pour la Charte de la Ligue des Etats Arabes et s'emploiera à la consolider et à coopérer, dans son cadre, avec les autres Etats Arabes Membres.

7.

Dans le Domaine International:-

La Syrie, qui a toujours été un exemple à imiter dans le respect et la sauvegarde des Traités Internationaux et de la Charte des Nations Unies et de leurs Organisations ainsi que de tous les traités et accords internationaux, s'emploiera à améliorer ses relations avec tous les Etats qui lui tendront une main amicale, sans alignement, assurant qu'elle sera, dans le domaine international comme dans le domaine intérieur, un messenger de paix, de bien-être et d'humanité radicale.

Le Gouvernement, qui publie sa déclaration issue du plus profond des aspirations du peuple en entier, tout en remerciant sa noble Armée, Officiers, sous-officiers et soldats, pour son soulèvement national béni, assure qu'il sera toujours l'ennemi de l'impérialisme sous toutes ses formes, de l'usurpation individuelle, de l'accaparement et du despotisme, et qu'il ne soutiendra pas et n'agira pas pour un groupe. Il joindra les actes aux paroles, "Dites travaillez car Dieu verra votre travail" (verset du Coran) car la mousse disparaîtra en vain tandis que ce qui sera utile aux hommes demeurera dans la terre.

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British Consulate-General,

DAMASCUS

September 30

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4 OCT 1961

VCC 1016/104

(19/61)

My Lord,

With reference to my telegram No. 84 of the 30th of September, regarding the composition of the new administration formed by Dr. Ma'mun Kuzbari, I have the honour to inform you that a reference to Dr. Kuzbari will be found under No. 71 in the 1956 Report on Syrian Personalities. Dr. Kuzbari, who was Minister of Education in 1955, has been serving recently as President of the Lawyers' Association in Damascus. A reference to Monsieur Leon Zemmaria, the new Minister of Finance, will be found under No. 121 of the same report, and, as you will see, Monsieur Zemmaria previously served as Minister of Finance in 1955.

2. Biographical notes on five others of the new Ministers, compiled from published sources, are enclosed herewith. The Ministers concerned are

/ Dr. Farhan al Jandali

Public Health

/ Dr. Adnan Quwatly

Interior

/ Dr. Izzet al Nuss

Education and National Guidance

/ Dr. Awad Barakat

Economy and Industry and

/ Me. Ahmad Sultan

Justice and Religious Endowments

3. Biographical details of the remaining four members of the administration are not immediately available, but will

/be

The Right Honourable  
The Earl of Home,  
etc., etc., etc.,  
Foreign Office,  
London S.W.1.

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be forwarded to you in due course.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Beirut, Amman and Baghdad.

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

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'G. H. Clarke'.

(G. H. Clarke)

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Dr. FARHAN EL-JANDALI.

Born Homs, 1910. Son of Sa'adala el-Jandali. Married, two children. Studied in the Homs Lycée, then at Berlin University, where he obtained the Doctorate in medicine with specialisation in ophthalmology. Elected Deputy for Homs in the Syrian Assembly in 1947 and was re-elected for the year 1949. Held the posts of Minister of Education and Health from June 1950 until March 27, 1951. Again returned as a Deputy for Homs in 1954.

Dr. Adnan el Quwatly

Born 1918 in Damascus, son of Taufiq Quwatly. Bachelor. Had his primary and secondary education in the Lycée, Damascus, and Higher Education in the Arab Law School and the Institute of Law in Paris and the Institute of Law in Geneva. Obtained the Doctorate of Law in political economy. Was appointed Professor at the College of Law. He was elected in 1956 a Deputy for Damascus.

Dr. Izzat el-Nuss

Born in 1912, son of Salih el-Nuss. Bachelor. Obtained Diploma in Literature from the Sorbonne University in Paris. Appointed teacher at the Damascus Lycée in 1931-32, Ministry of Education in 1933-36, Professor of Sociology at the Lycée at Homs until 1939, when he was appointed Professor at the Girls Lycée and another school in Damascus. In 1945 he was appointed Director General of Primary Education, and Inspector of Secondary Education, Rector of Educational Missions and Director of Private Education. In 1947 he was appointed Inspector General of Educational Missions in Europe and in 1949 he was appointed Director of Secondary Education and the Educational Committee until 1952, when he was appointed Professor of the Syrian University. Became Private Secretary in 1955 to the President of the Syrian Republic.

Dr. Awad Barakat

Born Damascus 1914, son of Naqulan Barakat, married with two children, studied primary and secondary education in the Orthodox Training School in Damascus and obtained baccalaureat. Higher education in the Arab Law School in Damascus and University of Paris and the Free School of Political Science in Paris. Obtained Doctorate of Law. He practised the profession of lawyer for two years and in 1938 visited Europe where he completed his studies. In the year 1945 he returned to Damascus and was appointed Head of the Department of Inspection and Distribution in the Ministry of Finance 1947. Became Director General of Financial Affairs in 1950, then Director of the Boycott Office in 1952. He was transferred to the post of Secretary of the Transport Council in 1953 and in March 1956 he was appointed Deputy Governor of the Central Bank. He has been Syrian representative at the International Monetary Fund. Member of the Council of the Damascus Chamber of Commerce.

Me. Ahmad Sultan

Born in Hama 1918, son of Mamud Sultan. Married with several children. Primary education in the Faroukiya School in Aleppo then completed his studies in Hama. Studied philosophy

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in the Lycée of Aleppo and in 1937 entered the Arab Law Institute at Damascus and obtained diploma of Law in 1939. He has practised as a lawyer since 1939, and has held various legal appointments in Hama, where he was appointed lawyer for the Budget Department in 1949. He belongs to the Nationalist Party.

British Consulate-General,  
DAMASCUS.

September 30, 1961.

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(1011/61)

N 24 ✓

British Consulate-General,

DAMASCUS.

October 1, 1961.

