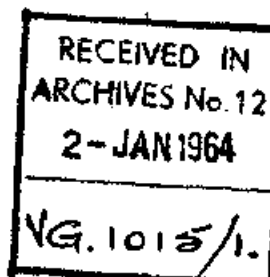


6
Suter
CONFIDENTIAL

EGYPT

Victory Day Speech



Flag A Nasser made his annual speech at Port Said on December 23, the
Flag B anniversary of 'Victory Day' which brought the Suez crisis to
an end. It is, as usual, very unfriendly, as the Secretary of
State has commented on the attached copy of Cairo telegram No. 994
of December 24 which summarises it. Sir H. Beeley has commented
that whereas in general the speech is much less offensive than
last year, it commits Nasser more explicitly to a policy of
active hostility towards the British position in Aden.

2. The purpose of this submission is to consider whether we
should let Nasser get away with a speech of this sort. If we are
to take any action it could take one ~~of~~^{or} a number of the
following forms.

- (a) to ask the Americans to apply pressure by threatening a cut
in aid;
- (b) to instruct Sir H. Beeley to make suitable representations;
- (c) to make a public statement here.

3. (a) Possible American Pressure

The Americans have already considered the possibility of
applying pressure to Nasser by threatening a cut in their aid
programme with a view to facilitating a solution in the Yemen.
The Americans have consistently said that they are not prepared
to cut aid for this purpose though they have drawn U.A.R.
attention to the Gruening amendment and the bad effect of
U.A.R. policies on U.S. opinion. The level of aid to the
United Arab Republic may, of course, be affected by
Congressional action through the Gruening Amendment, but this
would be forced upon the Administration, not initiated by them.
To the extent that the Administration are reluctant to use

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/American

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American aid to apply pressure in the Yemen context they are the less likely to do so over Aden, at all events so long as the matter relates to U.A.R. speeches rather than demonstrable Egyptian action in or against Aden.

(b) A démarche by Sir H. Beeley

The improvement of relations with the U.A.R. has made it easier for Sir H. Beeley to see Nasser, and he could no doubt secure another interview fairly quickly. It would hardly be worthwhile speaking to anybody below Nasser on a matter of this sort. Last year we asked Sir H. Beeley to seek an interview with Nasser and to remonstrate with him about the terms of last year's speech, which were very much more offensive. (The text of that speech is given in Cairo telegrams Nos. 962 and 963 of 1962; and our instructions to Sir H. Beeley are given in Foreign Office telegram to Cairo No. 1342 of December 27.) In the event Sir H. Beeley finally took action with Hassanein Heikal, Nasser's confidant and the Editor of El Ahram. Flags C
and D

The arguments for and against instructing Sir H. Beeley to make representations are fairly evenly balanced. On the one hand we are entitled to complain; would be expected by Parliament to do no less; and could only usefully do so with Nasser himself. Sir H. Beeley could point out that ~~the speech~~ the speech is inconsistent with the views that Nasser has expressed privately on other occasions to the effect that the British position in Aden and the Gulf is of no immediate concern to the U.A.R. On the other hand Nasser would almost certainly reply that as an Arab nationalist he has always been publicly committed to the expulsion of any foreign presence from Arab territories, and that he could not have said much less than he did given the occasion on which he said it. An argument on these

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/lines

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lines would perhaps be sterile but on balance I think that the advantage lies in our making our objections plain and putting them on record - and with Nasser himself and not with e.g. Heikal.

(c) A Public Statement here.

As Parliament is in recess we cannot at the moment make a statement there. It would be possible for News Department to speak along agreed lines in answering any questions from the press here, if necessary inspired ones. But very little publicity has been given to Nasser's speech and the press has shown increasing unwillingness in the last year to take Nasser's statements seriously. News Department advise strongly against making any statement.

I conclude that in the circumstances we should go for course (b). I submit accordingly a draft telegram to Cairo.

Arabian, Information Policy and News Departments have been consulted and concur.

R. Scrivener
(R. S. Scrivener)
December 30, 1963.

Copy

Lord Carrington
Lord Dundee.

I agree with this submission.

W. Harrison
30/xii.

P.U.S.

I agree with the draft telegram & w^d prefer to reserve final judgement on a) the U.S. aspect & b) a public statement here until we have

CONFIDENTIAL

/ seen

See the outcome of the telegram.
Lrd Chaynton
Linda Cullen
So/xx
I agree
C
31.12.63

Tel sent yesterday; accompanied by a
further telegram about USA propaganda in his
agreed with T Crawford.

bn. 6/1 so that PWS's minute of 20/12
is not overlooked.

NS.
/

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir H. Bealey

No. 24
January 11, 1964

D. 6.35 p.m. January 11, 1964
R. 8.00 p.m. January 11, 1964

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

VG.1015/2

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 24 of January 11.
Repeated for information to POMEK (Aden)

Amman	Jedda
and Saving to Baghdad	Tunis
Rabat	Benghazi
Tripoli	Beirut
Damascus	Algiers
Washington	Tel Aviv

Your telegram No. 1966 of 1963: Aden.

I was received by President Nasser this morning, and told him that you were concerned by the discrepancies between the language of his speech at Port Said on December 23 and the terms of the assurance he had given to me on October 21 (my telegram No. 814, paragraph 5). He replied by asking if I had not seen what the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations had said about his designs on Aden when answering Mr. William Yates in the House of Commons. This passage in the Port Said speech had been a reply to Mr. Sandys, whose remark moreover showed that Her Majesty's Government had not believed what he had told me in October. I said that while I could understand that the President might have been annoyed by the observation to which he referred, it could hardly have caused him to change his policy, and asked whether I could assume that this remained as he had expounded it to me in October. To this he answered that he had no intention of giving any material support to the nationalists in Aden; his purpose had been to assure them of his moral backing.

2. I then said that I had noted the use in his speech of the phrase "the occupied southern territory", which was the expression used by the Yemeni irredentists. Did this mean that he supported their claim to the territories of the South Arabian Federation? He replied that he was well aware of the different opinions held by

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/the

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Cairo telegram No. 24 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

the political leaders in Aden on this issue. For his part he was in favour of independence and had not intended to imply more than that by the language he had used at Port Said. In this connexion he confirmed, in answer to a question, that he had received a report on Mr. Bahareen's visit to Cairo; the Chief Minister had seen Ali Sabry, but he himself had not had time to have a talk with him.

