

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

V

North and East African Department

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

V G. 1016/251.

FROM CAIRO.

No. 122(s).

Dated November 30.

Received December 2.

SUBJECT:

Internal situation.

Report on the opening of Preparatory Committee of the National Congress of Popular Forces on 25/11.

1616

References

MINUTES

This was a speech of some importance, on a significant occasion, and contains an interesting exposition of Nasser's views. I therefore suggest that the telegram should be printed for the volume. I have prepared a copy accordingly.

2. The following points strike me as being of particular importance:-

Para. 2

Nasser's reiteration of the U.A.R.'s rôle as "a base for the political and social liberation of the whole Arab world" will certainly have been unwelcome to such rulers as King Saud and the Amir of Kuwait.

Para. 8

This, I think, is the first time that Nasser has said in so many words that he is opposed to the investment of foreign capital in Egypt, although his recent measures of nationalisation and sequestration have certainly implied this pretty clearly. Most foreign observers will, I think, agree that this attitude is not in the best interests of the U.A.R., which is in great need of foreign capital.

Para. 10

Here Nasser alleges that reactionary elements in Egypt have looked to Britain for help. The reference to "false broadcasts from abroad" may well be to a clandestine anti-Nasser Radio Station in France, which is the subject of separate pps. I.R.D. may be able to identify the source of these broadcasts

(Printing Instructions)

Volume only.

(Outward Action)

Secy. U.K. Del AMTO.  
Paris: 72.  
Secy. Mr D.F. Porter  
Nicosia: 72

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

17.1.62

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

from the examples quoted by Nasser.  
If it becomes clear that he was in fact referring to the station I have in mind we should, I think, tell Paris about this.

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

*MEG. July 12/12*  
 I.R.D.  
 Eastern Dept.  
 F.O.R.D. (Middle East)  
 ERD.

*D. Hamley*  
 (D.A. Hamley)  
 December 8, 1961.

*Ref our Hamley's comments on Para 10, Paris already knew that the VAK have identified the "Voice of the Egypt" as coming from France.  
 2. I agree this merits printing for vol.*

*PAH Blaker 17/12*

*Borwener 17/12*

*LD DEC 12*

*we have traced at least one quote of Nasser's to the French anti-Nasser station, Voice of a Free; Pres. Nasser refers to a "false broadcast" stating that he had an aircraft waiting ready for flight. This story was put out by Voice of a Free on October 23.*

*A. E. Howell 18/12*

*PARO 22/12*

*AB all  
 Ford (ME)  
 ERD 16/12*

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet.

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

ADVANCE COPY

UNCLASSIFIED

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM BRITISH EMBASSY CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

By Bag

From Sir Harold Beeley

No. 122 Saving  
November 30

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office Saving Telegram No. 122 of November 30 repeated for information Saving to:-

Amman 54  
Beirut 95  
Damascus 118  
Baghdad 47  
Washington 126

Chancery letter No. 1014/61 of November 21: President Nasser and the National Congress.

The Preparatory Committee of the National Congress of Popular Forces held its opening meeting on November 25. After a short introduction by Anwar Sadat, the Secretary-General of the Committee, President Nasser delivered an informal address lasting more than three hours. He spoke with great confidence.

2. After referring to Egypt's "legacy of oppression and humiliation", President Nasser asserted that the country was pledged to act as a base for the political and social liberation of the whole Arab world. The task of the Committee was to take the first step towards the establishment of a popular organisation to carry out the social Revolution: it would have to complete that task within one month.

3. President Nasser then dealt at length with the history of the Revolution. The Egyptians had first fought imperialism and the reactionary elements which worked with it. They had then to struggle with their inheritance of backwardness and with their own weaknesses. At the beginning the Revolution had proclaimed six principles: the elimination of imperialism and its stooges, of feudalism and the domination of capital, and of monopoly; the establishment of social justice and of a sound democratic life; and the creation of a strong national army.

18 DEC 1961

Ref: FD 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

-2-

4. At first the road to social revolution had not been clear: the need to re-distribute wealth conflicted to some extent with the political struggle against British imperialism. In 1952 the revolutionaries had not thought of ruling - they were simply destroying a corrupt monarchy and the power of foreign Embassies. They thought it would be easy to create true democracy through political parties, and they had asked the Wafd to purge itself. But the Wafd, which represented the feudal landlords, had naturally rejected the Agrarian Reform Law, which was the first essential of the Revolution. The civilian Cabinet had therefore been dismissed and the idea of using political parties abandoned.

5. The next stage had been to eject the British forces from the Canal. At that time the reactionaries, Abbud Pasha for example, had anxiously advocated a bargain with the British. They imagined that the British Ambassador could still influence the decisions of the Cabinet as he had before the Revolution: the British had always regarded the reactionaries as their natural allies. The reactionaries, who never ruled openly, had managed to seduce General Neguib; but Neguib had been removed and the policy of non-alignment and positive neutralism declared. The reactionaries had attacked this policy on the grounds that it would be impossible to obtain arms to protect the country against Israel. But the arms monopoly had been broken. Later, during the aggression of 1956, the reactionaries had again advocated negotiations with the British, but in spite of his wrath he had spared them. They had not learned their lesson: after the Suez victory they had helped the economic blockade by smuggling currency abroad. They had later tried to grab some of the British and French companies which had been Egyptianised. But he had used the opportunity to extend the public sector in industry and commerce. The reactionaries had retorted that foreign capital, which required security, would not be invested in Egypt. Yet there had been very little private or foreign investment before 1956.