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 4 OCT 1961

My Lord,

With reference to my telegram No. 81 of the 30th of September, I have the honour to inform you that the Syrian revolt was organised by officers of units of the First Army stationed at Qatana, some fifteen miles south west of Damascus, and of the Desert Forces. Their names have not been issued in Syria, but they were mentioned in a speech by President Nasser as the following:-

Brigadier Abdulghani Dahman, (Commander at Qatana)

Brigadier Muwaffaq Assassa (Desert Forces)

Lt. Col. Abdulkarim Nahlawi

Lt. Col. Haidar Kuzbari (Desert Forces)

Lt. Col. Nassib Hindi

Lt. Col Hisham Abdul Rabbuh.

The revolt started at 4.30 a.m. on the morning of the 28th of September when the house of Field Marshal Abdulhakim Amer was surrounded by armoured vehicles, with tanks in support. The guard resisted and there was heavy firing. The roads in the neighbourhood were sealed off, and remained closed throughout the day. Damascus radio station must have been seized at about the same time, as it began from an early hour to broadcast a series of communiqués, frequently repeated, defining in the first place the objectives of the revolt and later on the progress which it was making. Damascus airport was closed and occupied by military units. Land frontiers remained open at the outset but were closed later in the day. Telephone and telegraphic communications beyond the frontiers of the Syrian Region were also cut early in the morning, and Damascus radio was thus the only source of

/ information

The Right Honourable  
 The Earl of Home,  
 etc., etc., etc.,  
 Foreign Office,  
 London S.W.1.

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information for the world outside of events in the town itself.

2. The broadcast communiqués were issued in the name of the Supreme Arab Revolutionary Command of the Armed Forces. The first communiqué announced that the armed forces had risen to eliminate corruption and tyranny and restore to the people their lawful rights. It emphasised that the movement had no connexion with any person or group, and said that every effort had been made to secure redress by other means, but without success. The second communiqué stated that the movement was directed against the tyrants and imperialists who had betrayed the trust of the Syrian people and perverted the cause of Arab unity to serve their own selfish aim of domination, fomented distrust and intrigue by bribery, deceived the workers with fair-sounding decrees, and banished from the armed forces the best of its youth and strength. Communiqué No. 3 called upon the people to do no harm to Egyptians or foreigners, or to governmental departments or foreign institutions. Soon after 10.30 a.m. Damascus radio claimed that the movement was successful, and crowds began to gather in the main streets, mostly composed of younger students, tearing down flags and other emblems of the United Arab Republic, and defacing wall posters of President Nasser. Shops remained open, but shopkeepers took the precaution of putting portraits of the President out of sight. Some processions were formed, but at 11.30 a.m. Damascus radio appealed to the populace not to make any demonstrations, and the town became more quiet. At this time military vehicles were not much in evidence. For the rest of the morning Damascus radio reported declarations of support for the revolution from outlying provinces and different units of the armed forces - one of the last being the military police.

3. Somewhat after 1 p.m. a change came over the situation with the issue of Communiqué No. 9, which implied that the plans of the revolutionary command had been halted. It announced that they had no intention of thwarting the course of Arab nationalism, and that they were in consultation with Marshal

/Abdulhakim



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Abdulahkim Amer who had shown a real understanding of their grievances and had proposed suitable measures to satisfy them in the interests of the unity and strength of the Armed Forces and of the United Arab Republic. Supporters of President Nasser began to replace the United Arab Republic flags, and Damascus radio began again to identify itself as "Damascus, United Arab Republic". This continued for several hours until Communiqué No. 10 announced that Marshal Abdulhakim Amer had failed to carry out his promises, that Communiqué No. 9 was cancelled, and that the revolutionary command would take all steps to protect the dignity and safety of the nation. Shortly afterwards it was announced that Marshal Amer had been allowed to leave for Cairo, and evidently Major-General Jamil Faisal, Commander of the First Army, who was earlier rumoured to have been assassinated, must have left with him, for he was reported to have appeared in public in the company of President Nasser in Cairo the following day.

4. A curfew was announced for 7 p.m. and tanks and armoured vehicles took up positions near the principal thoroughfares. The night was entirely quiet in the city while Damascus and Cairo radios fought a broadcast battle for the allegiance of Aleppo.

5. The first news on the morning of the 29th of September was of the landing and capture of 120 Egyptian paratroops in the region of Latakia, and by mid-morning it was announced that Dr. Ma'mun Kuzbari, President of the Lawyer's Federation and a former Minister and President of the Assembly, had accepted the task of forming a cabinet. This task was completed during the day. The Ministers, of whom there are eleven and of whom the names are being forwarded to you in a separate despatch, are all civilians, and are either professional men or former senior civil servants who have special technical qualifications for the duties to which they have been appointed, but apart from Dr. Kuzbari himself, only one has had previous ministerial

/ experience



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experience. The heads of consular offices were invited to attend at the former Vice-Presidential Palace at 9 p.m. that evening, where we were received by Dr. Kuzbari and eight of his colleagues. Dr. Kuzbari, as I have reported by telegram, said a few words of welcome and announced that a statement of Government policy was in preparation and would be communicated to us as soon as possible. He asked us to transmit this statement to our respective Governments, and expressed the hope that in the light of the statement, brotherly relations would be established between his Government and the Governments there represented. I trust that you will already have received a brief telegraphic summary of the statement, and the full text is being forwarded to you under separate despatch. The assembled consular officers took the opportunity to remind Dr. Kuzbari that they had no means of telegraphic communication with their Governments, nor facilities for the despatch of their confidential mail. Dr. Kuzbari said his cabinet would discuss the matter and we should be notified of their decision in due course. In fact, on the morning of the 30th of September, though the frontiers were still closed, we were informed that official vehicles would be permitted to cross the frontiers, and we also found that telephone and telegraphic facilities had been restored to us.

6. On the night of the 29th of September there was again a curfew, but only from 10 p.m. The night was again quiet. On the morning of the 30th of September there were more military vehicles and tanks in the centre of the city, and rather large crowds. There were some minor disturbances, reportedly among students, and particularly Palestinian students, but no serious incidents are known to have occurred. The night of the 30th of September again passed quietly, with a curfew from 10 p.m.

