

CONFIDENTIALFROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

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5 OCT 1961

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Sir H. Beeley

No. 980

October 5, 1961

D: 10.50 a.m. October 5, 1961

R: 11.01 a.m. October 5, 1961

IMMEDIATECONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 980 of October 5.
Repeated for information to: UKDEL NATO

Today's "Ahram" alleges that Admiral Sir Eric Holland-Martin, C-in-C of the NATO naval forces in the Mediterranean, gave a Press conference on board his flagship yesterday and welcomed the establishment of a separate government in Damascus. This is held to demonstrate the role which imperialism played in the Syrian coup.

2. Grateful your urgent information.

Foreign Office please pass UKDEL NATO Priority as my telegram No. 4.

[Repeated as requested.]

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Sir F. Hoyer Millar
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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

Cypher/OTP & By Bag

DEPARTMENTAL
DISTRIBUTION

No.1501

October 6, 1961

D: 8.39 p.m. October 6, 1961

PRIORITYCONFIDENTIALAddressed to Cairo telegram No.1501 of October 6

Repeated for information Saving to : Beirut [for R.I.O.] No.369

UKDel N.A.T.O.

No.4081

Your telegram No.980 [of October 5: C-in-C's Press Conference].

The C-in-C held a press conference on board H.M.S. Surprise on October 4 at Piraeus. The following is an extract from his reply to the question "Could you express an opinion on the situation in Syria?"

"Remember that I am a simple sailor and not a politician but as a sailor one recognizes that the Middle East is always unstable and liable to sudden changes. I have not seen enough of the newspapers to say whether the change is permanent or not. But obviously it must have disturbed President Nasser and to some extent he must have lost face in his own country and in the Arab world. But I think it is too soon to say anything yet. We watch the Middle East with interest and are sometimes taken by surprise."

2. The C-in-C said nothing that could be construed as welcoming the establishment of a separate Syrian Government or suggesting that Nasser's loss of prestige was welcomed in the United Kingdom or by the C-in-C personally.

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CONFIDENTIALFROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION ✓

Her Majesty's Consul General

No. 99

October 4, 1961

D. 7.05 p.m. October 4, 1961

R. 2.27 a.m. October 5, 1961

5 OCT 1961

IMMEDIATECONFIDENTIAL

VGT 1016/86

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 99 of October 4.

Repeated for information to Cairo

Beirut

Baghdad

Amman

Tel Aviv

Your telegram No. 132 ✓ VGT 1016/86

Situation is completely quiet and no disturbances are reported from elsewhere.

2. I regret no fresh information available about the military situation. Damascus Radio on September 28 broadcast declarations of support as they were received from all provincial commands. Leaders of the revolt have taken no offices for themselves nor even yet publicly announced their identity, and there is no reason to suppose that the Army is not united behind them.

3. My American colleague has seen the Prime Minister at the latter's request. My Danish colleague also was invited to see the Prime Minister on [grp. undec.] and was informed that the Syrian Government much hoped for very early recognition from small countries. The Prime Minister stated he had received message of support from all sections of the population such as no previous Prime Minister had received.

4. Latter statement may well be true, as Press which is fully supporting the new Administration, has published many such messages. Religious leaders are using influence in its favour and declaration of support has now come from leaders of Palestine refugees in view of the Prime Minister's assurances on the Palestine question.

5. I hope member of my staff will be able to visit

/Northern

CONFIDENTIAL

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Damascus telegram No. 99 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

Northern Syria in the next day or two.

Foreign Office pass Immediate Cairo, Beirut, Baghdad, Amman, Tel Aviv as my telegrams Nos. 43, 16, 15, 11 and 8.

[Repeated as requested]

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary

Sir F. Hoyer Millar

Sir R. Stevens

Mr. Crawford

Head of Eastern Department

Head of N.E.A.D.

Head of News Department

F F F F

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO DAMASCUS

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

No. 112

September 30, 1961

D. 4.50 p.m. September 30, 1961

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Damascus telegram No. 112 of September 30.
Repeated for information to Cairo [Immediate] Washington

Recognition of new Syrian Government.

2. You will now have seen my telegram No. 1047 [of September 29] to Amman, which has been repeated to you. For the reasons set out in it we are not going to rush matters. But you will see from Circular Despatch No. 059 of June 12, 1950 that Governments are in Her Majesty's Government's view (to put it in very general language) entitled to recognition when they can be held to enjoy, with a reasonable prospect of permanency, the obedience of the mass of the population and the effective control of the greater part of the territory.

3. You will no doubt be considering what recommendations you should make if you are approached by the Syrian revolutionary Government. In doing so you should be guided by the circular referred to above, and by other standing instructions, you should however bear in mind that the fact that this appears to be a secession of a part of the territory of a recognised state and not a change of government in a recognised state and that this is likely to present us with particularly difficult problems. You should consult those of your colleagues most closely connected with the United Kingdom by treaty or common political interests; you should report by telegram whether the criteria of Her Majesty's Government for the recognition of the new régime have been satisfied; and the views of the colleagues you have consulted; and you should transmit the contents of any Note which you may receive giving the names of the principal members of the new government. You should not repeat not acknowledge any such communication since this might be taken as according recognition. And generally you should not take any action which might be taken as implying recognition without seeking further instructions.

/ 4. There

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Foreign Office telegram No. 112 to Damascus

- 2 -

4. There is a point which you will wish to bear in mind regarding the difference between recognition 'de facto' or 'de jure'. Generally we could consider recognizing Syria 'de facto' and not 'de jure' if it was not yet clear that the new government had a reasonable prospect of permanency; but even recognition of Syria 'de facto' would imply recognition of Syria's secession from the United Arab Republic.

5. Please telegraph any public indication of the attitude of the revolutionary government on the legal status of the government and its relationship to the U...R.

6. The above are our preliminary views without the benefit of considered legal advice. We hope to let you have our considered views on October 2 or 3. Meanwhile please telegraph immediately if you require further guidance.

CCC

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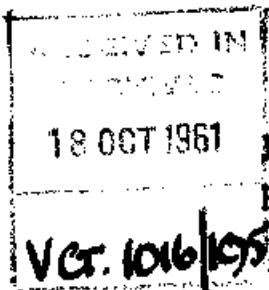
CONFIDENTIALFROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

Sir H. Bealey

No. 1021

October 17, 1961.


FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

D: 1.02 p.m. October 17, 1961.

R: 2.50 p.m. October 17, 1961.

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1021 of
October 17

Repeated for information to Beirut, Amman, Baghdad
And Saving to Damascus and Washington

President Nasser broadcast a long statement last night. Its main themes were a defence of his record in Egypt and a call to renewed efforts to further the social revolution. There was nothing in it to fire revolutionary spirits however: most of it was exceptionally dull.

2. Nasser disappointed the general expectation that he would announce some striking decision. His speech seemed designed to concentrate attention on the domestic scene and to prepare the ground for a thorough reorganization of the Administration and the National Union. He was also at pains to assure his audience that, although the momentum of the revolution must be maintained and even increased, no further measures of nationalization were contemplated. Full summary follows by bag.

Foreign Office please pass Baghdad as my telegram No. 89.

[Repeated as requested]

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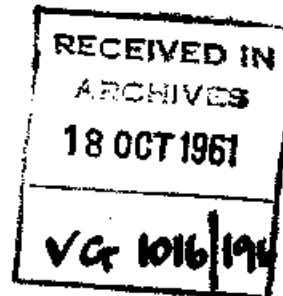
CB

UNCLASSIFIEDOUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAMFROM BRITISH EMBASSY CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

FOWH

By Bag

From Sir Harold Beeley

No. 109 Saving
October 17UNCLASSIFIED

Rec'd 18/10

Addressed to Foreign Office Saving Telegram No. 109 of October 17 repeated for information Saving to:

Amman 46
Baghdad 39
Beirut 87
Tripoli 16
Washington 110
Damascus 109
Benghazi 21
Rabat 25
Tunis 17
Khartoum 22
Tel Aviv 17

Vc 1016/195

My telegram No. 1021 (not to all): President Nasser's broadcast speech of October 16.

President Nasser said that the nation was now at a decisive point in its history: it had to choose between inaction which would mean humiliation, despair, and the loss of all its achievements, and continuing its revolutionary movement with greater force.

2. After a careful study of the feeling of the nation, he had made his choice - an all-out drive towards revolutionary action in an honest endeavour to meet the needs of the people. This would be no light task. But the people's present responsibility was to rebuild and liberate the nation.

/3.

- 2 -

3. The revolution of 1952 had had two objectives - to win political liberty and to restore social freedom for the people. Much had been achieved towards the first objective in a series of struggles against imperialism and its stooges, culminating in the victory of the Arab peoples at Suez. The only thing which the national forces could do after that was to embark on the second battle, the struggle for social liberty. Victory in that struggle was the only way of consolidating the victories achieved in the political battle. This entailed, first an increase in efficiency and productive capacity, and secondly the establishment of justice. Notable results had been obtained in the field of production: they indicated the nation's ability to work and endure in the face of the obstacles raised by reaction and imperialism.