3. I said that if he accepted the objective of independence for the Federation, there was agreement in principle between us, though admittedly we might have different ideas as to the time it would take to reach this goal. There was also the question of the base, the importance of which to us would probably increase in the immediate future as a result of the independence of Kenya. Nasser commented on this by saying that during the Evian negotiations the Algerians had asked for his opinion about Mers El Kebir. He had told them that he saw no objection to their agreeing to the retention of a French base there, provided that it was not intended that it should stay for ever.

4. I then said that the difficulty of understanding his attitude to these problems was increased by the radio propaganda which was being put out both from Cairo and from Sana'a, and which included incitement to sabotage and rebellion. He said that he had no control whatever over Radio Sana'a, and he doubted whether the Yemeni Government itself had much more. As for the Cairo radio, it had only commented in response to appeals which had reached him from inside the Federation. He instanced the telegrams he had received recently from relatives and supporters of the detained leaders, on which I observed that the accusation of torture for which these messages were no doubt the source and which had been broadcast from Cairo was unfounded, as had been stated by the Delegation of Labour Members of Parliament which had made an investigation on the spot.

5. The conversation then turned to the Yemen, the only point of interest here being that Nasser said he was hoping to have a private conversation with King Saud on this subject. Preceding from there to talk about the Summit conference, he expressed pleasure at the quick response to his invitation from King Hussein, and said that he had already seen the Foreign Minister of Jordan, who had asked for the resumption of diplomatic relations. Nasser said that all Press and radio propaganda between Arab Governments had now ceased, adding that in every case it had been started not by him but by the other side. The inference seemed to be that the conference would provide an opportunity for prolonging the truce.

/Ho

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Cairo telegram No. 24 to Foreign Office

- 3 -

He said that he had had the idea of a conference of this kind in his mind for nearly a year, but had hesitated about launching it right up to the eve of his Port Said speech. He believed, however, that the timing had been right.

Foreign Office pass POMEQ (Aden), Jeddah and Savig to Baghdad, Rabat, Tripoli, Damascus, Washington, Tunis, Benghazi and Algiers as my telegrams Nos. 4, 5, 1, 1, 1, 1, 3, 1, 1, and 1 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

CONFIDENTIAL

Further

Mr. Lane
Mr. Higgins *Off. chd.*
Adm.
Send a short letter to
Sir H.B. by the 2nd inst.

VG.1015/3

CONFIDENTIAL

NASSER'S PORT SAID SPEECH

Flag A We decided to reserve judgement on further action over
 VG 1015/27(63)
 Flag B Nasser's last "Victory Day" speech at Port Said until
 VG 1015/1- conveying
 our decision
 & the
 reasons
 therefor
 Flag C Sir H. Beeley had taken the matter up with him.
 (F.O. tel. No. 1966 of Dec. 31)
 VG 1015/27(63) The further action to be considered was to ask the Americans
 to apply pressure on Nasser by threatening to cut aid, and/or
 to make a public statement here.
 2. Nasser's reply to Sir H. Beeley's representations was that
 his remarks about Aden were a reply to a charge by the Commonwealth
 Secretary in Parliament that he had designs on Aden which
 implied that H.M.G. had not believed him when, on October 21,
 he had denied this to Sir H. Beeley. The excuse is pretty thin.
 Flag E It is apparent from Hansard that Mr. Sandys was ascribing views
 BM 1071/167
 Flag F (Hansard of Dec. 19 Col. 1448) to Mr. Yates rather than intentions to Nasser, but Nasser's
 inference is to some degree understandable.
 3. Nasser's explanation that he was giving only moral
 support to independence (rather than to the Yemeni concept
 of liberating the occupied Arab south) is hardly consistent
 with the extreme terms he used at Port Said. But our position
 has been restated and our protest lodged and Nasser has been
 induced explicitly to affirm that he has no intention of
 giving any material support to the nationalists in Aden. (There
 is clear evidence that the Egyptians have been involved in passing
 arms to Adeni dissidents, but it is not known whether this is
 policy directed from Cairo or local action conceived as
 retaliation for incidents in the Yemen attributed to "the
 British"). That the Aden nationalists have his moral backing,
 and general propaganda support, is an inevitable consequence
 of his fundamental attitudes towards remaining Western positions

N.S.
20/11

/In

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in the Arab world. There can I think be no hope of shifting his view. But where actions as opposed to propaganda are concerned we now have a useful assurance that can be quoted back at him when need arises.

4. The opportunity was also taken to pull Nasser up over recent offensive broadcasts on Cairo and ^{Sana'a} ~~Sana'a~~ Radios. On this, paragraph 4 of the telegram shows Nasser in less excusable posture: he blamed it on the "appeals" which had reached him from inside the Federation and spoke of telegrams recently received from relatives and supporters of detained leaders.

Flag D
Flag G
F.O. tel.
1967 of
Dec. 31 to
Cairo.
1015/37

The fact is that the detentions were after December 10, whereas heightened propaganda including incitement to violence was in full blast from Cairo Radio by the end of November. What is more, he cannot disclaim power to control Sana's Radio.

5. Nasser's reply is more satisfactory than it might have been and shows I think the value of maintaining confidential channels of communication with the Egyptian leaders and avoiding public controversy. I conclude therefore that no further action, such as inviting American support or making a public statement, can usefully be taken on the Port Said speech. Arabian Department, who concur, will consider separately as events develop whether further action over the propaganda campaign is called for. The subject is also expected to be discussed in the Washington talks at the end of this month.

6. Information Policy and News Departments also concur.

R. Scrivener
(R. S. Scrivener)
January 17, 1964.

Copies: Lord Carrington
Lord Dundee
Mr. R. S. Crawford

I agree

CONFIDENTIAL

I agree with Mr Scrivener that we should let this rest where it is at least for the time being.

Lord Cawington

W. Harrison
→ 17/1

Lord Cawington agrees.

A. V. G. H. H.
Jan. 18.

Letter to Cairns issued
Reference

BY NEXT BAG please; Thanks, Jan 23 am

22/12

+ 3 Copies

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RPH
21/1

Insert Telephone No. & Ext.
when appropriate.

Draft: LETTER

To: ^{and} Sir H. Beelley, ^{KCMA. CCG.}
CAIRO.

From: R.S. Scrivener

Copies: J.C.W. Bushell,
P.O.M.E.C.
ADEN.

~~Sir Colin Crowe,
K.C.M.G.
British Embassy,
JEDDA. Chy.~~

Chancery,
WASHINGTON.

*Asking Dept
BTP 21/1*

RECEIVED IN
DIVISION
27 JAN 1964
SENT TO BY 22/1
BY 23/1

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

We were most interested in the report in your telegram no. 24 of January 11 of your talk with Nasser about his "Victory Day" remarks about Aden.