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7. Throughout the past three days, apart from the curfew, the business life of Damascus has continued normally, shops have remained open, and traffic has continued to circulate. The present position can, however, only have been secured by much activity on the part of the revolutionary command. Apart from the initial attack on the house of Marshal Amer, where there were an unknown number of casualties, there has, as far as I am aware, been no shooting in the streets of Damascus, but it can hardly be assumed that all military units declared their support for the revolutionary command without a struggle, or that all Government departments such as the police were taken over without the use of force. There is some evidence to the contrary. Moreover there is no real knowledge yet in Damascus of the situation in other parts of the country: in this case again reports have been heard of struggles and casualties, both in Aleppo and elsewhere.

8. Among other security precautions understood to have been taken by the revolutionary command has been the arrest of Colonel Abdulhamid Sarraj, who is said to have been taken into custody, with his family, on the afternoon of the 28th of September. Many Egyptian army officers are also reported to have been taken into custody, and on the evening of the 30th of September Damascus radio broadcast an instruction that all Egyptians, whether civil or military, who were in Government employment, should report to their local military commander.

9. Apart from the Egyptians, no foreigners here have, up to the present and as far as our limited knowledge goes, suffered any greater inconvenience than that occasioned by the closing of the frontiers, which interfered with the plans of visitors in transit, the curfew, and the general feeling of uneasiness and apprehension in the city. As I have already mentioned, one of the earliest communiqués of the revolutionary command called upon the populace to respect foreigners and foreign establishments, and there have been so far no anti-foreign demonstrations.

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(1011/5-)

British Consulate-General, ✓

DAMASCUS.

October 1, 1961

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4 OCT 1961

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch No. 23 of the 30th of September, regarding the composition of the new administration formed in Damascus by Dr. Ma'mun Kuzbari, I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying brief biographical notes about the four remaining members of the Cabinet, namely,

/ Amin Nazif, Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform,

/ Abdulrahman Hauriye, Minister of Public Works and  
Communications,/ Naaman al Azhari, Minister of Planning and Municipal  
and Rural Affairs, and

/ Fuad el Adil, Minister of Social Affairs and Labour.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Beirut, Amman and Baghdad.

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

(G. H. Clarke)

The Right Honourable,  
The Earl of Home,  
etc., etc., etc.,  
Foreign Office,  
London S.W.1.



Mr. Amin Nazif.

Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform - born in 1904, studied agriculture at the Salamiah Agricultural School and pursued his studies at the Montpellier High Agricultural School in France. His last appointment was Secretary-General of the Ministry of Agriculture. In collaboration with Emir Mustafa el-Shihabi (the late President of the Arab Academy) he translated Dr. Keen's report on "Agricultural Development in the Middle East". He has written a number of works on agriculture.

Engineer Abdul Rahman Hauriye

Minister of Public Works and Communications - born 1927, won the Engineering Degree from a Beirut institute and worked in Latakia where he was elected as President of the Engineers' Association. He became member of the Municipal Town Council in 1956 in addition to his membership of the Board of the Latakia Port.

Dr. Na'man el-Azhari

Minister of Planning and Municipal and Rural Affairs - born in 1928. He won the Degree of a Doctor of Law and Economics from Paris. He worked in a number of banks. His last appointment was Chairman of the Board and Director-General of the East Arabian Bank.

Mr. Fu'ad el-Adel

Minister of Social Affairs and Labour - born in 1922 and won his Law Degree from the Syrian University, Damascus. He won also a Degree in International Specialisation on Labour and Social Affairs from Paris. His last post was Director-General of Labour Department.

British Consulate-General,  
Damascus.

October 1, 1961.

Arabic Service - Topical Talks Unit

Saturday, 30.9.61.  
 HANISH 1812 GMT

- 1) SYRIA REVOLT - FURTHER REACTION
- 2) BIZERTA WITHDRAWAL AGREEMENT
- 3) BRITAIN AND GHANA  
 by Roy Debrates (a)

This week's revolt in Syria came as a complete surprise to people in Britain, despite periodic reports of Syrian discontent and the recent crisis in the relations between President Nasser and his Syrian colleague, Colonel Serraj. In general, there has been a marked reluctance in Britain to comment on the rights and wrongs of the quarrel between President Nasser and those in Syria who disagreed with him. On the one hand the newspapers here have reported Syrian grievances; on the other hand they have pointed out that it was a Syrian government which asked to be brought under President Nasser's rule, and that President Nasser was in some doubt at the time as to whether the moment had come for such a union.

Certainly, these latest events have caused some anxiety in Britain, and that was reflected in a Foreign Office statement saying that Britain must be worried by anything likely to endanger the stability of the Middle East. That anxiety is undoubtedly shared by many other states. Of course, people would agree that Syrians must have the government they want. And it is possible that the majority of Syrians genuinely wish to end the union with Egypt. But it is still a little early to judge whether such a big swing in Syrian opinion has in fact taken place and whether the rebel leaders do genuinely represent a majority of the Syrian people. That at least is the British view, and the British government is likely to require a good deal more evidence of the real state of affairs before even considering recognition of the new regime.

Much of the comment in the British press has been sympathetic to President Nasser, and has looked beyond the criticism of his policies to the damage which this revolt has done by breaking up the first concrete experiment in Arab unity. On the other hand, commentators here have felt that President Nasser's decision not to attempt a reconquest of Syria by force was a statesman-like step which, in the words of the GUARDIAN, "may yet bring its political reward". More than one newspaper here has recalled the political instability which Syria suffered from 1949 up to the time of the union with Egypt, and the papers have also recalled that it was fear of communism in Syria which led the Syrian Baathists to seek the union with Egypt. While nobody suspects that there is any immediate communist danger in Syria, the fact that the movement was considered dangerous only a few years ago is bound to be a worry at the back of many people's minds. Finally, press commentators are worried, as the British government may be worried, that this separatist movement in Syria may open up again the wounds of old Arab rivalries, with different Arab states competing as they have done on previous occasions for influence in Syria.