4. President Nasser reviewed at length and in detail the material progress made by the U.A.R. since 1952, as evinced by the figures of the increases in all sectors of the economy, particularly the national revenue (nearly doubled since the revolution), budget expenditure, production in agriculture industry and power, and planned investment in all fields, not least in the Aswan Dam. It had become necessary to accelerate the pace along the road to development. He had already commissioned a study for doubling the national income in less than ten years. In this task the public sector, strengthened by the recent nationalisation laws, was capable of opening the way for comprehensive economic development.

5. Justice - meaning an equitable distribution of the national income - could only be achieved by socialism, i.e. the partnership of all citizens in the national income in proportion to the efforts of each. Justice, which was the law of God, forbade exploitation by a minority, and did not permit that wealth and poverty, dignity and degradation, should be received simply by inheritance.

6. President Nasser then drew a parallel between the political battle against imperialism and the battle for social freedom against the exploiting and reactionary classes, who were the natural allies of imperialism in the political field. Just as the nationalisation of the Suez Canal represented the decisive blow to the imperialists, so the socialist decrees of July 1961 (the details of which he recalled at this point) represented the decisive measures to endow the working classes with their rights. And just as imperialism had struck back after the nationalisation of the Canal, so the reactionaries had struck back on September 28, 1961, to recover the property they had usurped from the masses. They would however be defeated and

/obliged

- 3 -

obliged to withdraw from their bridgehead in Damascus as the imperialists had been forced out of Port Said. He did not say this because he wanted to restore Syria to the G.A.R. - this was not his right but that of the Syrian and Egyptian peoples - but to draw a lesson for all Arabs.

7. The mistakes which had enabled the reactionary movement to secure its bridgehead in Damascus must be faced with courage and honesty. They were:-

- (a) It had been a dangerous illusion to imagine that peace could be made with reactionary elements, since reaction was always ready to ally itself with imperialism to recover its power of exploitation. They had fought imperialism in the guise of pacts and bases; but it had shifted its position and must now be fought in the palaces of millionaires.
- (b) The deficiency in the organisation of the National Union had enabled reactionary forces to infiltrate it and paralyse its effectiveness. The most important task was so to reorganise the National Union that it became a true revolutionary instrument.
- (c) Inadequate efforts had been made to arouse the people's awareness of their rights and abilities. To those who said that this generation of the Arab nation had undertaken the responsibilities of several generations, he replied that there was no other way but to continue with the revolution to the final accomplishment of its objectives. Every village, every society, every individual must become "a live and fertile revolutionary cell".
- (d) The machinery of government was unsuited for the task of leading a revolution. It must be radically reorganised, so that it should cease to be rigid and isolated, and become an instrument of revolutionary action at the disposal of the people.
- (e) The nature of the society inherited by the Revolution had allowed the infiltration of opportunist elements among the people. There must now be re-evaluation of the morals and ideals of this society.

- 4 -

8. The great need was for socialist action to give full effect to the laws already passed. There was no need for more socialist laws. He was in favour of private property but not of exploitation; and ownership within the limits of the present laws was not exploitation. He was not against inheritance but this should be inheritance of sufficiency, health, work and learning and not of want, sickness, unemployment and ignorance. He wanted to see a society in which class distinctions were dissolved through equality of opportunity for all, and advancement by merit. He did not want a society which merely uttered revolutionary slogans, but one capable of revolutionary action for the sake of political and social liberty. He would always devote his life for the Arab revolution as he had done up to now.

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1967

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North and East African Department

V G. 1016/197

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

FROM Chancery Cairo
to HEAD.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1014/61.

Dated October 17.

Received October 19.

SUBJECT:

Attitude of the Egyptian Army.

Field Marshal AMER is unpopular for his handling of Syrian situation: delivery of anonymous letter listing N.C.O.'s grievances - indication of discontentment.

References

CY. 103116/1.

MINUTES

Para. 2: under a cloud or not, Amer retained his position in the U.A.R. govt. reorganisation announced on Oct. 18.

Paras. 3-7. The Embassy are obviously unable to say whether this anonymous letter represents any movement of significance, although it is noteworthy that no other foreign mission is known to have been sent a copy. Anonymous letters, however, are seldom the harbingers of revolutions.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

MA
11.12.61.

(Main Indexed)

MA
257-62

J. A. HAMILTON
20/10

F.O. 371/158792-8.25760
The Amb's despatch, which is entered E, discounted the
Mr. Day 1/11/61

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likelihood of serious Army opposition
to ناصر.

PAR Baker.
22/10.

I don't much like the fact that
the cyclostyled letter was sent to us but
not to the Americans - or apparently to
other missions. It may well be a plant
designed to test the extent of our
intelligence activities, which the Egyptians
certainly suspect us of undertaking.

Alternatively it may be have
originated outside Egypt altogether. ^{NOT}

Hardly
likely
H.

NS.
8/12

NS.
23/10

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of enclosures.....



BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

October 17, 1961.

(1014/61)

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Department,

Paragraph 16 of the Ambassador's despatch No.91 of October 10 discussed the Egyptian Army's attitude to President Nasser following the separation of Syria.

2. The general awareness of the Army's significance in the internal situation in Egypt has led to innumerable rumours in Cairo. It is impossible to assess the reliability of these stories; but there is fairly general agreement that Field Marshal Amer is under a cloud for his handling of the Syrian situation. Any Egyptians who might have been tempted to talk freely about present feeling in the armed forces will have been discouraged, to say the least, by the execution today of three men convicted of passing information to a foreign Embassy.

3. We have however recently received the first specific indication of discontent in the Army, in the shape of an anonymous cyclostyled letter in Arabic which retails a number of grievances from which the N.C.O.s of the armed forces claim to be suffering.

4. The letter which came through the post, begins by asserting that the material, social and moral conditions of N.C.O.s are deteriorating. They are beginning to feel bitterness and despair against the country and the system of Government, and they list twenty reasons for this. These include a large number of complaints about poor rates of pay, the stoppage of increments despite the high cost of living, deductions, wages less than messengers or cleaners, unsatisfactory pensions, poor uniforms, and the difficulty of bringing up children properly.

5. As well as these specific grievances there are general complaints about discrimination between officers and N.C.O.s, claims that the latter are a "forgotten class" in legislation, and that legislators look only for trouble and not for justice and equality. The letter adds that the N.C.O.s are living at the mercy of the officers' dictatorship, which represents an "imperialism" of its own. But it is the N.C.O.s who form the backbone of the Army in battle. There is also the insinuation that N.C.O.s are allowed only short visits to their families so that the officers can visit their wives in their absence.

/6.

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

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6. The document stated at one point that N.C.O.s prefer to be prisoners rather than soldiers owing to the activities of the military police. Its authors claim that they are neither communists nor foreigners nor members of parties, but speak according to the dictates of their conscience. They ask whether the present situation represents socialism or democracy, and hint darkly that if a solution is not found to these problems, grave consequences may ensue.
7. As far as we know, no other foreign Mission has received a copy of this letter. Certainly the U.S. and Canadian Embassies have not.
8. We are sending copies of this letter to Beirut, POMECH (Aden) and the U.K. High Commissioner, Nicosia.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.
H.T.A.

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CONFIDENTIALFROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE ✓

Cyber/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir H. Beeley

No. 1030

D. 8.10 p.m. October 19, 1961

October 19, 1961

R. 8.26 p.m. October 19, 1961

CONFIDENTIALAddressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1530 of October 19.

Repeated for information to Beirut

and Saving to Amman

Baghdad

Damascus

Washington

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20 OCT 1961

V6-1010/200

My telegram No. 1021: Internal Situation in Egypt.

Under the headline "true picture of Egyptian Society" yesterday's "Ahram" published prominently a list of some 500 persons who held more than £10,000 worth of shares in the 159 companies in which holdings were limited by law No. 119 of 1961 (see my telegram No. 750). The list also gave figures, provided by the Central Bank, of each person's holding. Readers were invited to draw their own conclusions.

2. The object of this extraordinary procedure is not yet clear. It may represent a stage in the identification of "Reactionaries" and be designed to instil some revolutionary fervour; but there are not many well-known names in the list. It may be intended to disarm criticism of the régime, for none of its members appear in the list, with the apparent exception of Hassan Abbas Zaki, who has in any case been dropped from the Government (my telegram No. 1028). Our first impression is that the list contains a high proportion of members of foreign communities (mostly Greek) and minorities (mostly Christian, but a few Jews).

3. One of the purposes of the article is probably to justify a number of arrests which were made on the previous day. No news has been given of these, and rumour puts the number at anything from 50 to 500. Two at least of the few whose names are known appear in the "Ahram" list. It is said that no charges have been made against the prisoners; but as far as we can gather they are "Reactionaries" who have opposed "Socialisation". They do not seem to be persons whom the régime need fear or who would be likely to gain (or seek) political power.

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EX 17/4. Cairo
20 OCT 1961

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re telegram No. 1030 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

4. Cairo is full of rumour and uncertainty, but as far as I know supporters of the régime are not affected by these events. Nasser evidently believes that the wealthy families in Syria were behind the Damascus coup, and this is a main theme of Cairo propaganda at present. There is almost certainly some relationship between this explanation of the Syrian coup and the action now taken against the rich in Egypt.