6. President Nasser then turned to the class struggle, which would continue so long as the fellah could hardly earn his living while the rich brought food by air from Maxim in Paris. He had been acutely conscious of the class struggle since his school days. After the defeat of the British and the French the social revolution had begun. He had announced this clearly at the Co-operative Conference held at Cairo University in 1957, when he had first referred to the socialist co-operative democratic society. The way to justice and equality of opportunity, which was the divine law, was through socialism. He had formed the National Union, through which

/he

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

-3-

he hoped that the class struggle would be resolved; but the reactionaries had infiltrated into the National Union. They had thought that the Revolution was mild and had started to make jokes about it. They had shouted socialist slogans, content as long as socialism did not go beyond words. They had resorted to bribery of Government officials to maintain their profits.

7. In 1960 he had felt that the revolutionary impetus had come to a stop. The threat from the reactionary capitalists was increasing, but it was difficult to act because of Syria where circumstances were different from those in Egypt. Some people asked for a definition of socialist co-operative democracy. In 1952 he could not have defined it. Islam had not been built, nor the Koran revealed, in a day. The social theories of the revolution were developing through study and experience. The studies were not always thorough or accurate, since the machinery of government was still imperfect.

8. After speaking of the importance of a revolution in education and ideas - students at Egyptian universities were still studying obsolete theories of political economy - President Nasser reverted to the necessity of creating equality of opportunity and to the role of foreign capital in Egypt. Between 1952 and 1961 the greater part of the small amounts of foreign capital which had entered Egypt had been invested in oil; most of it had been repatriated within five years. It never contributed to basic industries; its aim was quick profits in light industry. He was therefore against the investment of foreign capital in Egypt. He did not however object to private capital provided that it was invested in the country's interest and not for exploitation.

9. Socialism - which was no longer a matter of controversy - could not be achieved through legislation alone. The people must enjoy complete freedom and democracy; and not the democracy of the past, where wealth meant power. The people were those who had fought imperialism and supported the socialist structure of the state. Those who aimed at restoring the capitalist regime which had existed before 1952 were enemies of the people. These must be disarmed. He hoped that this could be done peacefully, but nothing would be allowed to stand in the way. The people must be protected from subversion whether directed at home or from abroad. There would be full freedom and democracy for the people; but there would be neither freedom nor democracy for the enemies of the people.

10. Egyptians should not be afraid of him; he did not want to create enemies, nor did he bear grudges against certain classes. But the laws, for example on land rents, were being

/evaded

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

-4-

evaded; and this would not do. There would always be conflicts, but these could be settled where there was freedom and democracy. He did not mean democracy of the Western type. This had been tried in Egypt before 1952 and found wanting. It had simply perpetuated the corrupt rule of the feudalist pashas - Cabinets could be changed if enough money were paid through Elias Andraos. It was essential for the social revolution that the enemies of the people should be isolated. The coup d'etat in Syria had encouraged them to think that the same thing could happen in Egypt. They had looked to Britain to help them as she had helped them in the past. The Syrian lesson had been learnt in that it had provided an occasion for the arrest of reactionaries such as the Badrawis and the Seraguddins, who had abused the Revolution from the beginning. Such people had listened to false broadcasts from abroad that the Navy had revolted in Alexandria, that 22 officers led by General Ali Amer had sent a warning to Nasser, that the Army at Fayid had mutinied, and that Nasser had an aircraft near his home in readiness for flight. The stories of arrests of officers were not true. Only four had been arrested, for a reason which would be revealed in future.

11. The reactionaries said that Syria had not suffered from feudalism and imperialism, but he himself had seen the poverty in Syria. The Syrian reactionaries, who had suffered from nationalisation, had conspired with imperialist stooges such as King Hussein and smuggled Syrian currency out of the country. But the Syrian people would not allow the reactionaries to undo the agrarian reform and nationalisation measures. The separatists had tried to persuade the Egyptians that they were not Arabs. The Pharaohs had indeed ruled in Egypt, but the Egyptians had taken up Arab nationalism and would not lose faith in it. King Hussein could rail against Arab socialism for 20 years. The Arabs would not be deceived, and Hussein would pay for it one day. He, Nasser, was not trying to get Syria back into the U.A.R., nor was he sending infiltrators through the Lebanon. The Syrian people could safely be left to guard their own achievements.

12. The base for Arab liberation and Arab socialism must be built in Egypt. The task of the Committee was to prepare the way. The Liberation Rally and the National Union had not been failures, but the Revolution had now moved into a new phase.



BRITISH EMBASSY, ✓

CAIRO.