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One good piece of news this weekend is the agreement between France and Tunisia whereby French troops in Bizerta are now to withdraw to

their naval base outside the town. For some time the French government resisted a United Nations resolution that they should carry out this withdrawal, saying that they must have written guarantees from Tunisia not to interfere with the communications between the different parts of the French base. France now appears to have dropped this demand, and there is a much better atmosphere. Negotiations have still to take place about a final French withdrawal from the Bizerta base, but France has satisfied President Bourguiba that she accepts the principle of withdrawal, which he said would be enough for the time being. France has also agreed to negotiations about leaving the base once the present international dangers are past.

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The British Minister responsible for relations with the Commonwealth countries, Mr. Sandys, is flying to Ghana this weekend for talks with President Nkrumah. Two subjects in particular are expected to be discussed -- the eleven-day visit which the Queen is due to pay to Ghana in November, and a recent clouding of the previously good relations between Ghana and Britain.

Britain is anxious for assurances that the recent internal troubles in Ghana will not cast their shadow over the Queen's visit. There have been widespread strikes in Ghana over many weeks, and now President Nkrumah has dismissed six of his Ministers and issued an ominous statement that any attempt to overthrow his government by unlawful means will be punishable by death. What the British government wishes to know is whether there is serious unrest in Ghana and if so whether this is really the right time for a royal visit.

Normally, there are regular and close consultations between Commonwealth governments, but Ghana has not been maintaining these close contacts with Britain lately, and that is one reason for British anxiety about the Queen's visit. Another reason for anxiety is that President Nkrumah has recently made wounding remarks about other Commonwealth countries on his tour of communist countries. Also he has allowed his government newspaper to make monstrous charges against Britain over the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld. Then it is felt that he showed lack of courtesy over his dismissal of British officers in the Ghana army. Though it was known that the Casablanca powers wished him to take this step, it is felt that according to normal Commonwealth practice he should have given Britain some prior warning of his intentions. Reports in Ghana say that Mr. Nkrumah is also disturbed about the criticism of him in Britain, and welcomes the opportunity for these talks with Mr. Sandys.



Arabic Service - Topical Talks Unit

Friday, 29.9.61.  
HAWISH 1312 GMT

- 1) SYRIAN REVOLT - BRITISH REACTION
- 2) NEW TALKS WITH THE F.L.M.?
- 3) HAITMARSEJOEID FUNERAL  
by Roy Defrates (s)

The first reaction in the British press to the revolt in Syria has been that it reflects a very real sense of grievance — what one commentator called "wounded national pride". Despatches to the papers were cautious about the ultimate objectives of the rebels, whether they were really seeking to take Syria out of the United Arab Republic, or whether — as the truce talks with Field-Marshal Amer suggested — they were merely seeking modifications in Cairo's policy. But it was argued that Syrian disappointment with the working of the union with Egypt had been evident for a long time. This disappointment arose not only from the presence of so many Egyptians in the Syrian administration and army but also from economic policies which had been imposed on the Egyptian pattern without sufficient regard to the different circumstances in Syria. Thus, British commentators said, the land reform had not taken sufficient account of the fact that Syrian land was much less fertile than the irrigated land of Egypt. As a result, land reform had hindered production and further aggravated the damage already done by three successive droughts. Then came the drastic nationalisation measures of last July, striking a death blow to the merchanting businesses of Syria, and British commentators argued that these measures were all the more criticised because Syrians were already partly blaming President Nasser's policies for the decline in their economy.

There was no tendency in the British press to suggest that Syria would be better off outside the United Arab Republic. On the other hand, it was felt that the revolt would be extremely damaging to President Nasser, even if it failed. Even if President Nasser were able to restore order, one British newspaper said, it was unlikely that the big gulf which had opened up in the United Arab Republic could easily be healed. This press reaction, of course, came before reports of the President's latest speech.

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Rumours of an early resumption of Franco-Algerian talks have been circulating from the time President de Gaulle's press conference earlier this month which was well received in Algerian nationalist circles. Now, this week, the rumours have gained added strength from reports of a conversation that the French President has had with the leader of the French Socialist Party, Guy Mollet. According to these reports, which are accepted as accurate in Paris, President de Gaulle said that talks with the Algerians are likely to start again soon and that it should also be possible soon to set up a provisional Algerian executive to conduct a self-determination referendum. The chief Algerian objection

in the past to such a referendum has been that it would be supervised by the French army in Algeria. But at his press conference earlier this month, President de Gaulle spoke of setting up a separate force recruited locally to supervise the referendum, and he is now reported to have told Guy Mollet that he is thinking in terms of a force of fifty thousand men, who would be responsible to the proposed provisional Algerian executive.

One can only suppose from the French President's remarks that there has been some discussion with the Algerian nationalists about those proposed arrangements for a referendum, or alternatively that he is now inviting them to join such a discussion. One obvious question is whether the nationalists are to have a place in the national executive for Algeria and in the local force for supervising the referendum. At any rate, for the time being, President de Gaulle seems to be acting as though the Sahara problem which was the cause of the last talks breaking down, will not be insuperable. He said in his press conference earlier this month that France's only real concern in the Sahara is that her economic interests should be safeguarded, and this statement had a favourable reception from the nationalists.

Meanwhile, the French government is very much occupied at the moment with measures to combat the seditious activities of the European rebels in Algeria led by ex-General Salan. These European rebels planned a demonstration this week in Algiers and other cities, but it appears to have been only a partial success. Even so, the movement remains a serious threat to any progress towards an Algerian settlement, and it may be difficult to work out any form of co-operation with the Algerian nationalists unless they can see the European rebel movement as being dealt with firmly and successfully.

On the occasion of the funeral of Mr. Hammarskjöld in Sweden flags have been flying at half-mast in Britain as a mark of the profound respect felt by the British people for the late United Nations Secretary-General. The funeral has also been broadcast on British television. The British people join with others in mourning this remarkable man who gave new life to the United Nations through his achievements as Secretary-General and through the achievements of the devoted and impartial international civil servants he grouped around him.

Arabic Service  
Friday, 29.9.61.  
B/cast 12.00 GMT.

ARAB NEWSLETTER

by M. Bishuty (s).

**INTRODUCTION:** The topics of today's edition are Lebanese reactions to the Syrian situation, the Arab League Force in Kuwait, and a new housing scheme in Iraq.