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Clair

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Vet 1016/207

Sir H. Beeley

No. 1034

October 23, 1961.

D. 3.23 p.m. October 23, 1961

R. 4.45 p.m. October 23, 1961.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1034 of October 23.

Repeated for information to : Beirut

and Saving to : Amman

Damascus

Baghdad

Washington

Chancery letter (1014/61) of October 21 to North and East Africa Department.

Yesterday's papers published statement in which Zakaria Mushyiddin, Vice President and Minister of Interior, announced forty arrests and the sequestration of the property of one hundred and sixty-seven persons.

2. Muhyiddin [sic] said that the revolution must be safeguarded against a stab in the back such as the Syrians had suffered. Since reactionaries had seized power in Damascus, the UAR was the only base for revolutionary action in the interests of all Arabs. The men of the Egyptian revolution, believing that social justice and the removal of class distinction could be achieved peacefully, had been tolerant: members of the former royal family had been allotted pensions and some of those who had been convicted of treason had been released. But the Syrian experience had proved that capitalism and the forces of reaction could not abandon their ambitions and their desire to exploit the masses. In Egypt reactionaries refused to give up their privileges and attempted to evade social legislation. They would sell themselves to the devil if he could put the clock back.

3. The régime had, therefore, decided to ward off the danger of reaction by the following measures:-

- (a) three persons convicted of crimes against the people and released before their full sentences had expired had been sent back to prison. They were Fuad Seraguddin, Ibrahim Farag and Mohammed Atif Nassar;
- /(b) thirty-seven



Cairo telegram No. 1034 to Foreign Office.

-2-

- (b) thirty-seven reactionaries had been detained to prevent them from obstructing social progress;
- (c) the properties of one hundred and sixty-seven persons had been sequestered. These included numerous members of the Seraguddin, Badrawi, Tagher, Farghali, Sabahi, Sursoek, Sednawi and Shorbagi families, as well as Ahmed Abbud.

4. According to the Press, committees will be appointed to examine each case separately and "take action in the people's interest". But nothing will be done in a spirit of revenge.

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23 OCT 1961

DAILY MAIL

23 OCT 1961

minutes

pw. N E H
M. E. G. H.
23 OCT 1961

VCA 1016 (2016)

Nasser starts huge purge

MILLIONAIRES AND OFFICERS 'IN JAIL'



NASSER

From ARTHUR COOK: Beirut, Sunday.

PRESIDENT NASSER has ordered a huge purge, and tonight hundreds of Army officers and members of Egypt's wealthy and influential classes are reported to be under arrest.

Every plane into Beirut brings more details and more names of people jailed without being charged.

It is now clear that President Nasser is acting against a movement which was designed to topple him.

The purge has been on for three days but all that President Nasser's Interior Minister, Colonel Montefiore, admits is that "40 reactionaries and their supporters and associates have been arrested, and that the funds of 187 "reactionary capitalists" have been seized.

Too soon

Cairo says the money was seized because the owners had "exploited it for their own selfish interest or smuggled it out of the country."

Foreign diplomats and businessmen who have got out of Cairo told me today that ever since Syria's break with Egypt nearly a month ago a strong revolutionary group has been almost into the open in a protest against President Nasser's mass nationalisation and stricter security measures.

The group, including many high Army officers, were looking to General Neguib, who became the figurehead of the 1952 revolution, to lead them. But many of the officers showed their hand too soon and are now thought to be caught up in the purge.

Tanks

Nothing is known so far of any action President Nasser may have taken against General Neguib.

One Egyptian businessman who arrived here today said tanks and guns were surrounding the Presidency in Cairo.

The purge is directed against everyone President Nasser feels could menace his position.

Those named in the requisition of property list include the Amouha family, who are of British origin.

One Western diplomat who flew to Beirut from Cairo today said: "Everyone who can think in Egypt believes President Nasser's days are numbered."

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

1014/61

24 OCT 1961

V41016/203



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BRITISH EMBASSY,

CAIRO.

October 21, 1961.

Dear Department,

The changes in the Government of the United Arab Republic introduced by President Nasser on October 18 were reported in Cairo Telegram No. 1028 of October 19. As a result of this re-organisation the composition of the Cabinet is now as follows (figures in brackets refer to the 1961 Personalities Report):-

- ✓ Abdul Latif Baghdadi, Vice-President for Production and Minister for the Treasury and Planning. (8)
- ✓ Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer, Vice-President and Minister of War. (4)
- ✓ Zakariya Muhyiddin, Vice-President and Minister of Interior. (105)
- ✓ Hussein el Shafei, Vice-President and Minister of Wakfs and Social Affairs. (55)
- ✓ Kamaluddin Hussein, Vice-President for Public Services and Minister of Local Administration, Housing and Public Utilities. (61)
- ✓ Dr. Mahmud Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs. (67)
- ✓ Ahmed Abdu el Sharabassi, Minister of Public Works. (17)
- ✓ Dr. Abdul Moneim el Kaissouni, Minister of Economy. (9)
- ✓ Dr. Kamal Ramzi Stino, Minister of Supply. (62)
- ✓ Dr. Aziz Sidqi, Minister of Industry. (38)
- ✓ Dr. Mustafa Khalil, Minister of Communications. (90)
- ✓ Ali Sabri, Minister for Presidential Affairs. (33)
- ✓ Kemaluddin Rifaat, Minister of Labour. (63)
- ✓ Dr. Sarwat Okasha, Minister of Culture and National Guidance. (97)
- ✓ Abbas Radwan, Minister of State. (1)
- Musa Arafa, Minister for the High Dam. (88)

North and East African Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

/Dr.

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Dr. Abdul Qadir Hatem, Minister of State (11)

Abdul Muhsin Abul-Nur, Minister of Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation.

Ahmed Farag, Minister of State for Planning.

Sayid Yusuf, Minister of Education.

Salahuddin Hidayat, Minister for Scientific Research.

Abdul Aziz As Saved, Minister for Higher Education.

Fathi Al Sharqawi, Minister of Justice.

Mohammed Naguib Hashad, Minister of Agriculture.

Mohammed Al Nabawi Al Muhandis, Minister of Health.

Hussein Zulficar Sabri, Deputy Foreign Minister. (56)

Mohamed Ali Hafez, Deputy Minister for Education. (73)

Abdul Wahab el Bishri, Deputy War Minister. (15)

2. Biographical notes on the new Ministers (Higher Education, Justice, Agriculture and Health) are enclosed. Notes on the others who did not appear in the 1961 Personalities were enclosed with our letter 1014/61 of August 25.

3. As indicated in our telegram under reference, the surprise was the omission of Hassan Abbas Zaki. He had been regarded as a coming man, and his rise had been rapid since he first emerged into public prominence in 1957 as leader of the U.A.R. delegation to the Rome talks on British property in Egypt. During the summer he had increased his power at the expense of his senior colleague Dr. Kaissouni. But it seems that his was not above the suspicion of corruption; and the name Hassan Abbas Zaki figured in the "Ahram" list of shareholders referred to in Cairo telegram No. 1030 of October 19. His shares (about £E13,000) represented a modest sum when compared with the hundred of thousands of pounds of holdings declared by other families. But it was a substantial amount for a Minister who before 1957 was a middle rank Treasury official.

4. Apart from this the Government changes came as an anticlimax. After the resounding promise in President Nasser's speech of October 16, that the Government would be "... radically reorganised... so as to become an instrument of revolutionary action....", the present changes seem modest. Some changes

/had

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had in any case become necessary owing to the resignation of the Syrian Ministers the previous week. But instead of the Army radicals who were generally expected to make their appearance after Nasser's promise to the nation, the new Ministers are dons and professional men, technicians rather than politicians. Moreover, the way in which these four were recruited to the Cabinet bears evidence of scanty preparation: they were informed of their appointment to the Government twenty-four hours before its announcement - indeed the new Minister of Justice had to be brought out of a cinema in order to be told the news!

5. Further reorganisations are however in hand. It was announced, following the first meeting of the new Cabinet on October 19, that Abdul Latif Baghdadi had been charged with the tasks of supervising the re-organisation of the Ministry of the Treasury, amending obsolete financial laws and regulations and finally overhauling completely the whole machinery of Government.

6. One fairly senior Egyptian official recently told a member of the staff that a witch hunt for reactionaries in the administration must be expected as a result of President Nasser's speech. Certainly we have not seen the last of the "reorganisation"; and many officials, afraid for their jobs, are temporarily shy of association with "imperialists". Even the Foreign Ministry, so the press tell us, is to be reorganised on a new revolutionary basis. We can hardly wait!

7. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chanceries at Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus and Washington.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

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FATHI AL SHARQAWI - Minister of Justice.

Aged 44. This is his first government post.

Since graduating from Law College in 1936 he has practised as a lawyer and taken part in some notable criminal cases.

He was elected a member of the National Assembly in 1957 and was a member of the U.A.R. Parliamentary delegation to the I.P.U. Conference in Japan in 1960.