2. When your instructions for this were approved it was agreed to reserve judgement on any further action, ~~in relation to them. We and we have~~ ^{and we have} ~~were in particular considering whether we should ask the Americans to apply pressure on him by threatening to cut aid and/or whether to make a public statement here.~~

~~3. These ideas have been looked at again in the light of your report and it has been decided to let things rest where they are for the time being. Although Nasser's excuse of~~ ^{Secretary} ~~provocation by the Commonwealth Society was pretty thin it was to some degree understandable~~ ^{you} ~~and we~~ ^{re-stating} ~~have succeeded in both lodging our protest and reiterating our position. More than this, you managed to extract a useful that~~ ^{could prove useful.} ~~affirmation~~ ^{the} ~~that Nasser has no intention of giving any material support to the Aden nationalists. We recognise of course that he~~ ~~felt~~ ^{is} ~~bound to give them moral support. But where actions as opposed to propaganda are concerned, we now have something pretty solid to quote back at him when need arises. All in all therefore, Nasser's reply proved more~~

/satisfactory

satisfactory than we might have expected.
4. You will probably agree that this cannot be said of his reply on the offensive broadcasts from Cairo and Sana'a. The "appeals" which had reached him from the Federation postdated the detentions after the bomb outrage at Aden Airport on December 10 whereas heightened propaganda, including incitement to violence, was in full blast from Cairo Radio by the end of November. And Nasser cannot of course seriously disclaim power to control Sana'a Radio, ^{especially} particularly now that he has two official representatives in the Y.A.R. National Security Council. ^{But as regards further action we shall wait and see how} ~~we shall be considering further action on this front~~ as things develop.

5. I am sending copies of this letter to ~~the~~ Bushell in Aden, ~~Chickens~~ in Jeddah and to the Chancery ⁱⁿ Washington and Jeddah.

NS.

21/1

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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(VO 1015/3)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

January 22, 1964.

CONFIDENTIAL

We were most interested in the report in your telegram No. 24 of January 11 of your talk with Nasser about his "Victory Day" remarks about Aden.

2. When your instructions for this were approved it was agreed to reserve judgment on any further action; and we have decided to let things rest where they are for the time being. Although Nasser's excuse of provocation by the Commonwealth Secretary was pretty thin you have succeeded in both lodging our protest and re-stating our position. More than this, the affirmation you managed to extract that Nasser has no intention of giving any material support to the Aden nationalists could prove useful. We recognise of course that he feels bound to give them moral support. But where actions as opposed to propaganda are concerned, we now have something pretty solid to quote back at him when need arises. All in all therefore, Nasser's reply proved more satisfactory than we might have expected.

3. You will probably agree that this cannot be said of his reply on the offensive broadcasts from Cairo and Sana'a. The "appeals" which had reached him from the Federation postdated the detentions after the bomb outrage at Aden Airport on December 10 whereas heightened propaganda, including incitement to violence, was in full blast from Cairo Radio by the end of November. And Nasser cannot of course seriously disclaim power to control Sana'a Radio, especially now that he has two official representatives on the Yemeni Arab Republic National Security Council. But as regards further action we shall wait and see how things develop.

4. I am sending copies of this letter to John Bushell and to the Chanceries in Washington and Jeddah.

(sd) (R.S. Scrivener).

Sir Harold Beeley, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.,
CAIRO.

CONFIDENTIAL

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

February 20, 1964.

(1014/64)

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES No. 12
24 FEB 1964
VG.1015/4

Dear Ronald,

Anwar Sadat and Hassan Ibrahim (they are respectively Nos. 45 and 56 in our Personalities Report for 1963) were appointed Vice-Presidents of the Republic on February 17. No reason was given for these appointments, nor for their timing, but the most likely explanation is that two extra Vice-Presidents will be required to allow for all six of the projected senior Committees of the Arab Socialist Union to be headed by a Vice-President. You will recall that I reported on the plans for re-organising the governmental machine in my letter No. 1014/10/10/63 of October 10. Field Marshal Amer is precluded by his military status from taking a post in the Arab Socialist Union. On the other hand, Kemaluddin Hussein's position is still obscure.

2. It was in any case anomalous that Anwar Sadat, and to a lesser extent Hassan Ibrahim, who were closely associated with Nasser in the days of the Free Officers and have enjoyed considerable status ever since should not hitherto have been Vice-Presidents. There was never any obvious reason why Hussein Shafai and Kemaluddin Hussein should have gone up when they did not.

3. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Chancery at Washington.

Yours sincerely,
Donald Maitland
(D. J. D. Maitland)

R. S. Scrivener, Esq.,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

Handwritten notes:
E. W.
N. Langford 21/2
N. Langford 22/2
N.S.
21/2

Handwritten note: VG 1015/29(63)

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

de Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir H. Bealey

No. 223
March 21, 1964

D:3.18 p.m March 21, 1964

R:4.25 p.m March 21, 1964

VG1015/B

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 223 of
March 21

Repeated for information Saving to:- Amman Bagdad
Beirut Damascus
Jedda Bahrain
Kuwait Algiers
Rabat Tunis
Houphasi
Tripoli Khartoum
Washington Paris.

President Nasser yesterday issued a declaration embodying a provisional constitution which will be valid from March 25 until a permanent constitution, drafted by the National Assembly, has been approved by a referendum.

2. The provisional constitution is divided into six chapters dealing with the character of the U.A.R. (defined as a Democratic Socialist State), the structure of society, rights and obligations, the system of Government, and general and transitional provisions.

3. Under the provisions of Chapter 2, which applies Arab Socialist principles to the U.A.R. the entire national economy will be directed in accordance with the State development plan. Private ownership however is to be protected and property may not be expropriated except for reasons of public interest and in return for equitable compensation as stipulated by law.

4. In Chapter 4 the functions of the National Assembly are defined with rather more precision than in the National Assembly Law (my Despatch No. 57 of 1963). This chapter also defines the powers of the President of the Republic. He is to be nominated by the National Assembly and elected by referendum. His term of office will be six years. He will have power to dissolve the Assembly, and to appoint and dismiss one or more Vice Presidents, the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers.

/The Ministers

25
1964

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Cairo telegram No. 223 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

The Ministers are to be responsible to the Assembly both collectively and individually.