As Syria's closest neighbour Lebanon takes an intense interest in what is going on in Damascus this week. By now the various political groups in Lebanon have expressed their opinions on the Syrian situation, and in the following message our Beirut contributor reports what they have said. He says:

When communique number nine was broadcast by Radio Damascus yesterday many people here thought that the revolt was over, and there were some small demonstrations of rejoicing, but the mood changed when subsequent communiqués revoked the announcement that Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer and the leaders of the revolution had come to an agreement.

Various statements were made by political groups in Lebanon. Mr. Pierre Gemayel, who is leader of the Kataeb party and a minister, said: "What interests us, as Lebanese nationalists, is internal unity in Lebanon. We are also interested in seeing our sister Syria in the best of conditions. When our neighbour is all right, we are all right too."

Another statement came from the Peoples' Resistance Organisation, the group which led the insurrection in Beirut three years ago. This organisation is Arab nationalist and favours the United Arab Republic. In its statement it described the movement in Syria as a plot from within, and said that all who plot and seek the destruction of the United Arab Republic must be struck down with an iron fist.

In Lebanon there are two factions of the Baath party. One supports President Abdul Nasser, and its leader is a former Jordanian minister, Abdullah Rimawi. The other opposes President Abdul Nasser, and is led by Michel Aflak, a Syrian who may be called the philosopher of the Baath movement. A statement issued by the Baath party circulated in Beirut today, but it did not indicate which of the two factions had prepared it. The statement denounced the Syrian mutiny and said that the gains of Arab nationalism should be protected. This suggests that the Rimawi faction issued the statement.

There was little in the way of editorial comment in the Lebanese press this morning, as the Lebanese authorities started censoring editorials last night. The news itself was not censored. As a result of the censorship BEIRUT MAUSSA appeared this morning with only the signature of the editorial writer, Mr. Mohammed Naccash, in the space where the editorial usually appears. The newspaper is owned by Mr. Abdullah Mashnuq, the Minister who imposed the censorship.

**LINK 1:** Today, for the first time, we are able to report from Kuwait on the activity of the Arab League troops, who are now in the process of taking over from the British forces. The BEC correspondent in Kuwait has sent us this report:

Since the Arab League Security Force began assembling in Kuwait, there has been almost no official information about its activities. Senior officers of the Force who have been living in the Kuwaiti government's comfortable guest-house have been impossible to contact due

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HAMISH

Thursday, 28. 51

On disarmament and related subjects he referred bitterly to the way in which the Russians had broken off the nuclear tests talks and proceeded immediately to carry out their sixteen nuclear tests in the atmosphere, covering the world with radioactive fall-out. But he expressed the hope that the new agreement reached by the United States and the Soviet Union about the principles which should govern a disarmament treaty might even now enable the nations of the world to take the first halting steps along the road to sanity. The essence of the disarmament problem, he pointed out, was international confidence. But the Soviet behaviour in Berlin was not contributing to such confidence. Lord Home made the point very strongly that if the four-power arrangements for Germany and Berlin were to be changed, this must be done by the agreement of all and not by the ultimatum of one. Britain would do everything she could to find a basis for negotiation, but she felt very strongly that in Germany and Berlin the principle of self-determination should apply - a principle which was accepted as valid for every other part of the world outside the Communist bloc. And in order to show Britain's own respect for the principle of self-determination, the British Government was ready to supply the United Nations with particulars of all the political and constitutional steps being taken in the territories still under British rule. This he described as a decision of the first importance in view of the fact that there is nothing in the Charter requiring a Member State to supply political or constitutional information. This gesture to the United Nations was linked with Lord Home's third theme, the need to preserve the United Nations itself - a United Nations possessing an international civil service responsible to a chief executive who is himself impartial. "I am certain," he said, "that that is what the people of the world desire and we must find a way to give it to them."

Arabic Service - Topical Talks Unit

Thursday, 28.9.61.  
HAMISH 1812 GMT

- 1) REVOLT IN SYRIA  
by Roy DeFrates (s)
- 2) HOME IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
by David Mitchell (c)

It is still not clear what has been the purpose of today's army revolt in Syria. If one is to judge by some of the rebel communiques broadcast over Damascus radio and by the grave words of President Nasser in a special broadcast in Cairo, this was an attempt to undo the unity between Syria and Egypt established by the formation of the United Arab Republic early in 1958. But by midday it looked as though the rebels had realised that they were lacking support from a large part of the Syrian army and hoped to come to terms with President Nasser's representative, Field-Marshal Amer. There was a report that Field-Marshal Amer had given himself up to the rebel leaders, and had said that the problem could not be solved by violence but required understanding. Then, later, we heard that Field-Marshal Amer had retracted the promises he was said to have made, and the revolt was declared to be on again. It seemed that the statement attributed originally to Field-Marshal Amer, if it had ever been made, was made under duress.

Foreign observers are bound to link this latest development in the U.A.R. with the recent U.A.R. government reorganisation which removed Mr. Abdul Hamid Serraj from his position of authority in Damascus to a post in the government at Cairo, and eventually led to his resignation. Whatever the reasons which led to the disagreement between the Syrian leader and the U.A.R. government, it was felt here that the result might be some form of trouble in Syria. One may note that President Nasser emphasised in his broadcast that this was a purely internal affair. Indeed, he said that the revolt was all the more dangerous for that reason. But, though he suggested that disunity would benefit outsiders he avoided making his customary attacks on those whom he regards as the enemies of Arab nationalists. The British view on these events in the U.A.R. can be summed up by saying that Britain benefits from stability in the Arab world and wishes to maintain relations of mutual benefit with all Arab governments. Britain has specifically declared her wish for good relations with the United Arab Republic and with Arab nationalism, and it is generally accepted in Britain that the decision taken by Syria in 1958 was an accurate reflection of the popular will.

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In the United Nations General Assembly debate President Kennedy spoke before the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, and the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, spoke after the Soviet delegate's uncompromising and depressing speech. This may explain why Lord Home was in some respects more forthright and more astringent than President Kennedy. The British spokesman really had three main themes — disarmament, self-determination and the preservation of the United Nations.

Arabic Service  
Thursday, 28.9.61.  
B/cast 12.00 GMT.