November 30, 1961.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Department,

As you will have seen from our saving telegram no.122, the Preparatory Committee of the National Congress of Popular Forces opened on November 25 with a three-hour address by the President.

2. The debates began on the following day on the basis of a presidential decree laying down the Committee's rules of procedure. The main point in these was that the Secretary-General, Anwar Sadat, should in effect control the proceedings.

3. At the session of November 26 it was agreed that the Committee should hold a general debate on the nature of the popular forces to be represented in the Congress; how this representation could be achieved through elections; and how many members the Congress should have. A sub-committee will then submit a report, on the basis of this debate, for subsequent discussion by the Committee. Further sub-committees will be formed to study the representation of various branches of the "popular forces" and a co-ordination Committee will prepare a final report for action by the Preparatory Committee.

4. The general debate, which began after the procedural points had been settled, turned on three main questions:-

- (a) who constitutes the people?
- (b) what is socialism?
- (c) who are the enemies of the people and how shall they be excluded from the benefits of democratic life?

One member defined popular forces as "the working people who performed manual or mental work yielding production immediately or for the future". Another said that to ensure the success of socialism unions, syndicates and similar organisations should play a more important role than they had done so far. The Preparatory Committee should therefore consider the laws governing these organisations with a view to making them effective instruments in the implementation of socialism.

5. The most interesting episode of the first day's debate was a piece of by-play between Fuad Galal (formerly Vice-President of the Assembly) and Anwar Sadat. The occasion was the speech of Khaled Mohammed Khaled, a former journalist on the staff of "Al Ahram" and now a freelance, who called for the

/restoration..

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

CONFIDENTIAL



-2-

restoration of all freedoms without delay. He defined the enemies of the people as not only those with wealth and pre-revolutionary political leanings, but all those who stood in the way of the people's aspirations and rights. Fuad Galal retorted that Khaled's views were "immature" and was immediately rebuked by the Chairman, Anwar Sadat, for having indulged in personal criticism. Everybody had the right to speak frankly.

6. Alarmed by Khaled's remarks and by the general vigour and freedom of the debate, the President has attended all succeeding sessions of the Committee and spoken six times. In his first intervention he disclaimed any intention of forming another revolutionary council to govern the country. He recalled that he had stressed the importance of broadening the revolutionary leadership and acknowledged that both a popular organisation and a popular response to the revolution had hitherto been lacking. Socialism he defined as the organisation of society in order to provide sufficiency and justice: socialism opened the door to democracy and freedom. But the people had enemies, and full democracy should be exercised only by the people, so that the revolution should not deviate from its objectives.

7. Nasser went on to repeat his dissatisfaction with the machinery of government, which considered itself above the people. He was confident that Vice-President Baghdadi would so shake up the government machinery that it was transformed into an instrument to serve the interests of the people. Criticism of the bureaucracy has been one of the stock themes of Nasser's recent utterances.

8. In the discussion that followed the Rector of Assiut University defined socialism as "a partnership in ownership" and democracy as a "partnership among citizens". One of the fellahin members expressed his gratitude to the Revolution for having brought him to the Committee as a responsible citizen. To a woman member who questioned whether the fellahin were adequately represented by the co-operatives, and whether women were sufficiently represented on the Committee, the President answered with an outline of the steps envisaged towards the final and complete representation of the people. He admitted that the Preparatory Committee could not claim to represent the people in the parliamentary sense. The next step was to set up the National Congress for Popular Forces. This too would not be fully representative because it would follow a purely vertical system of representation. But in the final stage, the General Congress of the National Union would be formed after general elections throughout the U.A.R., and would thus be a true representation of the people.

9. In a further intervention Nasser commented that there had been no real progress in the field of co-operatives: it would always be difficult to organise agricultural workers. Surplus agricultural labour was a great problem, and the Government had consequently been unable to enforce the law fixing minimum wages. Industrialisation

/was...





-3-

was the answer. Workers' unions he understood; but there must be no organisations of owners or employers - these would be reactionary bodies.

10. The session of November 28 was devoted to an examination of the means of isolating the enemies of the people. Nasser explained that the Revolution had not resulted from a popular organisation or an open struggle, and he again drew the familiar distinction between the two stages of the Revolution - first the evacuation of the British and secondly the establishment of socialism. It was illogical to expect feudal landlords to lead the drive for socialism: they should be isolated, not by imprisonment, but by being removed from the leadership of the country. The reactionaries had infiltrated into the National Union at a time when it was the Government's policy to give the whole people the chance to solve social contradictions peacefully within a framework of national unity.