5. One of the transitional rules is that the present term of the President shall end on March 26, 1965. The Presidential Council ceases to exist with the abrogation of the Proclamation which established it in 1962.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Amman, Baghdad, Damascus, Jeddah, Bahrain, Kuwait, Algiers, Rabat, Tunis, Benghazi, Tripoli, Khartoum, Washington and Paris as my telegrams Nos. 10, 11, 8, 4, 3, 2, 9, 7, 7, 6, 6, 6, 23 and 1 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

00000

1964

V

North and East African Department

VG1015/9.

FROM
 Air H. Bealey
 Cairo.

SUBJECT:

Reconstruction of U.A.R. Government.

CONFIDENTIAL
 No. 22 SAVING.
 Dated 26 MAR. 1964
 Received 30 MAR 1964

References

MINUTES

-10.
 E1073/130, -108.

The changes look more far-reaching than they are likely to turn out to be in practice. Some Ministers, including Dr. Fawzi, have been made into Deputies Prime Ministers, notably, as in this case, in the same province of affairs. It is unlikely that Dr. Fawzi will take more power over foreign relations now than he did before. Possibly he, since Mr. Riad who leaves New York to become Foreign Minister is said to be intelligent and in the confidence of President Nasser.

(Printing Instructions)

2. I understand that even had Dr. Fawzi left the government there would be no special call on the S. of S. to send a message to him or his successor. It is only done when it truly means something according to Protocol Dept.

(Outward Action)

Off) C.T. Bant, Cairo
 from R.T. Higgins 19/5

3. We have had ^{official} no intimation, so far as I know, of Mr. El Sayid leaving London to replace Mr Riad in New York. But see - 110.

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

MC
 21/5/64

ME
 16/7/65

4. There is no reason to regret Dr. Kassis's elevation and his swallowing of Dr. Zaid's old job as Minister of Economy. The latter is expected to go to the Central Bank.

-18.

5. We have heard no more of the fate of two former Vice-Presidents, Bughdadi and Huseni. Hakim Amer and Sabri look so secure as ever.

/A

6. A clear analysis of these and other events on the domestic Egyptian scene over the past fortnight will no doubt issue from Cairo shortly.

R. Higgins 1.4.

E. Dept 9/14
 Robert Dept (para 2+3 above) (Mr Nicholson to see)
 Fully briefed

If we have no follow up from Cairo now about Boghdadi and Kameladdin Hussein we should ask for one, with possible reasons for their apparent eclipse from the Govt (? for some party functions).

R. Higgins 2/4

A) S.W.B. no. 1515 March -

The Ambassador's Francoise was near to me.
 D.G.C. 3/14

B.U. Search for letter to Cairo.
 Letter to Cairo.
 R. Higgins 165.

X R.H.S. X

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

En Cls by bag

No. 22 March

Ad March
 Repeated Amman Baghdad Beirut Damascus Jedda

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 2. The No. 7) a Hussein Presiden
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 Ahmed Minis Minis
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 Me Pc Pc Minist Relati

V CB

CONFIDENTIAL
OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM
FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

28 MAR 1964
 VC1015/a

En Clair and
by bag

No. 22 Saving
March 26, 1964

FOWH
 Rec'd 28/3

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 22 Saving of
March 26

Repeated for information Saving to :

Amman	Bahrain	Benghazi
Baghdad	Kuwait	Tripoli
Beirut	Algiers	Khartoum
Damascus	Rabat	Washington
Jedda	Tunis	Paris

28 MAR
 1964

RECONSTRUCTION OF U.A.R. GOVERNMENT

President Nasser yesterday completed the major part of the re-organisation of the U.A.R. Governmental structure by the promulgation of two decrees.

2. The first appointed Abdul Hakim Amer (1963 Personalities No. 7) as First Vice-President and Zakaria Muhyiddin (131) Hussein el Shafei (63) and Hassan Ibrahim (56) as Vice-Presidents.

3. The second decree re-organised the Executive Ministries under a Prime Minister and eleven Deputy Prime Ministers as follows :

Ali Sabri (40) - Prime Minister

Dr. Nuruddin Tarraf (108) - Deputy Prime Minister supervising the Ministries of Justice, Labour and Youth.

Ahmed Abduh el Sharbassi (23) - Deputy Prime Minister for Wakfs and Al Azhar Affairs, and Minister of Wakfs.

Kemaluddin Rifaat (72) - Deputy Prime Minister for Scientific Affairs, supervising the Ministries of Higher Education and Scientific Research.

Mahmud Fawzi (75) - Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs, supervising the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Cultural Relations.

/Dr. Kaissouni

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Telegram No. 22 Saving to Foreign Office of March 26

- 2 -

Dr. Abdul Moncim el Kaissouni (15) - Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs and Finance, Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade, supervising the Ministry of Treasury.

Dr. Kemal Ramzi Stino (71) - Deputy Prime Minister for Supply and Internal Trade and Minister of Supply and Internal Trade.

Dr. Aziz Sidqi - Deputy Prime Minister for Industry and Mineral Wealth and Minister of Mining and Petroleum and Light Industries, supervising the Ministries of Heavy Industries and Electric Power.

Dr. Mustafa Khalil (105) - Deputy Prime Minister for Communications and Transport, supervising the Ministries of Communications and Transport.

Abbas Radwan (1) - Deputy Prime Minister for Local Administration and Services, supervising the Ministries of Education, Health and Social Affairs, Housing and Public Utilities.

Dr. Mohammed Abdul Qadir Hatem (17) - Deputy Prime Minister for Culture and National Guidance, supervising the Ministries of Information, Tourism and Antiquities.

Abdul Muhsin Abul Nur (16) - Deputy Prime Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation and Minister of Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, supervising the Ministries of Irrigation and Agriculture.

These Deputy Prime Ministers were all until yesterday members of the Presidential or Executive Councils.

4. The Ministries are: Housing and Public Utilities, Education, Higher Education, Health, Irrigation (new), War, Youth, the High Dam, Interior, Social Affairs, Labour, Foreign Cultural Relations (new), Justice, Planning (Ministry of State), Electric Power (new), Foreign Affairs, Scientific Research, Heavy Industries, Communications, Transport (new) Treasury, Agriculture.

6. Deputy Ministers were also appointed for Education, Housing, Public Utilities and Communications. Further ministerial appointments are likely, e.g. to assist Dr. Hatem.

7. The new Minister of Foreign Affairs is Mahmud Riad (76). He is to be succeeded as U.A.R. representative to the United Nations by Mohammed Awad al Kuni (83), the present U.A.R. Ambassador in London. Dr. Hussein Khallaf (62) is to be Minister for Foreign Cultural Relations.