ARAB NEWSLETTER

by A. Saleh (s).

INTRODUCTION: In today's edition we hear from Beirut, Kuwait and Amman.

The situation in the Syrian region of the United Arab Republic overshadows all other Arab news today. By listening to Cairo and Damascus Radio broadcasts the world has been able to follow the rapidly changing situation almost minute by minute. Our Beirut contributor, whose messages regularly reach us within a few hours, reported this morning on the first Lebanese reactions to the news from Damascus. At that stage he could not, of course, take into account the dramatic mid-day developments indicating that the trouble had ended. This is what he said this morning:

Just as I was about to write my letter this morning Radio Damascus was heard announcing that a coup d'etat had been carried out by elements of the Syrian army. This and similar announcements from Damascus radio have been heard in many other parts of the world, and there is no need to repeat them. It is enough to say that the rebels called themselves the Arab Revolutionary Command of the Armed Forces.

The news of the attempt spread very quickly in Beirut this morning. People gathered in small groups at street corners and wherever they could listen to radios transmitting news from and about Damascus. It would be difficult at this stage to analyse reactions in Beirut. But it is probably fair to say that Lebanese admirers of the United Arab Republic and Arab nationalists generally received the news with deep consternation. Lebanese nationalists, on the other hand, had mixed feelings. They had been glad to hear of the resignation of Vice-President Abdel Hamid Serraj, and any satisfaction they may have felt about a set-back in the United Arab Republic was therefore tempered by a suspicion that Abdel Hamid Serraj might have some part in today's events.

Although Lebanese newspapers inevitably missed the story of the Syrian disturbance they did publish this morning what looks like an accurate account of the reasons for the resignation of Abdel Hamid Serraj. This account was published, with minor variations, in AL ANWAR and BEIRUT MASSA. They said that Serraj had expected to be the effective Minister of the Interior of the whole United Arab Republic when the government was reorganised recently, but he found that Mr. Abbas Radwan, another member of the unified government, assumed full control of the Ministry. The newspapers added that Serraj then, flew from Cairo to Damascus without permission, told his former military aides about his dispute with Abbas Radwan, and tried to incite them to mutiny. AL ANWAR went further and said: "Soon Marshal Amer noted that Abdel Hamid Serraj's contacts with these Syrian officers had created an abnormal situation in some of the most sensitive organs of the northern region."

LINK 1: Next we hear from the BBC correspondent in Kuwait who tells us about the arrangements now being made for the election of a constituent assembly, which will draw up Kuwait's first constitution. He says:

Despite the crisis over Iraq's annexation threat, Kuwait has gone steadily ahead with her plans for implementing her status as a sovereign, independent country. Linked with this development is the forthcoming fruition of a scheme said to have been long in the mind of the Amir of Kuwait to enable his people to participate directly in the

to pressure of work. However, I understand from staff officers with the Force that the troops who have been in barracks until the recent start of their deployment to desert positions are in good heart. The desert terrain is familiar to all of them and the worst of the Kuwait summer is over so that the Arab League soldiers will have an easier time than the British soldiers from whom they are taking over. Their health record has so far been very good. For instance, I am told that only six of the eight hundred and thirty Arabian troops have need to report for hospital treatment - and these were minor complaints.

So far there has been no organised entertainment for the Arab League Force though canteens are functioning at the barracks and trol-trac is a popular pastime. There is a plan, however, to arrange broadcast messages with the help of Radio Kuwait from soldiers to their families at home, and staff officers believe that if the force is to be in position for some time, arrangements will be made for troops to be brought back in turn periodically from the desert for a period of relaxation nearer town. The main concern, according to the staff officers, has been to weld the Force, which so far includes soldiers from Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the Sudan and the UAR, into a smoothly functioning unit, and a great deal of liaison work has been done in the first two weeks.

The soldiers, who are to receive a standard rate of pay from the Arab League while they are in Kuwait, are frequently seen wandering through the bazaars or spending an evening in one of the city's big air conditioned cinemas, while waiting to move upcountry. Meanwhile, the commander-in-chief of the Force, General Abdulla al-Issa of Saudi Arabia and his staff have been making their plans. I understand that the League Force will not necessarily be taking over the defensive positions occupied by the British and Kuwaiti troops but will have its own plan keyed to the number of men and the amount of material available to the force.

LINK 2: From military and political affairs we turn to a less exciting but important topic, the provision of new houses for the people of Iraq. Our Baghdad contributor has sent us this letter:

The Iraqi Council for Economic Planning has awarded contracts, this month, to a number of local construction firms to build five hundred modern housing units for which it has allocated well over two and a half million dinars. The Council is due, soon, to consider further constructions in the largest housing programme yet in Iraq.

The Iraqi government has embarked on thirty four housing projects for Baghdad and other parts of Iraq, for which eighteen million dinars have been allocated in the provisional economic plan. This involves building over ten thousand new housing units and the development of 7,500 pieces of land with all facilities as well as a number of schools and shopping markets.

The government gives preference in the distribution of houses to persons of limited income. It also encourages the establishment of cooperative building associations among various groups of the population and leasing them state owned land. There are now over one hundred and sixty of such associations.

Various government departments cooperate in the carrying out of housing programmes for their staffs and workers within their own budgets. Examples are the railways and the Basra Port Authority.

The Iraqi Real-Estate Bank contributes to a large extent in financing private housing schemes and will sell soon areas of land it owns around Baghdad for that purpose.

government of their country. Elections are to be held, as already reported, on December 2nd, for a Constituent Assembly of twenty members who will be responsible for drawing up a Kuwaiti Constitution. I discussed this far-reaching step which is attracting great interest and down the Gulf with Sayed Khaled al-Gharaballi, Secretary to the Combined Council of Kuwait which consists of an eleven-member Planning Committee and the Supreme Council of ten Sheikhs who are directors of Government Departments, presided over by the Ruler. Sayed Khaled told me that a sub-committee is already at work on arrangements for the preparation of electoral rolls. Registration of Kuwaiti citizens entitled to vote is to start shortly. For this purpose, the country has been divided into twenty zones each of which will return a member to the Assembly. I asked Sayed Khaled whether there were yet signs of political parties emerging in Kuwait. Sayed Khaled said there were none so far and added that it was not the aim of the government to found or to foster them. If political parties were to emerge in the course of time, he did not think any obstacle would be placed in their way. The question of political parties, he thought, would be considered by the Constituent Assembly in their deliberations and it would be up to the Assembly, if they thought fit, to include a relevant clause in the Constitution. The form which the Kuwaiti constitution is likely to take has not so far been much discussed and speculation at this stage would be pointless. However, the formation of the Constituent Assembly in itself will mean an important shift in the distribution of power, for at present both legislative and executive powers are vested in the Combined Council.