11. In an interesting contribution, Dr. Gaber Abdul Rahman, Professor of International Law at Cairo university, said that socialism should take a practical form by providing more medical services, more schools, more electricity, and so on. Finally, the Director-General of Productive Organisations defined those who should be isolated from the people as persons who had co-operated with imperialism; those who had made exorbitant profits from exploitation; and feudalists who still owned 3,000 feddans. The fellahin were the centre of gravity of labour; but the University students, who numbered about 100,000, should be properly represented in political organisations and conferences. More women should engage in public service.

eg Tito -  
12. The session of November 29 was almost entirely taken up with another of Nasser's monologues: it is not surprising that he opposed a proposal to limit speeches to fifteen minutes. In a repetitive discourse he implied that the issue must be fought out with the disbelievers in socialism but reiterated his belief in self-criticism. In an interesting passage he stressed that clemency had been extended both to the Moslem Brotherhood and to Marxists. He drew a distinction between adherents of Marxism, to which, as such, he was not opposed, and communists, who received their instructions from foreign countries and were therefore guilty of treason. The Egyptian communists received their orders from Bulgaria. He also recalled as an instance of the merciful nature of the Revolution his insistence that nobody should be debarred as standing as candidate for the National Union - hence the election of Dr. Ma'moun al Kuzbari in Syria. The Government refused to achieve its ends by bloodshed. Freedom was assured to all except those who took instructions from abroad.

13. Speculating on the form of democracy which would emerge in the U.A.R., President Nasser discounted the Western party system, which was founded on dictatorship of capital and produced "socialists" like Guy Mollet. He also dismissed the example of Turkey, where the revolution had died with Ataturk. As for Jordan and Saudi Arabia, their monarchs were simply serving the interests of imperialism.

14. The next meeting of the Preparatory Committee will be held on December 3.

15. We are sending copies of this letter to Amman, Baghdad, Beirut Damascus and Washington.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY. *CS.*

Ref: FO 371/158794

82073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet

ME/779/W5

is for a copy, including quotations:

Other: The battle taking place between the Contractors Association and the workers in the Port of Aden has great significance for the people. The battle is actually another aspect of the battle imperialism has been waging against the people for over 100 years. This battle is continuing and is bringing daily victories for our Arab people.

"The establishments which benefit from the services of the people of Aden are directly subject either to the British authority or to monopolistic capitalist companies which are financed and managed by imperialism or which are pro-imperialist and supported by imperialism. The national element is therefore the foreign body in all these machineries while it constitutes the working power which operates them." This national element is subject to the unjust employers and the tyranny of the directors who threaten it and want it to accept the minimum or to go and seek some other work. Thus capitalist greed has joined with imperialist despotism against the nationalist people working in these establishments.

Those responsible have adopted the same methods used by imperialism against the country. They were sometimes to come to an agreement with the nationalist elements. These agreements were exactly like those imposed by the imperialists on the sultans. "The present dispute between the port workers and the Contractors Association goes back to the agreement which was imposed on them in 1956 following a strike they staged in March of that year. The conditions of the agreement were ridiculous and did not meet the demands of the workers. But the workers were forced to accept the agreement owing to circumstances which could not be avoided at the time." The workers continued to demand amendment of the agreement, but the Contractors Association persisted in refusing and repeatedly attempted to divide the workers.

The Port Workers Union repeated its demand to change the unjust agreement believing that the change would give them conditions which are more just and under which the workers would feel an improvement in their conditions and thus enable them to work better. But the contractors rejected this just claim despite the fact that most of the trade unions have changed their agreements and concluded new ones.

"When the means of peaceful understanding proved futile, the workers resorted to strike. Instead of taking a realistic view of the matters and trying to remedy the actual disease, the Association resorted to meagre decisions which provide some solutions and ignore the basic problem. Even these decisions with their weakness carry in them the factors of their ineffectiveness and uselessness since they have paralysed the executive element and, as regards the most important provisions of these decisions, made them effective in six months' time."

The Arab workers in Aden realise that the authorities support the Company and that the Government is threatening to take arbitrary action against them. But the workers believe in their right and will work in solidarity to achieve it. They will prove to everybody that their right will not be lost so long as there are people to claim it.

*Extract from S.W.B. No. 779 of October 27th. 1961*

The Situation in Egypt

(a) Amman home service 12.00 GMT 25.10.61

Text of report:

The Arab Egyptian people's wrath against their rulers' tyranny has become inevitable. The people expect the Egyptian Army at any moment to carry out a glorious uprising similar to that carried out by the Syrian Army to get rid of the tyrant Nasir's regime. The dictatorship in Egypt is no different from that which existed in Syria. Syria was able to rid itself of its nightmare once and for all. To confirm the Egyptian

RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES

10/27/61

VG 1046/25

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

MB/779/A/6

Arab people's expectations that their tyrannical rulers will be swooped on. The Beirut 'Al-Jaridah' today says that an Arab personality, recently arrived from Cairo, has confirmed that a tense atmosphere covers all Egypt and that the Egyptian people are awaiting relief and an uprising by the Army. The Lebanese paper adds that arrivals in Beirut from Cairo confirm that Abd an-Nasir has issued an order through P-M Abd al-Hakim Amir confining all officers and soldiers to barracks, thus preventing their movement from one place to another, and also forbidding the refuelling of aircraft.