Married, with four sons and three daughters.

ABDUL AZIZ AS SAYED - Minister of Higher Education.

Born 1907. Graduated as a teacher in 1928, after which he was some time as a sports instructor in various schools, including the Military College.

He later took his doctorate in education at Ohio, after which he was appointed lecturer at the Higher Teachers' Training College, and later lecturer and Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Education.

From that position he was appointed successively Director-General of Primary Education, Deputy-Rector of Cairo University, Director of the University's Khartoum branch, and finally Rector of Alexandria University.

Married, with one son.

MOHAMMED AL NABAWI AL MUHANDIS - Minister of Health.

Aged 45.

Previously prominent in the affairs of the Egyptian Medical Association.

After graduating from the Medical Faculty of Cairo University in 1940, he practised as a pediatrician from 1941-1944. He was then appointed to be lecturer in pediatrics at the Medical School, becoming Assistant Professor in 1954.

He served for many years on the Council of the Egyptian Medical Association and was three times elected Secretary. In this work he came into contact with the medical side of the National Union.

/He



He represented the U.A.R. at the Afro-Asian Pediatrician's Conference at Delhi in September 1960 and at a similar gathering at Istanbul in September 1961.

He is married, with one son. His wife was also a pediatrician.

MOHAMMED NAGUIB HASHAD - Minister of Agriculture.

Aged 55.

Graduated from the Higher Agricultural College in 1933 and he was appointed to the staff.

He went with a delegation to Germany to study agricultural chemistry and stayed on to take his doctorate there in 1936.

On his return he was appointed lecturer at the Agricultural College, being promoted in 1954 to be Professor of the Agricultural Faculty at what later became Ain Shams University.

He was appointed Deputy Rector of Ain Shams in 1956, He has also been President of the U.A.R. Students Union.

Married, with one son and two daughters.

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1961

V

North and East African Department

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC.

VG 1016/204.

FROM Chancery
CAIRO

To NEAD.

COMMUNICATION

No. 1104/61

Dated Cairo 21

Received October 24

SUBJECT:

Situation in UAR.

No detailed information on the recent arrests: many of these people have criticised the régime: the BADRAWI family: comments on Al Ahram's list

References

-/200

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

SRP
19/11/61

(Main Indexed)

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Recd 26/10. MINUTES

2. The BBC monitoring report account of the speech in which the arrests were announced does not indicate that the victims were to be detained only for "a few weeks": cf para 2 within.

3. This is the first we have heard about the freezing of the bank accounts of British subjects. Nor do we know if any British subjects were affected by the arrests or repatriations announced after this letter was written. We have assumed that Cairo would telegraph if they were, but I think we should clear it up.

4. See now -/207 attd.

J187 59237-1

Jft telm.
Mr Edin fort.

PAH/Blaker. 27/10.
/over

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Telco sent, (No 1636 to Cairo)
See now /rot. cleared with Consular & Claims Dept.

PArb.

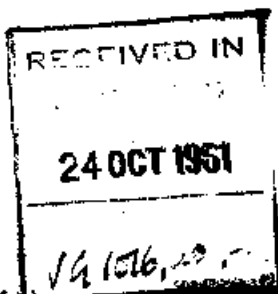
27/10.

Consular Dept. para 4

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Number of copies.....

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

October 21, 1961.

(1014/61)

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Department,

We still have no detailed information on the arrests reported in paragraph 3 of Cairo telegram No. 1030 of October 19. We can however now say with reasonable certainty that all those arrested are wealthy people whose crime is that they are "reactionaries".

2. Many of the people arrested have been criticising the régime fairly openly for sometime. Recently, however - if we are to believe the supporters of President Nasser - these people drew encouragement from the Syrian coup d'état, and their criticism became so sharp as to amount to propaganda against the régime, their expectations of change so definite as to amount to a conspiracy. They have therefore been given a few weeks in prison as a "corrective". In short, Nasser is determined to show who is the boss, and his recent action against the rich is intended to serve as a reminder that he does not intend to allow anyone to obstruct the application of his socialist measures.

3. The best known of the prisoners are probably three members of the Badrawi family. The Badrawis were second only to the royal family in the size of their estates before the Revolution, and they still own numerous large properties in the city of Cairo. In the list of shareholders which was published in "Al Ahram" on October 18 and reported in Cairo telegram under reference, the Badrawis were given as holding about half a million pounds worth of shares. They are closely related to the family of Fuad Seraguddin, a former Minister and prominent member of the Wafd, whose name also appeared in the "Ahram" list and who also has been arrested again. The prisoners also include Hanafi Abul Ela, a well-known lawyer, and (we are told) wealthy traders such as Sursock and Sednawi.

4. The bank accounts of those arrested, and of some others (we have 227 names including Abbud Pasha, the Farghalis and other notable industrialists), have been blocked. We understand that this measure is a prelude to the sequestration of the assets of the persons concerned; and several wealthy Egyptians are in fact already under sequestration. Among those whose accounts have been blocked are several Italians, Greeks and Jews - the Jews include at least two British subjects. The squeeze is now on the wealthy, the minorities and the foreign communities; and the inspired press talks of

/the...

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

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- 2 -

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the present as an important period in the planning and execution of revolutionary action. The first stage, according to to-day's "Al Ahram", is the protection of the national struggle against opportunists and reactionaries; and this will be followed by the re-organisation of the machinery of state (a task which has been entrusted to Vice-President Baghdadi) in such a way as to free it from everything which might cause obstruction.

5. It is generally thought that the main object of the "Ahram" list, to which we have referred above, was to bring most of the persons who appeared in it into disrepute and to justify the measures taken against them. In its introductory note, "Al Ahram" was at pains to point out that some people whose names appeared in the list (for example Abdullakel Katib, a well-known surgeon, and Beshara Taqla, the founder of "Al Ahram") had earned their money through hard work and service to the state. The implication was that most of the rest of the Egyptian rich were parasites. We are told that the "Ahram" article has not succeeded in arousing public feeling against them. But it has certainly intimidated the latter. Their future is dark indeed.

6. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chanceries at Beirut, Amman, Baghdad, Damascus and Washington.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

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Extract from S.W.B. No. 771
 9 October 1961
 ME/771/A/1

REC'D 25 OCT 1961 VC 1016/206

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

Nasir's Address to the UAR People

X Cairo home service 17.00 GMT 16.10.61 (live or recorded)

Text of Abd an-Nasir's address to the UAR people:

Compatriots, the time has come when every citizen should pay attention to himself; the time has come when every citizen should pay attention to his homeland; the time has come when every citizen should pay attention to what is going on around him throughout the entire Arab world. Compatriots, we are at a decisive point in the history of nations - a point at which destiny can be determined and decided by the will of God which inspires the will of our nation and guides its steps. We are at a decisive point in history. There are two things before us. Firstly, we could be deceived by the appearance of events and stand idle and inert, preferring rest to struggle, preferring tranquillity to continuation of strife, and - in a moment of panic - being led astray and then losing our feeling of time and place, losing the right course and allowing all the achievements and victories of the struggle of our nation to be scattered.

Secondly, we could be conscious of the current of events, continue our movement with a greater force and greater upsurge on a clear road where we know our goals, while believing in and determined to adopt the higher principle for which our banners were raised and for which the blood of our martyrs flowed. We could continue our course until the end and bring things into true perspective, making our dreams reality whatever the sacrifice and time may be. The time has come when we should choose either to surrender to despair or plunge forward toward revolutionary actions. Either we stretch out our hands in abasement to the fetters and chains which we have destroyed and accept humiliation, or we stand with the firmness of rebels and gather all our strength to fight to continue our great battle until definite and final victory is ours forever.

Compatriots, I have chosen to spend the past days thinking. I thought about our honourable people everywhere - in villages and factories, in universities and institutions, in the front lines facing the enemy, and in the little houses which are lit with hope for a better future. I was with all these - with the farmers, with the workers, the educated classes, the officers and the soldiers, trying to probe their feelings and think their thoughts. My fingers were on the pulse of this nation - the creator of civilisation, the creator of history and the creator of the future. My ears heard the pulsing of their hearts which have always throbbed with right, welfare and peace. I wanted my choice to be theirs, and my attitude to be an expression of theirs.

I say to you now, compatriots, that I have chosen in the name of God, in the name of this nation, in the name of its hopes, in the name of its supreme principles, in the name of all the morals it has blessed, in the name of all the battles it has fought; in the name of all this, my decision and my choice was that the road of revolution should be our road. To proceed with all force toward revolutionary acts is the only answer to all the demands of our national struggle. This is the sincere fulfilment of all the requirements of our believing nation which has determined to achieve freedom in all its social and political aspects.

Compatriots, at this final and decisive hour, I want you all to stand by my side in realising all that faces us and in facing it. At this moment, there should be no veil between us and the facts. There should be no limit to telling ourselves the truth. Our trust must be absolute before God, before history, before conscience, and before the future. The responsibility laid on our generation is not an easy or simple responsibility. To the extent that we feel this responsibility, it is necessary that we should be faithful toward the future. Our responsibility is to reconstruct the homeland and liberate it and make the citizen and liberate him.