LINK 2: Finally we hear from our Amman contributor, who gives us an account of the latest excavations at Petra. The excavations have been carried out in collaboration with the Jordanian Antiquities Department by an American expedition under Dr. Philip Hammond. The contributor reports:

The American expedition worked for over two months at Petra, excavating on the site of the old Roman theatre. Dr. Hammond and his colleagues found the original floor, on which various pieces of monumental masonry fell when the theatre was destroyed, probably by earthquake some fifteen hundred years ago.

The most outstanding individual finds were a block of masonry bearing most of the Greek letters of the word Theatre, arched rooms below the stage, marble facings which were possibly imported from the Western world, and a full-sized marble statue of Hercules. This statue, identified by the traditional lion skin worn by Hercules, was found only a day or two before the excavations ended. The head and feet were missing, and the statue had fallen or been cast aside into a cavity beneath the stage.

For about six hundred years of our era Petra was deserted and forgotten, except by wandering Arabian tribes. An explorer from Europe rediscovered the site in 1812, and Petra has since become one of the great tourist attractions of this part of the world. Next year, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the rediscovery of Petra, a festival will be held there, and the old Roman theatre will be used again for the first time since the earthquake fifteen hundred years ago.



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Inter

The U.A.R. Ambassador called on me at his request on October 3.

2. Mr. El Kony at once launched into a statement about Syria, presumably on instructions. This was a very serious matter; his Government were determined to maintain the United Arab Republic at all costs; recent events in Syria were a setback, but it would not last for long; it was a movement which ran against the tide of history; no Middle East government could put the clock back for long; he did not propose to go into details about how the events of September 28 would be reversed, but he wanted to leave me in no doubt that they would be - and that before too long.

3. He went on to enquire as to the policy of H.M. Government. He hoped, he said, that there was no suspicion of H.M.G. taking part in, or aiding, or acknowledging this rebellion, which would all be one and the same thing. There were also certain suspicions in the mind of his Government which he would like to see clarified; there were certain governments in the Middle East which were believed to be our friends and allies which had been very quick to recognise the so-called Government in Syria; there were the reports that Dr. Kuzbari had been in England; there was a feeling in Cairo that some signs of rejoicing were visible in certain British newspapers. The Ambassador would be glad to be reassured as to British intentions.

4. In replying I dealt with the suspicions first. His Government could rest absolutely assured that H.M.G. had nothing whatever to do with the Syrian coup. They had given it no support, they had not been aware of it in advance. I thought, moreover, that from President Nasser's first statement it was obvious that he for his part recognised that the coup was a purely indigenous affair; it was only the Cairo press and radio which had subsequently started implying outside inspiration. To the best of our knowledge no other country had had anything to do with it. ~~They~~ It had all the appearances of a purely domestic matter brought about by the application of the nationalisation law to Syria. My reassurance on the question of taking part in or aiding the rebellion, as he put it, was therefore absolute and categorical. I could not, however, accept his statement that to acknowledge the existence of the rebellion would be equivalent to supporting it. I would come back to the question of recognition later. As for the other suspicions, I could assure the Ambassador that we had not inspired - and indeed had had no previous warning of - the decision by Jordan, Turkey and Iran to recognise the new Government. Speaking personally I said that I thought that these countries had acted prematurely, and the fact that they had done so had caused us some surprise.

5. As regards Dr. Kuzbari, I had seen an article in THE TIMES which stated that he had left the United Kingdom on September 10 after a stay of indefinite duration. That was all we knew. He had had no contact with official representatives; I had checked up this morning to find out whether he had by any chance been a guest of the British Council and had been told that this was not the case. Had the Ambassador any information about the reasons for his visit? He would have been much more likely to have been

/in touch

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in touch with the U.A.R. Embassy than with us. Mr. El Kony said he knew nothing.

6. As for the British press, I said that its restraint and moderation had seemed to me quite remarkable considering that as Mr. El Kony well knew there were still strong feelings under the surface in some quarters dating back to Suez. So far from complaining about the attitude of the British press I thought that he ought to be reporting that it had shown remarkable and commendable detachment. I particularly drew his attention to the leader in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of October 2, which he grudgingly admitted was not bad.

7. I also took the opportunity to tell the Ambassador that reports that we had an agent in Damascus and that we had been the first to resume communications with Damascus after September 28 were both quite false.

8. On the subject of recognition I told Mr. El Kony that we certainly did not intend to take precipitate action, that we had not as yet had any request from Damascus, and that if and when we did it would have to be most carefully weighed. I could assure him that in considering this difficult problem we should not be swayed by political emotions; we should have to examine the position quite cold-bloodedly. One factor in this connexion which he must bear in mind was that the British Government had always taken a realistic and so to speak non-political attitude towards recognition. This had been our basic position for so long that if after a time the coup in Damascus appeared to have assumed all the attributes of government, and stability and security were maintained throughout the Syrian region, it might be very difficult for us, on the basis of long-accepted practice, to withhold recognition, at any rate de facto. I added that I was saying this by way of warning as to what might happen in the future and not because I thought that the situation which I was describing was imminent. Mr. El Kony appeared to be taking a careful note of what I said at this point and will no doubt report it - I hope relatively accurately - to Cairo.