(b) Amman home service 19.00 GMT 25.10.61

Excerpts of commentary:

Orders are constantly being issued from the Qubbeh Palace in Cairo. The Army is confined to barracks - no movement and no transport. Aircraft are at a standstill on the airfields - no flights and no fuel - and the armouries are closed... Tanks surround the houses of Abd an-Nasir and the ruling clique, and a number of units are holding positions in sensitive areas. Despite all this, fear prevails in Cairo because experience has shown that a small group of Qatanah camp officers crushed a long and broad era which was mourned by world newspapers in New York and elsewhere.

Fear prevails in Cairo - according to the Lebanese newspaper 'Al-Jaridah', not us - and the citizens in Egypt are awaiting relief and an uprising by the Army...

What has happened in Syria will happen in Egypt. It is the same regime and the same people. This is not a mere deduction, as some might imagine; it is a fact which proclaims itself. If there is anybody who thinks that Abd an-Nasir and his regime have achieved in Egypt more than they have achieved in Syria, he is most certainly mistaken...

Returning to the subject of the situation in Egypt, we say that the intensified precautions taken with the Egyptian Army at the moment are correct as far as the present regime is concerned. The Army is now the only hope of the Egyptian people as long as the regime is imposed by force and there is no parliament, no political or individual liberty, and no constitution to define the responsibilities and balance in the powers of the authorities. A regime imposed by force can only be dealt with by force. Such force is that possessed solely by the Army. Herein lies the fear which is now gripping the rulers in Egypt...

Abd an-Nasir will fight with the most dangerous weapon to preserve his rule. What more dangerous weapon is there than the stirring up of rancour among the people and the turning of one class against another... The plan begins by inciting a vengeful feeling in the simple peasants and workers so that they will leave their land and factories and go to the city to be armed and fed by the regime with efforts less than those they used to exert in field and factory.

This makes certain political commentators in the Arab homeland say that Abd an-Nasir has shifted from Titoism - to Castroism... To those who link Abd an-Nasir's actions with Castroism we say that the danger to Castro's regime comes from outside Cuba rather than inside, while the danger to Abd an-Nasir's regime is from the inside... What we mean is that the fear of those ruling in Egypt will increase. Whenever fear intensifies, mistakes increase and popular wrath becomes more enraged. Abd an-Nasir will one day have to face the Army.

The Soviet Nuclear Test of 23rd October

Editorial report (station references below):

Baghdad radio quoted the following headlines in its press review of 25th October (06.00 GMT): "Worldwide protest at recent Soviet explosion"; "Soviet spokesman says recent Soviet bomb is clean and free from radioactive radiation".

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

RESTRICTED

British Embassy,  
Cairo

RECORDED IN  
ARCHIVES  
- 5 DEC 1961

VG 1016/264

(10337/61)

November 28, 1961.

Dear Department,

For convenience of reference we are enclosing a copy of each of the two documents which concern the status of the French Property Commission in Cairo, and which were referred to in Cairo telegram No. 1133 of November 28. These are (i) the Ministry for Foreign Affairs' Note of April 23, 1959, to the Swiss Embassy, which sets out the terms on which the British and French Property Commissions would operate, and (ii) Law No. 216 of 1959 which is meant to give effect in Egyptian municipal law to the terms of the Note.

2. When the law was published we studied it carefully here, and Crowe wrote to Beith about it on October 12, 1959 (Cairo's reference was 1921/59). One of the points to which attention was drawn in that letter was the limitation on the immunity from legal procedure: see paragraph 4 of that letter. Crowe suggested that we should, through the Swiss, put on record with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that in this respect Law No. 216 conferred less than the terms of the U.A.R. Note had led us to expect. In view of the impending change in the status of the then Property Commission, it was, however, decided not to take the matter up (see Foreign Office telegram No. 433 to Cairo of October 27, 1959, and Crowe's letter 1921/59 of November 5, to Beith).

Yours ever,

Chancery

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

RESTRICTED



PRESIDENT'S DECISION

Law No. 216 of 1959

Regarding the privileges and immunities of the  
British Property Commission and the  
French Good Offices Mission in Egypt.  
-----

Article 1. The premises occupied by the British Property Commission in the Egyptian Region which is charged with the execution of the Financial Agreement between the U.A.R. and the U.K., signed on the 28th February 1959, as well as their archives and all the documents they own or possess shall be free and immune from all legal processes on a basis of reciprocity.

Article 2. The Head and Members of the Mission shall be granted for the duration of their service, the following immunities and privileges on a basis of reciprocity:-

1. legal immunity for all their actions in their official capacity.
2. exemption from taxation on salaries, wages and remuneration which they receive from their government,
3. exemption from Import Duty, Export Duty, Quarantine Duty, Additional Duty, Quay Duty and Municipal dues for the importation of their luggage and furniture on "première installation", including one car for each one of them under the suspense arrangement,
4. exemption from the formalities governing the residence of foreigners. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will grant the Head and each of the Members of the Mission a non-diplomatic identity card.

Article 3. The provisions of Articles 1 and 2 shall also apply to the French Good Offices Mission.