ME/771/A/2

Compatriots, when our revolution began on 23rd July 1952, the long national struggle of our nation had defined its aims. These are summed up in a few words: the restoration of political freedom to the country and citizens and the restoration of social freedom to the country and citizens. Despite the material and ideological obstacles, and despite the anti-revolutionary forces in the country and abroad, and despite imperialism, its instruments and its collaborators, our people have taken a long stride towards the political revolution.

We have wrested evacuation for our sacred country; opposed foreign military pacts which sought to turn our homeland into an area of influence; we broke up the arms monopoly - which was imposed upon us and not upon our enemy and left us defenceless against its treachery and factories, while it acted as a base for imperialism in the heart of our Arab territory, a bridgehead for imperialism which was converted into an arms arsenal that began warning and threatening.

We have liberated our international will and placed all our potentialities alongside those of the anti-imperialist and peace-loving peoples. With this free international will we marched on a long road that led us from Bandung to the United Nations, to Casablanca, to Belgrade some weeks ago. Then we have regained our true Arab personality after various forces attempted to hide the true picture from us through forgery and deception.

With all our strength we aligned ourselves with the Arab people's struggle in every Arab country where the banner of true free Arab struggle was raised. Then followed the restoration of the Suez canal - the climax of our struggle for political freedom, and our decisive battle in this struggle. The victory in this meant the defeat of foreign forces which had adopted the entire Arab area as its own property and which found among the area's citizens those willing to play the role of traitor and agent in return for prices varying from monthly salaries awarded to those carrying out easy services, to high thrones for those devoting themselves to this service, those who could sell the entire people with satisfaction and indulgence.

Imperialism and the foreign forces dominating our country felt that if they did not deal a deadly blow to the Arab liberation force, the whole area would be lost to their control and that consequently the crushing Arab current would sweep away small traitors and overthrow the hired thrones which were spearheaded by the coloniser and supported by his guns and tanks. The Arab peoples' forces gained the victory in the decisive battle of Suez, and our triumphant peoples have crushed many agents under their feet. Thrones which were set up against the people's will in the area were shaken. The gloomy shadow of imperialism began to retreat from the area. However, it maintained certain footholds where it lay in wait for the opportunity to regain its domination, to secure its interests and its presence, and to destroy every resistance capable of opposing it.

Compatriots, the only thing that the national forces could do, then, was to consolidate all their strength in the second battle of freedom, the battle for social freedom. The victory in that battle was the sole guarantee of the firm consolidation and bolstering of the victories of the battle of political freedom. It was inevitable that the march should proceed towards the battle for social freedom, flanked by self-sufficiency and justice.

Self-sufficiency meant the increase of production in all fields, the increase of agricultural land, and the increase in the yield of each feddan of arable land. It meant the increase of factories and their expansion under a plan conforming to our requirements, and the promotion of adequate production by factories already in operation and those newly built. It meant guiding national capital, converting it into creative energy, and directing it with every speed toward the distribution of the national wealth base. It meant a large expansion in communications, energy and services which enable the human power of the country to offer, without obstacles or hindrance, all its capabilities for work. The achievements in this field were great. Operation by machine was established wherever possible.

ME/771/A/3

We have placed at their disposal all potentialities for serious work. We have attained some results, and we are right to mention them. Maybe the best outcome of our recalling these results is that they always make us conscious of our capability to work and to stand firm in the face of the great challenge presented to us as a result of the backwardness imposed on us by reactionary and imperialist obstacles.

It is enough for me, compatriots, to place before you these figures, which represent a true picture of the real work which we have accomplished. If we relate these figures to the social and political circumstances under pressure of which we carried out our productive work, we shall be able to have a clear picture of our liberated power of accomplishment through which we face the challenge of underdevelopment. The national income for 1952/1953 was £806 million per annum. In 1960/1961 - the fiscal year which has actually ended - the national income had risen to £1,397 million. The estimated income for 1961/1962 - that is the current fiscal year - is £1,556 million. This means that the national revenue has nearly doubled during the years of the revolution. The State budget for the fiscal year 1952/1953 was £228 million. The budget for the current fiscal year 1961/1962 rose to £825 million.

If I begin with the government services sector, we were, for instance, spending £41 million a year on national security, including defence of course. We are now spending on national security £116 million. Furthermore in the year of the revolution this sum represented nearly 25 per cent of the budget. This year the proportion does not exceed some 14 per cent of the budget. In addition, I observe the tremendous expansion in our armed forces, the fundamental alteration which has taken place in the quality of their arms and in their combat adequacy.

We were spending £33 million yearly on the educational and cultural services. We are now spending on them £79 million annually. We raise our heads in pride because our programme is progressing at the speed of two new schools every three days. We were spending £10 million yearly on the health services. We are now spending £23 million annually on these services. We were spending £4 million per annum on the social and religious services. We are now spending £9 million a year on these services. We were spending £7 million yearly on the public utilities, on which we are now spending £28 million annually. We were spending £5 million pounds each year on the agricultural and irrigation services, and we are now spending £23 million yearly on them. We were spending on the other services £8 million a year, and we are now spending on them £91 million per annum.

If I leave the above to move to the field of production, and if I begin, for instance, with agriculture - and it is inevitable for us to observe that because of its nature, agricultural expansion is limited by the area of land and depends on the weather conditions - I would discover for example, that the average cotton production per feddan in 1952 was 4.6 qantars. In 1960, this average reached 5.2 qantars. If God's will has put us to the test this year, and if we have had reduced cotton production because of weather conditions, and because of our slowness in coping with the dangers posed by the cotton pest, we have learned our lesson for life. We must learn this lesson. Whatever the problem, we have exerted all our efforts to reduce the impact of the damage. Therefore, the state presented to the cotton planters this year facilities equivalent to £30 million. If I switch from cotton to other crops, I discover that the wheat production has increased at a rate of 52 per cent, barley at a rate of 22 per cent, and rice production at a rate of 53 per cent. We note, in addition to all this the large expansion in vegetable, fruit and animal production.

If, after this, I review our achievements in the field of land reclamation, that is, in increasing the area of agricultural land and in wresting new green lands from the desert, I discover that the annual average area of all the lands which were reclaimed in Egypt during the 20 years prior to the revolution did not exceed 5,300 feddans, including the efforts exerted by the State - that is by the Ministry of Agriculture, - by the properties authority, and by individual efforts. In the 20 years preceding the revolution, the annual average did not increase.

ME/T71/A/4

In 1959 alone, for example, new reclaimed land amounted to 46,305 feddans. In 1960 this figure increased by an additional 81,000 new feddans. In 1961, while work is still going on, the figure has risen by an additional 102,000 new feddans. According to plan and the basis of utilising the great High Dam project, the expansion in land will add 200,000 feddans every year.

The volume of agricultural loans in 1952 was £E15 million annually, the major part of which was received by the big land owners. This year, agricultural loans exceeded £E35 million. I do not mention here the special facilities provided as a result of the bad cotton season this year, the value of which reached £E30 million.

The number of agricultural co-operative societies has nearly doubled. Under the distribution provided for under the first agrarian reform law 162,000 new families became land owners. They actually owned 430,852 feddans; 129,000 feddans are to be distributed under the first law, their productive capacity being strengthened before their distribution. These will be owned by 40,000 families. Also, in accordance with the new agrarian reform law and the decision on the distribution of Waqf lands, 60,000 other families will enjoy agricultural ownership of land, in addition to the new landowners of lands being added through all the land reclamation projects supported by the High Dam. If we take an average of five persons for every family, we find that one million citizens have become land owners through the redistribution of land and that several other million citizens will also become landowners and that the arable land will be increased by land reclaimed from the desert.

I leave agriculture to deal with industry. In 1952 £E2,150,000 was allocated to all the industrial investments in Egypt. Last year alone, we allotted to industrial investment and electricity £E88 million. Since 1957, planning for industry has entered a new stage. A plan for industry was laid down including two programmes costing £E720 million. The first plan has been completed, and the second will be completed in 1964-65. So far, £E350 million has been spent on new factories, and all the rest of the plan is being implemented. Most of the remaining sum has been contracted for.

The value of industrial production in Egypt in 1952 was £E313 million. The value of industrial production in 1960 reached £E693 million. This year, 1961, it will reach £E720 million. Brethren, I talk here about the pure industrial production - not including, for example, cotton-ginning operations, nor the work of bakeries or other similar operations.

If I consider oil, for example, in 1952 our production was 2,370,000 tons. This year, oil production here reached 4 million tons. Our weaving and spinning production in 1952 was 55,700 tons. This year the figure reached 115,000 tons. Electricity capacity was 992 million kw-h. in 1952. This year our electricity capacity reached 4,800 million kw-h., an increase of 448 per cent. This, of course, includes the Aswan Dam electricity plan which has been implemented and finished. It does not include the electricity from the High Dam which will bring about an industrial revolution in our homeland.