8. Of the former Vice-Presidents, no mention has been made of Abdul Latif Baghdadi (11) or Kemaluddin Hussein (70). Anwar Sadat has not been re-appointed a Vice-President, but this morning he was unanimously elected President of the National Assembly.

/9.

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From Cairo to Foreign Office telegram No. 22 Saving of March 26

- 3 -

9. The following members of the former administration have been dropped from the Cabinet:

Salah Hidayat (114) former Minister of Scientific Research

Ahmed Muharrem (33) former Minister of Housing and Public Utilities

Ahmed Zendo (36) former Minister of Economy

Hussein Zulficar Sabri (64), Deputy Foreign Minister (who has been appointed Adviser to the President),

Fathi el Sharqawi (52) former Minister of Justice

Mohammed Neguib Hashad (95) former Minister of Agriculture

Dr. Mohammed el Bahiy (91) former Minister of Wakfs.

10. President Nasser has also appointed ten persons as members of the National Assembly, under the power conferred on him to this effect by the Provisional Constitution. They include Dr. Sarwat Okasha (118), formerly Minister of Culture, and five Christians.

BEELEY

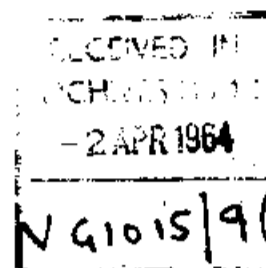


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ME/1515/EL/1
(A)



E.1 THE NEW UAR GOVERNMENT

Appointment of Vice-Presidents

Cairo home service 15.00 GMT 25.3.64

Text of presidential decree:

Article (1) F-M Abd al-Hakim Amir is appointed First Vice-President of the Republic.

Article (2) Zakariya Abd al-Majid Muhyi ad-Din, Musayn ash-Shafi'i, and Hasan Ibrahim are appointed Vice-Presidents of the Republic.

Article (3) This decree shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Given at the presidential headquarters on 25th March 1964. Jamal Abd an-Nasir.

Appointment of Ministers

Cairo home service 15.00 GMT 25.3.64

Text of presidential decree:

The President of the Republic, after taking cognisance of the Constitution proclaimed on 25th March 1964, hereby decrees:

Article (1) Ali Sabri is appointed Premier.

Article (2) Dr. Nur ad-Din Tarraf is appointed Deputy Premier in charge of the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Labour, and the Ministry of Youth.

Ahmad Abdu ash-Sharabasi is appointed Deputy Premier for Waqfs and Al-Azhar Affairs and Minister of Waqfs.

Kamal ad-Din Mahmud Rif'at is appointed Deputy Premier for a Scientific Affairs in charge of the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of Scientific Research.

Dr. Mahmud Fauzi is appointed Deputy Premier for Foreign Affairs in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Cultural Affairs.

Dr. Abd al-Mun'im al-Qaysuni is appointed Deputy Premier for Economic and Financial Affairs and Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade. He will be in charge of the Ministry of the Treasury.

Dr. Kamal Ramzi Istinu is appointed Deputy Premier for Supply and Internal Trade and Minister of Supply and Internal Trade.

Dr. Aziz Sidqi is appointed Deputy Premier for Industry and Mineral Wealth, Minister of Mining and Oil, and Minister of Light Industry. He will be in charge of the Ministry of Heavy Industry and the Ministry of Electric Power.

Dr. Mustafa Khalil is appointed Deputy Premier for Communications and Transport in charge of the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Transport.

Abbas Radwan is appointed Deputy Premier for Local Administration and Public Services in charge of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Housing and Public Utilities.

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ME/1515/EI/2

Dr. Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Hatim is appointed Deputy Premier for Culture and National Guidance in charge of the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Tourism and Archaeology.

Abd al-Muhsin Abu an-Mur is appointed Deputy Premier for Agriculture and Irrigation and Minister of Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation. He will be in charge of the Ministry of Irrigation and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Article (3) The following have been appointed:

Muhammad Abu Nusayr - Minister of Housing and Public Utilities.

Muhammad Yusuf - Minister of Education.

Dr. Abd al-Aziz as-Sayyid - Minister of Higher Education.

Dr. Muhammad an-Nahawi al-Muhandis - Minister of Health.

Engineer Hasan Zakl - Minister of Irrigation.

Engineer Abd al-Wahhab al-Bishri - Minister of War.

Tal'at Khayri - Minister of Youth.

Engineer Muhammad Sidqi Sulayman - Minister of the High Dam.

Abd al-Aziz Fahmi - Minister of the Interior.

Dr. Hikmat Abu Zayd [fem.] - Minister of Social Affairs.

Muhammad Abd al-Latif Salamah - Minister of Labour.

Dr. Husayn Khallaf - Minister of Foreign Cultural Relations.

Badawi Ibrahim Hammudah - Minister of Justice.

Dr. Muhammad Labib Shuqayr - Minister of State for Planning.

Dr. Muhammad Izzat Salamah - Minister of Electric Power.

Mahmud Riyad - Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Ahmad Riyad Turki - Minister of Scientific Research.

Engineer Samir Hilmi Ibrahim - Minister of Heavy Industries.

Dr. Mahmud Muhammad Riyad - Minister of Communications.

Engineer Mahmud Abd as-Salam - Minister of Transport.

Dr. Nazih Ahmad Dayf - Minister of the Treasury.

Dr. Shafiq Ali al-Khashin - Minister of Agriculture.

Article (4) Muhammad Ali Hafiz is appointed Deputy Minister of Education.

Najib Ibrahim Najib is appointed Deputy Minister of Housing and Public Utilities.

Engineer Abd al-Malik Sa'd is appointed Deputy Minister of Communications.

Article (5) This decree shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Given at the Presidential Office on 25th March 1964. Jamal Abd an-Nasir.

V

North and East African Department

VG1015/13.

REPUBLIC

FROM
 Sir H Bealey
 Cairo.
CONFIDENTIAL
 No. 266.
 Dated 7 APR. 1964
 Received 8 APR 1964.

SUBJECT:

Indications that some political prisoners have been released. The significance of the ending of the state of emergency is more difficult to assess.

References

-/12
 VG1015/17(63)14

MINUTES

Cairo reported one story last July (vs 1015/12) that there were then only 91 Communists still in detention - and that they would all be released during that month. Whether many of them remained to be let out now for Mr. Khrushchev's visit we do not know. In any case I very much doubt if the released Communists will be ^{able} to resume any clandestine organization without early detentions.