Article 4. This Law shall be published in the Official Gazette and shall come into force on the date of its publication.  
-----

Published in the Official Gazette No. 198 Bis dated  
16th September, 1959.  
-----

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs present their compliments to the Embassy of Switzerland (In charge of British and French interests in the U.A.R.) and with reference to its Note dated March 23, 1959, concerning the request to appoint a representative of U.K. Government for the questions relating to the implementation of the agreement signed in Cairo on February 28, 1959, between the Governments of the U.A.R. and Great Britain and Northern Ireland, have the honour to inform that while maintaining the principle of reciprocity it is decided that:

1 - The Government of the U.A.R. have no objection to receive in Cairo a British Mission whose function would be limited to questions relating to the implementation of the financial agreement signed with Great Britain on February 28, 1959.

It will be called the "Commission of the British property in the Egypt Region".

2 - The designation is approved of Mr. Colin Tradescant Crowe as head of that Commission in his capacity as Representative of the Government of U.K. in questions relating to the implementation of the mentioned agreement.

3 - Members of that Commission should be limited to four in addition to its head.

4 - The Commission could appoint a limited number of Secretaries not exceeding five. However it could appoint five more Secretaries from among the British Citizens residing in U.A.R. after the approval of the competent authorities of U.A.R.

5 - The head of the Commission as well as its members would be accorded the following exemptions and facilities:

- a) Immunities against legal procedures
- b) Exemption from customs in application of the stipulation of paragraph 3 Article 9 of Law No. 507/1955.
- c) Exemption of the salaries received by them from their Government from the taxes on profit mentioned in the law No. 14/1939 and consequently exempted from the general tax on revenue mentioned in the law No. 99/1949.
- d) Exemption from residence regulation prescribed by the law No. 74/1952 in accordance with Article 19 paragraph 6 of this law.

A non diplomatic identification card will be issued to them by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

6 - The Government of the U.A.R. agree to accord the exemptions and facilities mentioned in No. 5 above to the French /

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet



- 2 -

French Commission of good offices.

7 - The presence of these two commissions in the Egyptian Region shall be temporary and would be limited to the termination of their missions.

8 - The Embassy of Switzerland shall remain to be the protecting power in charge of British and French interests in U.A.R. and will stay to be the mean of communication between the two commissions and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

9 - In application of the principle of reciprocity, the Government of the U.A.R. reserve their rights to send to each of France and Great Britain a mission which would receive in both countries the same treatment and be accorded the same exemptions and facilities.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avail themselves of this opportunity to renew &c.

Cairo,

April 23, 1959.

FROM PARIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Re Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir P. Dixon

VG 1016/265

No. 718  
December 6, 1961D: 3.00 p.m. December 6, 1961  
R: 3.33 p.m. December 6, 1961PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 718 of December 6  
Repeated for information to : Cairo  
And Saving to : Washington  
UKDel N.A.T.O.

Arrested French Diplomats.

The French Foreign Minister is reported in the Press as having made three points in reply to questions during yesterday's debate in the Senate.

These were -

- (I) the Egyptian Government has up to now taken no steps to assure the defence of the accused men. The French Government had requested visas on December 2 for French lawyers to go to Cairo for this purpose and these had not yet been granted. If a trial was to begin on December 9 it was clear that it was quite impossible for any proper defence to have been organised and the appearances of legality would have been openly violated in a hitherto unprecedented form;
- (II) the French Government had proposed to the Egyptian Government on December 3 through the channel of the Swiss that the dispute should be taken before some impartial international organ and that for this purpose a conciliation commission or an arbitral tribunal should be constituted. If this was not satisfactory to the Egyptians the matter should be put before the International Court of Justice;
- (III) this sort of incident was becoming all too common in recent years; examples were - the treatment of United States diplomats in Cuba and in the burning of the Belgian Embassy in Cairo. There was no other remedy to this

/state



Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

Paris telegram No.718 to Foreign Office

-2-

state of affairs than firm reaction by the whole body of civilized States, systematic confirmation of their solidarity, and closely co-ordinated action. This, at any rate, was the position and policy of France.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Washington No.345.

[Repeated as requested].

♦♦♦♦

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

**FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE**

ARC-VES

7-DEC 1961

**FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION**

En Clair

Sir. H. Bealey

VGR:1016/266

**No. 1184  
December 6, 1961**

D. 8.05 p.m. December 6, 1961

R. 8.08 p.m. December 6, 1961

**PRIORITY**

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1184 of December 6.

Repeated for information to:- Paris

and Saving to:- U.K. Del. N.A.T.O. Rome

Washington Berno

Bonn

An indictment was issued last night against the following persons arrested in the French "spy" case:

- ✓ (1) Mattel.
- ✓ (2) Bellivier.
- ✓ (3) Mouton.
- ✓ (4) Miquel.
- ✓ (5) D'Amale (at present in France).
- ✓ (6) Bakiri (naturalised Egyptian. Former journalist).
- ✓ (7) Faire (French lawyer).
- ✓ (8) Saad Musallem (Egyptian former French Embassy interpreter, now employed by the Canadian Embassy).
- ✓ (9) Papadepoules (naturalised Egyptian, journalist).
- ✓ (10) Adil Andreas (former Ambassador to France).
- ✓ (11) Adil Sabot (Egyptian, publisher).
- ✓ (12) Mohammed Abdul Megid (Egyptian, official at the Ministry of Culture).