Perhaps the most important feature of our industrial production is its rapid increase. The success of production is due to organised work and accurate planning. To explain this, in one year from 1959 to 1960, weaving and spinning production alone increased by £E47 million. Between 1960 and 1961, our production of fertilisers increased to 300,000 tons. If I add to this new kinds of industrial production, particularly in such heavy industries as the iron and steel industries, diesel engines, railway cars, lorries, motorbuses and passenger cars, light industries - such as cycles, heaters, (ovens), electric refrigerators, cables, and various electric components, pottery and china - and the food industries, the picture will be complete and will give hopes of great progress in industry.

In this respect, in 1952, the Aswan Dam electricity seemed to be a dream. The Aswan Dam electricity is now a reality. In 1952 the idea of a High Dam was not in the minds of any of us. It was a distant mirage in the desert of our imagination.

ME/771/A/5

This year work is going on on a large scale on this project, which is considered the largest productive project in the world. Its cost exceeds £E300 million pounds. This is a quick review of our aspirations and our ability to realise them.

Compatriots, all this had to be put within a complete framework to achieve development. Therefore, the plan to double the national income in 10 years was drawn up. As regards Egypt, this plan requires the investment of £E1,697 million. In the first five years of the plan, the national income will increase by an average of £E105 million per annum, to be doubled at the end of the plan. The average individual income, which was estimated at £E36 per annum and which is now £E52 per annum, will reach more than £E80 per annum, taking into consideration the increase in the numbers of the population.

I do not conceal from you now that it has become imperative that our steps on the road of development should be faster. I have asked the authorities responsible for development to double the national income (if possible) in less than 10 years. We must proceed and build. There is no doubt that the socialist framework of society now helps us to push the wheels of production faster than we expected when we laid down the plan. We have now a strong public sector in the economy. It is possessed by all the people. Besides its social importance, it is an advanced weapon which is able to open the road to economic development in all fields. We are proud that the first nucleus of this public sector was comprised of all the British, French and Belgian monopolist institutions, and that we ourselves have added to this sector through our development programmes during the past years. This sector, then, gained its power when it was nationalised in accordance with the number of socialist laws promulgated in July this year. Through this, the active force of this sector represents a capital not less than £E1,000 million, while the moving force (Arabic: at-taqah al-mataharrikah) of this sector exceeds this sum several times and has the power to move the wheels of development in agriculture and industry in particular.

Compatriots, justice means distributing the national income to the people of this homeland without exploitation or deprivation. Socialism was our road to this justice. Citizens, I do not wish at this moment to enter into complicated definitions of socialism. But in my opinion, the simple and clear meaning of socialism is that the national income should be shared by the citizens, each according to his genuine efforts in producing this national income. If a simple definition of political freedom is that every citizen should have the right to decide for his homeland according to his own ideas, then a simple definition of social freedom is that every citizen should have a right to share in the riches of his country according to his own efforts.

But opportunity should be equal and justice should be equal for all people. This is the law of justice. It is, at the same time, God's law. The law of justice cannot allow a minority of the sons of the people to monopolise the major part of the homeland's riches and to deprive the majority, its rightful owners - by virtue of its majority. The law cannot allow agricultural land in our homeland, which is the foundation of national wealth and its main basis, to be the property of a few people who own everything, while others who own very little become slaves of the land. The law of justice cannot allow all the factories in our country to be monopolies of exploitation which only wish to increase their wealth at the expense of the poverty of the masses. It cannot permit wealth, health, illness, education and ignorance to be a heritage, or dignity and humiliation to be a heritage. The law refuses and rejects this. The law of freedom in its social meaning, but without the safeguard of a solid and strong basis, deprives political freedom of its value and weight.

Citizens, the battle for social freedom continued unrelentingly like the battle of political freedom against the obvious forms of imperialism which had preceded it. The two battles' circumstances were almost similar. The exploiting reactionary class, whose privileges we aimed to destroy in the battle of social freedom, was the natural ally of imperialism whom we fought in the battle for political freedom in its tangible forms of military bases and occupation centres. We also had to remember that this reactionary exploiting class achieved the position of power from which they exploited the masses, under the imperialist occupation and under its patronage and protection. Because of all this, there had to be a similarity and likeness between the two battles.

ME/771/A/6

Against imperialism, we dealt a blow and parried another. Sometimes we retreated to crouch and advance again, until we dealt our decisive blow by nationalising the Suez Canal. The same was true regarding the reactionary exploiters. We enacted legislation for our social justice but were circumvented. The masses, with their urgent requests, advanced again. Reaction feigned surrender while it prepared for a new upsurge which would restore it to a better position from which it could resume its exploitation and insatiable monopoly at the expense of the masses. Decisive measures were then adopted in July 1961, when the socialist laws were issued giving the working classes a position of strength from which they could demand their rights.

(1) We limited ownership of land to not more than 100 feddans and the holdings of the hired hand to not more than 50 feddans. This amount is sufficient to preserve the individual right of ownership and removes the evils of land monopoly. Thus it makes it possible for a new number of hired hands to benefit from ownership. This is in addition to the opportunities for widening the base of ownership which the reclamation of new land would provide while working for self-sufficiency, and which agricultural co-operatives would strengthen.

(2) We nationalised heavy industries so that they would be the property of the people. We have done the same as regards imports and exports, to prevent national production from becoming the toy of individual competition whose only aim is the increase of profits at the expense of the many, and the storing of their smuggled funds in foreign banks. We have done the same with banks so that money may be the servant of the people's interests and not their master. Regarding the medium industries, in certain cases we transferred the ownership of half to the people, while in others we limited the maximum which any individual may own in them to £10,000. The professions and vocations, the light industries and the internal commercial operations - all these and others which cannot create a force capable of exploitation and monopoly - we left free and unrestricted.

(3) Regarding the workers, we were bound to respect the working class and to place them in their rightful position from which they could, while enjoying their full rights, play their great role in the development operation. Therefore it was decided that workers and employees should be included in every establishment's board of directors by entering two members elected by means of a general and secret ballot among them provided that the members of the board of directors did not exceed seven. Thus the workers' strength on the board would be effective and influential. It was also decided that the law should provide for these workers and employees a right to a quarter of the profits of their establishments. Thus individual ownership was not harmed but was expanded. Ownership ceased to be the right of capital alone and became the right of labour too.

(4) An attempt was made to limit high incomes to enable us to fix a minimum income for each citizen with which he could ensure his right to human dignity. Wages were limited to no more than £5,000 a year. There were some whose annual income used to exceed £500,000. The tables of progressive taxation were raised to 90 per cent after £10,000 annual income from wages and other sources. This is a right conceded throughout the civilised world. The law of justice and God's law cannot accept that an individual should get £500,000 a year while the average individual income does not exceed, except in a few instances, £50.

Citizens, that was what we accomplished in July with the body of socialist laws which aimed at achieving social freedom. This operation in July 1961 was similar to the decision nationalising the Suez Canal in July 1956. Imperialism swooped down on us with its fleets from the air and sea and with its army which invaded our shores on 29th October. Imperialism waited three months before swooping down on us to strike down our political victory. But reaction did not wait more than two months. It felt that if it did not move quickly to rob the masses of the fruits of their social struggle before they consolidated their position and before they perfected the defence of their gains then the loss of reaction would be permanent.

*Oh dear.
While being
saying the
opposite!*

ME/771/A/7

Reaction moved and struck on 28th September 1961, like the imperialist attack on 29th October 1956. They wanted their land, factories and companies which they had stolen from the people's wealth, just as imperialism wanted the Canal which they alleged was theirs, while the people who had excavated it in their soil were deprived of its benefits.

Citizens, in this parallel between the two battles, as I told you in my speech on 29th September, reaction achieved no more in Damascus than imperialism achieved in 1956 when it secured a bridgehead at Port Said. As I told you that day, that I am confident that reaction will be defeated and will be forced to evacuate the bridgehead it has occupied in Damascus, I still now say the same. Reaction will be defeated and will be forced to retreat from the position it occupied in Damascus.

I tell you this now, not because I want Syria to return to the UAR - that is a right which I do not own but which belongs to the Syrian and Egyptian peoples. But I say this because, above all else, it is important to me that the Syrian Arab masses should retain their real gains of social justice and of self-sufficiency, which strengthens social justice and facilitates its attainment. I say this because it is important for us here in the UAR - as we make ready to bear our great responsibility of hastening towards the revolutionary and social work - to be conscious of and to memorise the lessons of experience. Compatriots, it is among my first duties at this moment to study with you, while you study with me, the lessons gained from the reactionary assault in Syria. Once again, and through this study, I do not aim at affecting the course of events in Syria itself. My primary and final aim is that this will be for the benefit of the whole Arab struggle and for its comprehensive social battle for the sake of the individual Arab's right to a dignified life.

I feel now that it is inevitable for me courageously and honourably to face with you our mistakes, which have facilitated for reaction its assault to obtain the bridgehead it has acquired in Damascus:

(1) We fell victim to a dangerous illusion, to which we were led by an increasing confidence in ourselves and in others. We have always refused reconciliation with imperialism, but we committed the mistake of reconciliation with reaction. We imagined that whatever the disputes between us and the reactionary elements they were the sons of the same homeland and the partners of the same destiny. But experience has proved to us the falsity of our illusions.