9. Finally I told Mr. El Kony that as he knew the thing that we attached most importance to in the Middle East was stability. For the last three and a half years this had been successfully achieved in Syria; what worried us about recent events was that a new element of instability had been introduced. He had said that in the view of his Government the U.A.R. continued to exist and that the coup of September 28 would have to be reversed. I took note of these words with some concern. If he was referring to the possibility of the use of force I knew that that was a position which we should view with great anxiety; it might lead to the most serious repercussions throughout the Middle East (he himself murmured: "It might all go up in flames"). There was the attitude, for instance, of Jordan and of Iraq to be considered. I added that I had heard several most favourable comments over the weekend on the great restraint of President Nasser's statements on September 29 (when he had claimed to have called off the parachute attack on Syria and had said that no Arab blood should be shed). We must earnestly and

/sincerely hope

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sincerely hope that the problems created by this Syrian affair could be settled amicably between Arabs on a mutually satisfactory basis. This was our main concern, since if this did not happen most serious consequences might ensue for us all.

*W.B. Stevens*

October 3, 1961

Sir F. Hoyer Millar

Copy to Lord Privy Seal  
Mr. Thomas  
Mr. Crawford  
N.E.A.D.  
Eastern Department  
H.M. Embassy, Cairo  
H.M. Embassy, Beirut  
H.M. Consulate-General, Damascus

*I had J. L. Stevens*

*spoke admirably.*

*yes. H. 5/10*

*H. 5/10*

*3. Co*

*Reporting action was taken yesterday.*

*NS. 5/10*

*(now see 155) 10/10*

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CONFIDENTIALFROM TUNIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

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WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

VG1016/173

Mr. Lambert

No. 646  
October 2, 1961D. 12.12 p.m. October 2, 1961  
R. 2.10 p.m. October 2, 1961PRIORITY  
CONFIDENTIALAddressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 646 of  
October 2.Repeated for information Saving to:- Amman Caire  
Ankara Beirut Baghdad Washington  
and U.K. Del. N.A.T.O.

Your telegram No. 1047 to Amman: Syria.

When I saw the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on September 30 (before I had seen your telegram) he remarked that he observed that you had not yet taken a position on the Syrian situation.

2. I replied that while our main concern was not to disturb the stability of the Middle East we would no doubt apply the customary criteria in regard to recognition when the situation became clearer. The Secretary General assented and said that the Tunisian Government would certainly do nothing until the Syrians themselves had declared their position.

3. Bourguiba has sent two messages to Nasser, the first a general expression of warm sympathy and the second (sent on September 30) expressing admiration for Nasser's wisdom in desisting from armed action against Syria "since Arab unity must be founded on popular consent and conviction that it is in the general interest of the Arab peoples".

4. In fact Bourguiba is in a rather awkward position. On principle he has always publicly sympathized with States asserting their independence (e.g. Mauritania) but having just made up his quarrel with Nasser he would not risk the latter breaking off

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Tunis telegram No. 646 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

relations again so soon.

5. The Tunisian Government will probably, therefore, follow other Arab States. Since they may also be influenced by what Her Majesty's Government decide to do it might be helpful if I could be given advance notice if you decide to recognize Syria, so that I may inform Tunisians in confidence just before announcement in London.

6. Foreign Office please pass telegraphically if required.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Amman, Cairo, Ankara, Beirut, Baghdad, Washington and U.K. Del. N.A.T.O. as my telegrams Nos. 7, 33, 1, 9, 2, 172, 102.

[Repeated Saving to Posts as requested]

ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIALFROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND V G 1016/179  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Her Majesty's Consul General

No. 90  
 October 2, 1961

D: 7.45 p.m. October 2, 1961  
 R: 11.40 p.m. October 2, 1961

PRIORITY  
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 90 of October 2  
 Repeated for information to: Cairo  
 Washington

Your telegram No. 112. V G 1016/59.

The Syrian Government have formally requested recognition in the Circular Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs transmitting the list of members of the Cabinet.

2. I have discussed the local situation with my American, Pakistan and Danish colleagues. The first two are satisfied that the criteria for recognition as described in paragraph 2 of your telegram under reference are adequately met, and my United States colleague stated that he would personally like to see his Government grant recognition within a few days. My Danish colleague agreed generally but with certain reservations.
3. As regards the prospects of permanence, it is agreed that the Government is weak in that it contains no well known political figures nor have any political parties yet publicly announced their support. However, the Government claim only to be a provisional administration pending restoration of stable conditions: it is in control of the frontiers, and life is proceeding normally in Damascus. There is no sign of any rival authority, and [grp. undec] arrests.
4. There is some doubt about conditions in Aleppo which appears less settled than in Damascus. Palestinians there are restless, there are rumours of Communist activities, and a part of the business area is closed. However, the Americans who are represented there have reports that the town is calm so it can be

/assumed

CONFIDENTIAL

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Damascus telegram No. 90 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

ssumed that the Government is in effective control there.

5. There have been reports of disturbances with casualties from various areas and apart from the Palestinians there must inevitably be groups of Nasser's supporters, especially among members of the former National Union, but there is no evidence of any widespread reluctance on the part of the population to accept the new administration. My opinion is, therefore, that the new Government satisfies the criteria for recognition.

Foreign Office pass priority to Cairo and Washington as my telegrams Nos. 37 and 1.

[Repeated as requested]

GGGGG

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FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Her Majesty's Consul General

No. 92  
October 3, 1961

D. 11.05 a.m. October 3, 1961  
R. 4.25 p.m. October 3, 1961

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 92 of October 3, 1961

Repeated for information to:-

- Cairo
- Baghdad
- Beirut
- Amman

4 OCT 1961  
VGT 1010/180

Leaders of former principal political parties held meeting on October 2 and agreed as follows.

- (1) Support and gratitude for revolution of armed forces.
- (2) Nasser's régime of oppression in Syria and Egypt had deprived union of its meaning.
- (3) Suppression of political life drove Syrian army to revolt in response to wish of people for democratic and constitutional freedoms.
- (4) Necessity to hasten arrangements for free elections.
- (5) Syrian people stretches out its hand to sister people of Egypt to free itself from shackles of dictatorship which caused separation of Syria and Egypt and calls on Arab people everywhere to understand their motives in seeking democratic constitutional régime aiming at final Arab unity.

Manifesto is signed by sixteen prominent politicians representing National Baath and Peoples Parties and Independents.

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