2. The first five defendants are charged with: taking part in a conspiracy to contact a foreign country in order to jeopardise the military, political and economic situation of the U.A.R.; offering money to others for this purpose and agitating for the subversion of the régime; undertaking intelligence and subversion in accordance with the policy of the French Government to upset the U.A.R. Government, one method  
/envisaged

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

Cairo telegram No. 1184 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

embellished being the assassination of the President. All this they did while in the capacity of members of the French Property Commission, in execution of instructions from the French Government.

3. There are four specific heads:

(i) contacting a foreign country and forwarding military, political, and economic reports damaging to the U.A.R. to the French Foreign Ministry.  
"This crime took place during time of war";

(ii) paying defendants (6) to (8) to collect such information;

(iii) openly inciting people to overthrow the present U.A.R. régime, by preparing leaflets distributed through the fourth defendant which, among other things, described the régime as dictatorial;

(iv) assisting the French Government to intensify its propaganda against the U.A.R. régime with a view to accomplishing its overthrow.

4. Defendants (6), (7) and (8) are charged with:

(i) providing defendants (1), (2) and (5) with political and economic information of a detrimental character about U.A.R. in the interests of France;

(ii)(a) supplying political information about the U.A.R. in return for monthly payments (defendants (6) (8)). Accepting fees in respect of legal cases connected with the work of the commission (defendant 7).

(b) criminal complicity in the offence of communicating with a foreign Power by providing it with information detrimental to the U.A.R. in return for money (all three).

5. Defendants (9) to (11) are charged with corresponding with persons working for the interests of a foreign country by supplying defendants (1), (2), (6) and (7) with harmful political and economic information about the U.A.R., in awareness of what they were doing.

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

Cairo telegram No. 1184 to Foreign Office

- 3 -

6. Defendant (12) is charged with accepting a bribe from the French company "Phillips" in connexion with the latter's "Sole et Lumière" contract at the Pyramids, soliciting another bribe, and obtaining personal profit through an agreement with a French television organization to produce films for the Ministry of Culture.

7. Defendants (1), (2), (5) and (7) are charged with transferring currency abroad by illegal means. Defendants (1), (2) and (5) are alleged to have accepted ££13,000 from defendant (7) (and further sums from other French citizens) and crediting them with equivalent sums in Paris.

8. The indictment refers the accused for trial to the Supreme State Security Court, in accordance with various provisions of the Penal Code and decrees establishing a state of emergency.

9. Attached to the indictment is a list of five witnesses and a summary of their testimony. Witness no. 1 is Ezzat, the Sequestrator-General, who gives formal testimony about the sequestration functions of the Commission. The remaining four all relate to the charge against defendant No. (12). The testimony recounts various examples of suspicious behaviour on his part, among them the observation that he was meticulous in executing the provisions of the Phillips' contract, especially in connexion with the company's request for payment of the first instalment of their costs before the inauguration of the project.

10. The two women arrested have been released and, according to the Press, will be expelled from the country. I understand that Hagazi, the Deputy Sequestrator-General of French Property, has also been released.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to U.K. Del. N.A.T.O., Washington, Bonn, Rome and Berne as my telegrams Nos. 54, 132, 10, 3 and 5 respectively.

[Repeated as requested].

SSSSS

Ref: FO 371/138794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

CONFIDENTIAL

DATE	FILE
VGT 1016/269	

PW

U.A.R.: Arrest of French Officials:

The French have shown a tendency to want to publicise the efforts they are making to persuade other countries to make representations to the U.A.R. Government. They may try to do this in connection with the French Ambassador's call on the Lord Privy Seal today. We do not think publicity is useful, either in our relations with the U.A.R. or for the prisoners themselves. Any impression that we are getting together with the French to put pressure on the U.A.R. is likely to stiffen the latter's attitude.

2. I suggest that the Lord Privy Seal should raise the question of the line to be taken with the press when he sees M. Chauvel and suggest that in response to any enquiries about the purpose of the Ambassador's call, the Foreign Office and the French Embassy should limit themselves to the line that the question of the French officials was amongst the subjects discussed.

3. In the last resort we cannot prevent the French Embassy saying what they like to the press, but it would be as well if they did not give the impression that the case of the French officials was the main or only purpose of the Ambassador's call. And we should be prepared to discourage them strongly from giving the impression that they asked H.M.G. to take action with the U.A.R. Government.

*P.A.R. Blaker.*  
(P. A. R. Blaker)  
December 5, 1961

Mr. Higgins

Copy to: News Department

CONFIDENTIAL

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

CONFIDENTIAL

RECORDED IN  
INDEXED  
- 30000001

P.W.