Experience has proved that reaction, an imperialist prop, does not hesitate to depend on imperialism in its turn to usurp the social fruits of the popular struggle. Experience has proved that reaction is ready to ally itself with imperialism to recover the prominent positions through which reaction can resume its exploitation, even though this causes reaction to enable imperialism to dominate the destinies of the same peoples to whom reaction belongs.

Imperialism has changed its method of infiltrating into our land, while we have not changed our manner of confronting imperialism. We still resisted imperialism's military pacts and bases when imperialism hid behind reaction and in its high palaces, set up by exploitation of the masses. Thus our blows struck at imperialism ultimately went astray and missed imperialism because they were directed at places already deserted by imperialism. We were striking our blows at imperialism in the shape of pacts and bases, while imperialism had already changed its place and had hidden in palaces and in the safes of millionaires. Thus, for the sake of the safety of the popular struggle, we must rid ourselves of this dangerous illusion. It is paramount for us to fight imperialism in the palaces of reaction, and to fight reaction in the lap of imperialism.

MR/771/A/8

Connected with this illusion is the other illusion - the possibility of reconciliation with reaction on a patriotic basis. When we announced our belief in the probability of removing peacefully the inter-class contradictions within the framework of national unity, reaction pursued another counter-course. The reactionary forces did not measure up to the masses' nature of forgiveness and nobility. We saw how capitalism, feudalism and opportunism grouped themselves with imperialism to crush the masses' gains, to strike at the socialist revolution and to restore all their concessions - even by armed force and bloodshed.

We used to take land from the feudalists and to compensate them in a peaceful way, in order to give this land to the peasants. Any peasant is now shot dead in Syria if he hesitates for a moment to surrender to the big feudalists his legitimate right to his land. We wanted it white for the sake of justice, and they did not hesitate to make it red and stained with blood to continue and maintain their oppression.

We dreamed of a revolution throbbing with a merciful heart. But reaction has not abandoned its aggressive nature and has not hesitated to use any means to attain its exploiting and wicked aims, even murder. Reaction even exploited all the good nature, forgiveness and nobility of the masses, at a time when reaction retained large sums of money. During all this time, reaction lost all sense of gratitude to this liberty which was left to it without merit. The opposite stand was taken by reaction, which used this liberty to strike at the people, to sabotage to destroy, to turn against the people's aims, plans and dreams, and to set them all on fire without any consideration or concern.

(2) We have made a great mistake whose effect is no less important than the serious illusion in which we have forgotten ourselves. This mistake is an inadequate popular organisation. Our means of popular organisation was the formation of the National Union to serve as a framework round class strife. Our fault was that we opened the way of the National Union to the forces of reaction. The result of this mistake was that reaction, which infiltrated into the National Union, was capable of paralysing its revolutionary effectiveness and of transforming it into a mere front organisation, not motivated by the masses' power and real demands. It may be that the feature which crystallised this error was that some of those who are now hiding themselves among the leadership of the secessionist reactionary movement in Syria were themselves foremost in the National Union organisations. Hence, the most important factor facing us now is the reorganisation of the people, to convert the National Union into a revolutionary means for the national masses alone, who are the beneficiaries of the revolutionary reorganisation to which they are entitled.

The National Union should inevitably be for the workers, the peasants, the cultured, the professionals and the property owners whose ownership is not based on exploitation. The National Union will also be for the officers and soldiers who were the vanguard of the day on which the great change occurred on 23rd July. The National Union shall belong to the owners of the real revolution, to its protectors, to its defenders, to those whose aims are achieved by socialism, and to those who own socialism with their sons - who own all rights, hope and the future.

(3) We have not made sufficient efforts to render the huge crowds conscious of their rights, and to acquaint them with their potentialities, which are capable of protecting these rights. I hear some people saying that the present Arab generation has undertaken responsibilities for a struggle which burdened generations. But let me remind you all that we have no other means than to continue our revolution until it is ended, and until it attains its aims. Popular revolutions do not know anything else. If a popular revolution stops before attaining its aims, it will inevitably sustain a setback and find itself compelled to surrender to its enemies the gradual victories it has won during the phases of struggle. This revolution will then have to start the revolutionary course again from its beginning. Therefore I see no other course before us other than that of proceeding forward with the revolution and hoisting its flags.

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The real way to continue the struggle relentlessly and without slackening is to widen the revolutionary command and foundation together, and to continue to promote the profound consciousness of the mobilized masses, which would renew the leaderships of the popular struggle and bases stretching to every position in the homeland. The workers' unions, the peasants' co-operative unions, the universities, the vocational organisations and the women's organisations should all be converted into centres for a creative mental radiation which will enhance the renewed revolutionary work. Every village, every factory, every college, every school, every council of a vocational union, every man, every woman, every young man and every child in this homeland should be transformed into a living and fertile revolutionary cell.

(4) We have not been able to promote the government machinery to the level of revolutionary work. While waging the severest battles against imperialism and reaction, we have so far been working in accordance with an old system and with old rules. This system and these rules were even all drawn up by imperialism and reaction. The government machinery has taken on many new burdens, but we have not worked to develop this machinery to enable it to stand the force of the revolutionary upsurge. At times this government machinery was not capable of communicating to the masses the new sensation that it was a mere servant of their interests. The masses became used to serving the government machinery with all its defects. Thus the government machinery became no longer completely capable of being one of the revolution's means, and in some circumstances deviated until it became a burden to the revolution. This is a matter which should inevitably be rectified despite all obstacles.

In my opinion, the State machinery should be reorganised. It should be shaken from its foundations so as to become the means of a revolutionary movement in the service of the masses, under their control and at their disposal. In this way, the State machinery will no longer remain a means of stagnation and isolation which does not respond to the new factual situation. To achieve this aim, the State machinery must be reorganised. Everyone should be placed where he should be. Every one of those who serve the masses in various fields should have a right equal to the noble efforts he exerts to render service to the people.

(5) Many factors in our society have been able to open gaps for opportunism. The legacy which the revolution inherited was a heavy one. This applies equally to the government machinery and its condition, to the social classes of society and their rules, and to the resulting psychological impact on the masses. The price which we have paid in return for the infiltration of some opportunist elements has been high and costly. Some faithful elements have found themselves impelled to adopt a negative attitude to the movement of popular struggle, or they have not found a foothold where they can stand to contribute loyally to guiding the people's struggle.

I do not conceal from you that what struck me more in the days of our great battles and at the peak of our big victories was the battle for power, the feeling of selfishness and the deviation from the sublime objectives of the masses for the sake of achieving individual and personal ends. It is inevitable that we should now carry out a complete reform operation that will redraft the ideals and morals of society in a loftier and deeper way.

Compatriots, I want my address to you to be clear and free of all ambiguity. My first duty is to place all the facts before the people. For this purpose I came today to outline the only course for building the homeland, developing the citizen and liberating the land and mankind. This is the march towards revolutionary work to its highest point until it achieves its objective. The popular struggle requires the further forces of the people. The social revolution requires increased revolutionary socialism. Political and social freedom can only be safeguarded and strengthened by increased political and social freedom.

We do not need new socialist laws; what we need is a socialist work to strengthen what we actually possess of socialist laws. We do not require new revolutionary measures, but a revolutionary work that will realise the revolutionary measures enacted as law. I am not against individual ownership, but I am against exploiting ownership. Individual ownership is a trust which should be protected by its owner against exploitation inasmuch as the State is asked to protect it by law.

ME/771/A/10

Land ownership under the present law is not regarded as one of exploitation, and building ownership under the present tax system is not one of exploitation. Investments in any of these fields are open to individual activity. Any income from such investments which are subject to present taxes is not an exploitation ownership. All free honest professions and everything acquired by them within the framework of public organisations is not considered one of exploitation.

Our socialist society offers wide scope for all working classes. I clearly say, however, that our society has no room for millionaires. I am not against inheritance, for in my opinion inheritance is a heavenly law and part of human nature itself. But I want the inheritance to be one of self-sufficiency and not need, of health and not sickness, of work and not unemployment, and of education and not illiteracy. I want a society where class distinction is eliminated by providing equal opportunity for all citizens. I want a society in which the free individual can find a place on the basis of his self-sufficiency, capability and morals. I do not want a society in which revolutionary slogans are raised as mere slogans, but a society which will surge forward with the revolutionary movement for political and social freedom.

Compatriots, I have given and devoted my life to this Arab revolution. I will remain here as long as God wishes me to stay. I will struggle with all my strength for the people's demands and will offer all my life for the masses' right to life. The support this nation has accorded me is beyond expectation. I have nothing to offer it in return but every drop of my blood. Compatriots, the hour of revolutionary action has struck. By God's will we shall work, and by God's will we shall triumph. May the peace and mercy of God be upon you.