2. Nor do we know how many Modern Brothers have been under extra-legal ~~in~~ detention

3. Cairo will no doubt comment further on the point in para 2 b) within See also -/12.

Ref 10.4

205 acc 21/4
 For 205 20/10

(Action completed) (Main Indexed)
 ME 16/7/65
 23/4/64

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

CYP/OT/OTIP

**FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION**

Sir H. Bealey

No. 266
April 7, 1964

D.7.12 p.m. April 7, 1964

R.8.00 p.m. April 7, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

V. G. 1015/12

V. G. 1015/13

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 266 of April 7.
Repeated for information Saving to:

Washington		
Moscow	Amman	Baghdad
Beirut	Damascus	Tel Aviv
JIG Cyprus	Jedda.	

My immediately preceding telegram: U.A.R. Internal Situation.

There have been indications that some political prisoners, notably Communists and Moslem brothers have been released and that the cases of others are being reviewed. This is no doubt in preparation for Khrushchev's visit next month.

2. The exact significance of the ending of the state of emergency which will cause satisfaction among the politically conscious Egyptians, is more difficult to assess. The proclamation imposing it in November 1956 has been the basis instrument by which:

- (a) The Supreme State Security Court, military courts and detention camps were set up, and
- (b) Sequestration was imposed on both Egyptian and Foreign nationals.

Neither the nationalisation laws nor the prohibition on foreigners owning land depended on the state of emergency.

3. The new provisional constitution empowers the President to reimpose a state of emergency (Article 126), and to issue decisions having the force of law (Article 120).

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Washington, Moscow, Amman, Baghdad, Damascus and Jedda as my telegrams Nos. 29, 2, 15, 17, 13 and 11 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

VVVVV

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V

NORTH AND EAST AFRICAN DEPT.

VG 1015/14

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

FROM

Sir H. Bealey
 Cairo.
CONFIDENTIAL
 No. 15 (1014/64).
 Dated 1 APR 1964
 Received 8 APR 1964.

SUBJECT

Domestic political developments in the U.A.R.
 Week ending March 26, four events of domestic political importance occurred in the U.A.R. Reports details.

References

-/15

MINUTES

The powers of the National Assembly will be closely circumscribed and no doubt it is partly intended to rubber stamp such unpopular measures of retrenchment as the régime can bring itself to impose. There are no signs of such realism as yet despite the worsening balance of payments position. Nevertheless the long promised creation of the Assembly is, particularly in the current mood of Egyptian "self-criticism", a step, if a small one, towards a measure of popular participation in government.

(Printing Instructions)
 PRINTED FWH P.H. 14/64

(Outward Action)

2. There have been indications that Nasser is sincere in wanting this and might relinquish his Presidency, the present term of which is to end next March, in order to foster the Arab Socialist Union. I doubt if he will. Still young and energetic, there is much for him to do. Nor is Hakim Amer without rivals for the succession despite his now formal precedence over them.

3. There is yet no word about the futures of the two former Vice Presidents, Baghdadi and Kemaluddin Hussein.

4. One hypothesis as to the reorganisation of the Government is that the more Western orientated Kaissouni has been elevated to balance the greater Soviet sympathies of Hakim Amer and Ali Sabri. This is not only speculative but also I think doubtful: Kaissouni is more the professional executive than the policy maker. Fawzi's promotion matters little in itself but it may, paradoxically, allow us to do more real business with the M.F.A. of which Riad takes charge. He is said to be frank, intelligent and trusted, if also unsympathetic to the West.

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
new 1/5/64	ME 16h/65

5. The new line on the importance of agriculture and fertilisers, as opposed to industry, received further emphasis in Nasser's marathon speech to the Assembly. (Para. 6). Like "self-criticism" it has a familiar ring but signifies of itself of course no new swing to the East.

-/32

6. The Egyptian headache over the Yemen (para. 7) is growing if anything. Egyptian forces there now number 40,000; 10,000 up since the New Year. I find this puzzling. Does it perhaps herald a last push against

/ the

the Royalists prior to a political deal? A surge before the much-needed medication?

R.T. Higgins
 (R.T. Higgins)
 April 14, 1964.

E. Dept. 8/2/64
 E.R.D. (para 6-7) 24.4
 Arabic Dept (end of para 7)
 Foreign A.S. 29/4

I suspect that, despite the ease with which its members have been screened before election, the new Assembly will be less amenable to official direction than might be supposed, and that it may well in due course utter a good deal of criticism of the way affairs are managed.

D. Lawrence
 14/4

R.S.
 14/4

Last of Mr Higgins' minute of April 14: the American in Taij think a marked build up in military activity is in progress.

L. 27/4

L.H.S.

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VG 1015/14

Foreign Office and Whitehall Distribution

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

April 8, 1964

Section 1

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Sir Harold Beeley to Mr. R. A. Butler. (Received April 8)

SUMMARY

In the week ending on the 26th of March, four events of domestic political importance occurred in the United Arab Republic. (Paragraph 1.)

2. First, the elections to the National Assembly were completed. Workers and peasants occupy half of the 360 seats. The ten appointed members include eight Christians. The workers' representatives may not prove as malleable as the authorities hope. (Paragraph 2.)

3. Secondly, a Provisional Constitution was published. This follows the pattern of previous legislation and leaves effective power in the hands of the President. President Nasser's present term is to expire in March 1965. (Paragraph 3.)

4. Thirdly, the governmental structure was reorganised. Field-Marshal Amer was appointed First Vice-President and will succeed President Nasser in an emergency. The Cabinet consists of a Prime Minister (Ali Sabri), 11 Deputy Prime Ministers and 22 other Ministers. (Paragraphs 4 and 5.)

5. Finally, in his policy speech at the opening of the National Assembly, President Nasser drew attention to seven particular problems facing the country. (Paragraph 6.)

6. A desire to oblige a popular legislative body to share responsibility for any difficult decisions the economic situation may require, to liberalise the régime and to improve the competence of the governmental machine lies behind these developments to which the United Arab Republic Government attach the highest importance. (Paragraph 7.)

(No. 15. Confidential)

Sir,

In the United Arab Republic the week ending on Thursday, the 26th of March, was so full of events of domestic political importance that even Sayed Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, the boundlessly energetic Editor-in-Chief of *Al Ahram*, was obliged to explain to his readers that he had been too busy keeping abreast of developments to write his weekly article. I have reported by telegram on the elections to the National Assembly and the publication of the Provisional Constitution and now have the honour to describe the events of the week in more detail and to assess their significance.

Cairo,
April 1, 1964.