VC106/269(A)

U.A.R.: Arrest of French Officials

The Lord Privy Seal might make the following points, as appropriate, to the French Ambassador:-

- (a) Sir R. Stevens expressed our concern to the U.A.R. Ambassador last week, saying he was speaking with the authority of the Secretary of State.
- (b) We are urgently considering M. Chauvel's representations to Sir F. Hoyer Millar, with particular reference to the question of immunity.
- (c) If M. Chauvel makes other suggestions, he could say that we should consider them, but he could be discouraging about any suggestion of economic pressure on the grounds that this would be likely to do more harm than good. *of course*

*P.A.R. Blaker*  
(P. A. R. Blaker)  
December 5, 1961

Mr. Higgins

Copy to: News Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

Ref: FO 371/158794

88073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

CONFIDENTIAL

VG 1016/230

THE ARREST OF FRENCH OFFICIALS IN CAIRO

The French asked us on November 27 to draw the attention of the U.A.R. Government to the consequences which the recent arrests of certain members of the French Property Commission in Cairo might have in the U.A.R.'s relations with the West. The text of the French Note to us is contained in Foreign Office

Flag A telegram No. 511 Saving to Cairo; that of the Note they have

Flag B sent to the U.A.R. authorities in telegram 512 Saving.

2. The French represented to us again today that early action should be taken at the highest possible level with a view

Flag C to supporting the French protest to the U.A.R. Government.

They asked for action to be taken in Cairo but have told us that they would be equally well served by action in London. They have also told us that both the United States and Netherlands Ambassadors in Cairo are prepared to take part in any representation made there in support of the French. We know however that the State Department's instructions to the U.S. Ambassador in Cairo are that he should not take the lead in any representations which, if he should make them, should be in a minor key. The Americans here will be recommending that action should be taken in Washington rather than in Cairo.

Flag D 3. We asked H.M. Ambassador in Cairo for views on the French

Flag E approach to us. In paragraph 4 of his telegram No. 1133,

Sir H. Beeley said that he thought it would be useless for him or any of his colleagues, other than the Swiss, to make representations in Cairo. The only way he and his colleagues could see of helping the French was for informal representations to be made at a very high level in a number of capitals on the general grounds that behaviour of this kind is incompatible with a desire for good relations with the Western world. Thus both the French and Sir H. Beeley have suggested to us representations on the same lines.

CONFIDENTIAL

/4.

CONFIDENTIAL

4. We were faced with the same sort of situation when the Belgian Embassy in Cairo was attacked and burnt by an Egyptian mob earlier this year. On that occasion, Sir R. Stevens spoke to the U.A.R. Ambassador, basing his remarks upon the principle of inviolability of diplomatic premises. The circumstances of the present case are however somewhat different in that it is personal immunity that is involved, and it would be difficult for us to establish without a good deal of research the precise nature of the immunity to which these officials may be entitled. The Legal Adviser has been consulted on this point, and agrees, and this aspect of the matter is primarily one for the French themselves to handle. Whatever the immunity position may be, this is outrageous behaviour towards officials of a foreign government.
5. Sir R. Stevens is summoning the U.A.R. Ambassador at 4.30 p.m. on November 30. I recommend that Sir R. Stevens should speak to the Ambassador on the lines suggested by Sir H. Beeley, and that we subsequently tell the French what action we have taken. It would be useful if Sir R. Stevens could say that he is speaking with the Secretary of State's authority.
6. Central Department and Mr. Burrows, the Assistant Legal Adviser concerned, agree. A copy of this submission is being sent to the Permanent Under-Secretary's office, since Sir F. Hoyer Millar is seeing the French Ambassador about this on Friday.

Copy

Lord Privy Seal  
 Lord Lansdowne  
 Mr. Thomas  
 Sir F. Hoyer Millar  
 Mr. Burrows.

*John Baird*  
 (J.G.S. Beith)  
 November 29, 1961.

*W. Burrows*

30/11

CONFIDENTIAL



Ref: FO 371/138794

82073

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

CAIRO

CONFIDENTIAL

CAIRO

Paris, UKDEL NATO

PARIS

UKDEL NATO

Your telegram No. 1133 [of November 28:  
Arrest of French Officials in Cairo].

Counsellor of French Embassy called again on the Department this morning and represented to us, orally, that early action should be taken at the highest possible level with a view to supporting the French protest to the UAR Government. He showed us telegrams conveying the information that both the U.S. and Netherlands Ambassadors in Cairo were prepared to take part in any representations made there in support of the French.

2. M. Dupuy explained that French feeling on this question was very strong; they might take reprisals and they might take the matter to the Security Council, but their first consideration was for the well being of the officials who had been arrested and they did not yet therefore wish to reach the "point of no return".

3. He was told that we were still considering what action we could usefully take and asked  
/whether

*Copy for Sir  
N. Stevens*

*NS*

Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet

whether the French Government for their part felt that action should be taken in Cairo rather than <sup>for example, by</sup> ~~by means of~~ summoning the U.A.R. Ambassador. M. Dupuy said that his instructions were to press for action in Cairo but he thought that representations made to the UAR Ambassador would fully meet French requirements; the main consideration was <sup>the probable</sup> ~~to take whatever~~ ~~action would be most effective~~ ~~of whatever~~ was done.