Syrian Decree on Establishment of Judicial Council

Damascus home service 21.25 GMT 16.10.61

Text of report of legislative decree issued by the Cabinet:

Object: In carrying out the principles proclaimed by the Government in its ministerial statement and according to its interest and the interest of the revolutionary command in punishing everyone who harmed the homeland and the people in the extinct regime and to impose the just penalty on those whose harm is confirmed, particularly those who were in control of power and security affairs and enjoyed the full powers to expend the State funds and who expended such funds in corrupting consciences and trespassing on public freedom and the freedom of individuals, their honour, their lives, their property and their good reputation, the attached legislative decree has been prepared.

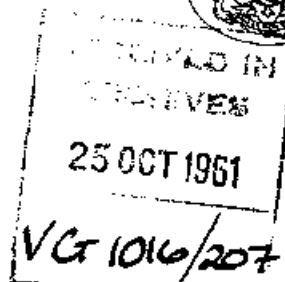
This decree provides for the establishment of a judicial council and an investigating committee to undertake the investigation and trial of all crimes referred to with such speed as is looked for and desired by the people. In order that the Government may guarantee the demonstration of justice and the infliction of just punishment, it has stipulated that the members carrying out this duty should be known for their impartiality, good character and justice. The Minister of Justice, hoping that this action will reassure disturbed minds and console wounded hearts, refers this Bill to the Cabinet for approval and promulgation.

The legislative decree: The Cabinet, in accordance with Legislative Decree No.1 dated 30th September 1961, and the Cabinet decision dated 10th [October] 1961, decrees the following:

Article 1. A judicial council shall be formed, presided over by a judge with at least the rank of counsel of the Court of Cassation, and shall include as members four judges with at least the rank of counsel or professor of the Law College, or a brigadier of the Military Justice Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

1014/61

BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

October 24, 1961.

VGT 1016/207

Dear Department,

With reference to Cairo telegram No. 1034 of October 22, we enclose a list of the persons who were recently arrested as "reactionaries". Several of them, as you will see, had connections with the Wafd before the Revolution.

2. Although some people think that the Wafd is still a powerful latent force in Egypt, we, in common with most of our colleagues in Cairo, found it hard to believe that these gentlemen and their followers could represent a serious threat to the regime. Some of our Egyptian friends have however told us that we might have been under-estimating the counter-revolutionary forces. "Fi moya taht el tibn" (there is water under the straw) seems to be a favourite proverb just now - the implication being that Nasser is rightly siphoning off some of the water. The Counsellor has heard, for example, that Fuad Seraguddin received a surprisingly warm popular acclamation when he attended the funeral of Hegazi, the doyen of Egyptian footballers, a fortnight or so ago. This incident in particular is said to have frightened Nasser and his colleagues into action. Again, there is mounting evidence that a number of officers have been arrested, both from the armed forces and from the police. The regime seems to have been shaken by a growing volume of criticism, which started after the "socialist measures" of July and seemed to become more dangerous after the Syrian coup d'etat. Yet there is no sign of tension in Cairo.

3. "Ahram" published to-day a second list (see Cairo telegram No. 1030 of October 19) of persons who held more than £E10,000 worth of shares in the Companies in which holdings were limited by Law No. 119 of 1961. In the introduction to this supplementary list "Ahram" observed that the figures would give an answer to the following questions:-

- (a) Who really owned Egypt before the socialist measures? Was it the Arab masses or was it an "alien minority" - alien sometimes in name and sometimes alien from the life, problems and hopes of Egypt?
- (b) Why had socialism been imposed as a solution to Egypt's problems? Could the Arab masses ever have wiped out a past of feudalism and exploitation by their own efforts without a social revolution?

"Ahram" promises further lists covering a wider field. The most interesting item in to-day's instalment is probably the name of Abbud Pasha with more than £E1,6000,000 worth of shares.

North and East African Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

/4.

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4. In paragraph 4 of our letter (1014/61) of October 21 we told you that we had 227 names of persons whose bank accounts had been blocked as a prelude to the sequestration of their assets. You will have seen from Cairo telegram No. 1034 of October 23 that sequestration has so far been imposed on 167 of these only. It seems that the authorities are still considering the cases of the other 60. Dr. Abdul Latif Ezzat, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Economy and Sequestrator-General of British, French and Belgian properties, has been appointed Sequestrator-General of these Egyptian properties also. Sequestered Egyptian property, however, comes ultimately under Zakaria Muhyiddin, Vice-President and Minister of the Interior, and not under Dr. Kaissouni, Minister of Economy, as is the case with British, French and Belgian assets. Dr. Ezzat explained this distinction to the Counsellor this morning: the sequestration of Egyptian properties was, he said, a political and not an economic measure. It was designed to maintain the security of the country. He had no idea how long it would last.

5. These measures of arrest, exposure and sequestration have created a feeling of deep insincerity among the middle classes. Cairo is seething with fantastic and contradictory rumours, and those who could confirm or deny them are unwilling or afraid to speak. But (to adapt the proverb we have quoted above) it is hard to see the water for the straw.

6. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chanceries at Amman, Beirut, Baghdad, Washington and Consulate-General Damascus.

Yours ever,

Chancery.

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Persons arrested by the U. A. R. Government
In October 1961.

Mohammed Fuad Seraguddin	Wafdist Minister of the Interior. 1958 Personalities No.157.
Ibrahim Farag Messiha	formerly Secretary-General of the Wafd. A Copt. 1958 Personalities, No.41.
Mohamed Atef Nassar	
✓ Mohammed Izzuddin el Badrawi) Members of a large family of land and property owners.
✓ Mohammed Ala'uddin el Badrawi	
✓ Taufiq Mohammed el Badrawi Ashur)	
✓ Ismail Mohammed Mustafa el Maraghi) Ahmed Mortada Maraghi was a former Minister of Finance and of the Interior, and a son of a previous Sheikh of Al Azhar 1958 Personalities No.100
✓ Hassan Rashad el Maraghi	
✓ Saad Fakhri Abdul Nur	Son of a close associate of Saad Zaghlul in the days of the formation of the Wafd.
✓ Abdul Latif el Marandalli	
✓ Ezzat Habib	
✓ Abdul Khaliq Suleiman	A leading financier, said to be Palestinian
✓ Mahmud Mustafa Hilmi	
✓ Yusuf Hammuda	
✓ Habib Victor Sursock	Member of a wealthy family. His arrest is somewhat surprising, since he seems to have co-operated fully with the Government since his contracting business was taken over in July.

/Vahan

- 2 -

Vahan Yarkant Lebon Kamlagian
(known as Dahan)

Armenian owner of a textile mill outside Cairo. Said to have been reported to the authorities for the violence of his denunciations of Pres. Nasser.

Hagop Brosian

Mahmud Mohammed Rashid

Hanafi Abul Ela

A distinguished and well known lawyer in Egypt. President of Rotary. Art collector etc.. His brother Ahmad is sub-governor of the Central Bank 1961 Personalities No.19

Hamed Zaki

Presumably No.186 of the 1958 Personalities.

Mohammed Zaki Abdul-Mutaal

No.112 of 1958 Personalities

Osman Ghaleb

Qasim Amin

Six members of the Daqnish Abu Matrud family

of Abu Suweir (Ismailiya)

Mohammed Fathi el Salmi

Ahmed Abdul Wahed el Wakil)

Abdul Hamid el Wakil)

Yehya Osman el Minshawi)

Lutfi el Minshawi)

Family of Mme. Nahas

A large land owning family

Dr. el Demerdash Ahmed Ahmed

Formerly Sub-Director of the Ministry of Health; A.U.A.R. Delegate to the I.P.U. Conference in London, September 1957

Ahmed Osman Abdul Ghaffar

Possibly the Ahmed Abdul Ghaffar who is No.53 in the 1958 Personalities.

/Camil Seraguddin

- 3 -

Gamil Seraguddin)

Family of Mohammed Fuad
Seraguddin

Yasin Seraguddin)

Abdul Hamid Seraguddin)

Mohammed Kamel el Kawish

A former Director General
of Public Security, sentenced
by the Revolutionary Courts,
but later released.

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Encl.

CONFIDENTIAL

W.H.G.

Memorandum by W.H.G. Fletcher

Conversation with Dr. Abu Afia on Saturday, October 21st.

When Dr. Abu Afia and his wife visited my home on the 21st October, he told me that he was very worried about the situation in Egypt following the resignation of the Minister of Finance, Hassan Abbas Zaki, and the arrests of a number of well known figures in the economic life of Egypt, as well as the confiscation of the property of others. Neither Zaki nor Dr. Kaissouni, who had been out of the country at the time, had been consulted about the recent measures of Egyptianisation and he did not think that Nasser understood economics. His latest moves were most unwise.

He expressed the opinion that Nasser would eventually be overthrown but he had been saved so far by two events, firstly the international pressure at the time of Suez which had forced the allied evacuation and thus enabled Nasser to disguise the humiliating military defeat which Egypt had suffered at the hands of the Israelis, and secondly by the secession of Syria, which had enabled him to concentrate his limited resources on Egypt. He thought for the future Nasser would draw in his horns and cease to pay much attention either to the affairs of the Arab League or to Africa.

W.H.G. Fletcher

(W.H.G. Fletcher)
23/10/61.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Mr. P. ...
NEAD should see ...
Mr. 25/10
23/10
25/10
23.10.61