2. The first stage of the National Assembly elections was held on the 10th of March with decisive results in only 28 out of the 175 constituencies. At the second ballot on the 19th of March the electoral process was completed. The law setting out the conditions under which the elections were to be held (on which I reported in my despatch No. 57 of the 29th of November, 1963) laid down a somewhat complicated procedure whereby at least half of the members of the Assembly would be workers or peasants. In the event 114 farmers, 75 workers and 161 others were elected, the farmers and workers thus amounting to 53 per cent of the representation. It is questionable whether all of these individuals, or

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even a majority of them, are genuine workers or peasants. It seems that a certain number of persons were elected whose standard of education is far above what one would expect of the average Egyptian worker or peasant but who were qualified to stand as such by the letter of the National Assembly Law. There have been rumours that in some provincial centres the local population did not take kindly to the first list of candidates, and it is the fact that amendments were made only a day or two before the opening of the electoral campaign which had the effect of relaxing the qualifications required of candidates. Few well known personalities were amongst the 1,749 who presented themselves for election, but most of them were successful. They include the former Vice-President Anwar Sadat, Engineer Mahmoud Yunes, the able Chairman of the Suez Canal Authority, Sayed Ahmed Said, the paranoiac director of "The Voice of the Arabs", and four senior members of the editorial staff of the Left-wing daily *Al Gumhuriya*. Eight women were returned. Ten additional members were appointed to the Assembly by presidential decree on the 25th of March; eight of these are Christians (not five as stated in my telegram No. 22 Saving of the 26th of March) and I have been reliably informed that the President took this step on learning that only two Christians had been successful in the elections. It remains to be seen how the Assembly will conduct itself when it settles down to business. But some thoughtful Egyptians are already forecasting that the workers' representatives at least, whose basic interests are bound to conflict with the Government's, may not prove as pliant as the authorities hoped.

3. On the 23rd of March a Provisional Constitution was published in the form of a declaration by President Nasser. I enclose an official English translation^(*) of this document which contains no less than 169 Articles. This Provisional Constitution, which is to remain in force until a permanent Constitution has been drafted by the National Assembly and approved by a referendum—the Assembly may of course adopt the simple course of approving the Provisional Constitution—follows closely the lines of the Constitution of 1956. Effective power is left in the hands of the President. He is to be nominated by the

National Assembly and elected by referendum for a term of six years. He will be the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and will have the right to dissolve the Assembly and to appoint and dismiss the Vice-Presidents, the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Ministers and the members of the Cabinet. One of the transitional rules in the Provisional Constitution is that the present term of the President shall end on the 26th of March, 1965, that is one year from the convening of the National Assembly.

4. Two days later, on the 25th of March, a complete reorganisation of the governmental structure was announced. Field-Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer, for long the closest of President Nasser's confidants, was appointed First Vice-President. In an emergency it is he who will act as President for a maximum period of 60 days during which a new President will be nominated by the National Assembly and elected by referendum. Sayeds Zakaria Muhyiddin, Hussein el Shafei and Hassan Ibrahim were appointed additional Vice-Presidents. Two former Vice-Presidents, Sayed Abdul Latif Baghdadi and Sayed Kemaluddin Hussein have not so far been given any post. In the case of the latter this is no surprise since his disagreement with the other members of the régime has been common knowledge for many months. The absence of Sayed Abdul Latif Baghdadi, which I am told may be only temporary, is said to be due to his refusal to accept a lesser status than that accorded to Field-Marshal Amer as President Nasser's "favourite son".

5. The new Cabinet consists of 34 Ministers. Sayed Ali Sabri is Prime Minister and the remaining Ministers are organised in groups under 11 Deputy Prime Ministers, each of whom is responsible for a sector of the country's affairs. A complete list^(*) of the new Cabinet is enclosed with this despatch. Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi is one of the Deputy Prime Ministers. He will supervise the work of the Foreign Ministry under Sayed Mahmud Riad, who is at present the United Arab Republic's representative at the United Nations, and the Ministry for Foreign Cultural and Technical Relations under Dr. Hussein Khallaf. Dr. Fawzi's promotion to what must be a sinecure is a fitting reward for one who, as Foreign Minister since December 1952, has for 12

(*) Not printed.

CONFIDENTIAL

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years charmingly and adroitly evaded serious discussion of the United Arab Republic's foreign policies with all comers. Further Ministerial appointments are likely, in particular to lighten the burden of Dr. Abdul Qadir Hatem, who has become a Deputy Prime Minister. It had been widely predicted that his Ministry would be divided under the reorganisation, but his empire, which embraces culture, national guidance, information, tourism and archaeology, remains intact for the time being. Dr. Hatem seems to be capable of commanding the devotion of some as easily as he arouses the antagonism of others and it may be that his own nominations for junior Ministers to assist him were unacceptable to the President. A scrutiny of the working of the public sector companies has been promised as part of the attack on inefficiency in the Administration. This, together with the election of popular councils up and down the country, will complete the governmental re-organisation. Lest the armed forces should have felt neglected while all this was going on, 10 senior officers have been promoted to the newly created rank of general.

6. When the National Assembly held its first formal meeting on the morning of the 26th of March, Sayed Anwar Sadat was unanimously elected President. Two deputies were also elected unopposed. One is a worker and the other is Sayed Sayed Marei, the foremost protagonist of the co-operative system in agriculture, who has been loitering in the political wilderness since he was dropped from the Government in October 1961. In the evening of the same day President Nasser addressed the Assembly. In his speech, of which I am sending a translation separately to the Department, he reviewed the origins of the revolution and the progress made since 1952. This is a road along which he has often led his listeners in the past. But on this occasion he spoke in solemn tones and eschewed the colloquial language into which he likes to lapse to amuse or arouse his audience. Moreover his speech was well constructed and if he was consciously giving the members of the Assembly a model to follow in their debates he set a high standard. He once again displayed his remarkable talent for rationalising his country's past and charting its future. Two passages in the historical section were notable. First, he declared that the development of agriculture, which was by its nature

the most difficult field of production and the least responsive to effort, still remained the surest foundation for a sound economy. This would have been heresy a year or so ago. Secondly, in referring to those whose property had been sequestered or nationalised, he said that while the Government had been justified in depriving this social class of its effectiveness, it had no right to do away with the dignity and humanity of individual members of it. Turning to the future President Nasser, paraphrasing Professor Rostow, told the Assembly that the United Arab Republic was entering the stage of "upsurge". This has since become the main theme of the inspired comment on last week's events. Economic advance was only one aim, he continued, which must be accompanied by the achievement of democracy and pan-Arab unity. He then went on, in the most significant passage of his speech, to enumerate seven problems facing the country. First, agriculture had to be developed through the co-operative system. Secondly, difficulties had to be overcome in financing and carrying out the heavy industrial projects which would form a great part of the second half of the Five-year Plan. Thirdly, something had to be done for the 3 million agricultural workers who had no guaranteed pay system. Fourthly, the governmental machine had not developed adequately. It still tended to regard itself as superior to the people and did not recognise that it existed only to serve. Fifthly, the danger of inflation, arising from the increase in general expenditure and greater employment, had to be faced. Sixthly, the population problem had to be tackled through family planning. Finally, people had to accustom themselves to criticism and courageous self-criticism.

7. President Nasser and his close colleagues clearly attach the highest importance to last week's developments and from the Press treatment it is equally clear that they intend the Egyptian people should do likewise. In commenting on the Eleventh Anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution in my despatch No. 36 of the 31st of July, 1963, I said that it was becoming increasingly difficult for the régime to pull rabbits out of the hat every year. There is evidence that the rulers of the United Arab Republic realised even then that the revolution stood in need of a fresh impetus. For one thing they themselves were tired and overburdened with responsibility and the chores

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of day-to-day Administration. (Sayed Hassanein Heikal even suggested in private conversation in the late summer that it might be necessary for President Nasser himself to step down in order that the revolution could follow a new direction.) The Yemen war was a drain on resources and unpopular with the masses. The development programme and the rise in the standard of living were pushing up the level of imports and aggravating the already serious shortage of foreign exchange. Nationalisation measures continually extended the scope and range of activity in the public sector beyond the competence of the existing Government machinery, and various administrative shortcomings were causing some discontent. The completion of the first stage of the High Dam at Aswan would throw up new problems in both the agricultural and industrial fields. To meet this situation the President sought various remedies. In the first place he decided to make one more attempt at delegating legislative authority to a popular body. It seems likely that the National Assembly will be allowed to indulge in a certain amount of criticism and free expression; this is in accordance with what I believe to be President Nasser's own wish to liberalise and humanise the régime. But the Assembly

will also be called upon to share the responsibility for the unpopular measures which the economic situation may require. At first sight the enlarged Cabinet seems more capable than its predecessors of handling the present mass of business and dealing with the new problems which will flow literally and figuratively from the High Dam. The appointment of Field-Marshal Amer as First Vice-President has settled the immediate problem of the succession in the event of President Nasser's untimely death. (This move is, I believe, a result of reflection on the assassination of President Kennedy.) But nothing happened last week to lighten the burden of the United Arab Republic's military commitment in the Yemen. This has become for the régime a headache that no medication seems able to alleviate.

I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosures to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus, Jedda, Tel Aviv, Washington, Algiers, Tunis, Rabat, Tripoli, Benghazi, to Mr. Cleary at Nicosia and to the Political Office, Middle East Command at Aden.

I have, &c.

H. BEELEY.

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VG 1015/14

DOMESTIC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED ARAB
REPUBLIC

SUMMARY OF CAIRO DESPATCH No.15 of APRIL 1, 1964

In the week ending on March 26, four events of domestic political importance occurred in the United Arab Republic (paragraph 1).

2. First, the elections to the National Assembly were completed. Workers and peasants occupy half of the 360 seats. The 10 appointed members include 8 Christians. The workers' representatives may not prove as malleable as the authorities hope (paragraph 2).
3. Secondly, a Provisional Constitution was published. This follows the pattern of previous legislation and leaves effective power in the hands of the President. President Nasser's present term is to expire in March, 1965 (paragraph 3).
4. Thirdly, the governmental structure was re-organised. Field Marshal Amer was appointed First Vice-President and will succeed President Nasser in an emergency. The Cabinet consists of a Prime Minister (Ali Sabri), 11 Deputy Prime Ministers and 22 other Ministers (paragraphs 4 and 5).
5. Finally, in his policy speech at the opening of the National Assembly, President Nasser drew attention to seven particular problems facing the country (paragraph 6).

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6. A desire to oblige a popular legislative body to share responsibility for any difficult decisions the economic situation may require, to liberalise the régime and to improve the competence of the governmental machine lies behind these developments to which the United Arab Republic Government attach the highest importance (paragraph 7).

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No. 15 ✓
(1014/64)

BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.
April 1, 1964.

Sir,

In the United Arab Republic the week ending on Thursday, the 26th of March, was so full of events of domestic political importance that even Sayed Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, the boundlessly energetic Editor-in-Chief of "Al Ahram", was obliged to explain to his readers that he had been too busy keeping abreast of developments to write his weekly article. I have reported by telegram on the elections to the National Assembly and the publication of the Provisional Constitution and now have the honour to describe the events of the week in more detail and to assess their significance.

2. The first stage of the National Assembly elections was held on the 10th of March with decisive results in only 28 out of the 175 constituencies. At the second ballot on the 19th of March the electoral process was completed. The Law setting out the /conditions

The Right Honourable
R.A. Butler, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office.

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- 2 -

conditions under which the elections were to be held (on which I reported in my despatch No. 57 of the 29th of November, 1963) laid down a somewhat complicated procedure whereby at least half of the members of the Assembly would be workers or peasants. In the event 114 farmers, 75 workers and 161 others were elected, the farmers and workers thus amounting to 53% of the representation. It is questionable whether all of these individuals, or even a majority of them, are genuine workers or peasants. It seems that a certain number of persons were elected whose standard of education is far above what one would expect of the average Egyptian worker or peasant but who were qualified to stand as such by the letter of the National Assembly Law. There have been rumours that in some provincial centres the local population did not take kindly to the first list of candidates, and it is the fact that amendments were made only a day or two before the opening of the electoral campaign which had the effect of relaxing the qualifications required of candidates. Few well known personalities were amongst the 1749 who presented themselves for election, but most of them were successful. They include the former Vice-President Anwar Sadat, Engineer Mahmoud Yunes, the able Chairman of the Suez Canal Authority, Sayed Ahmed Said, the paranoiac director of "The Voice of the Arabs", and four senior members of the editorial staff of the left-wing daily "Al Gumhuriya". 8 women were returned. 10 additional members were appointed to the Assembly by presidential decree on the 25th of March; 8 of these are Christians

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- 3 -

(not 5 as stated in my telegram No. 22 Saving of the 26th of March) and I have been reliably informed that the President took this step on learning that only two Christians had been successful in the elections. It remains to be seen how the Assembly will conduct itself when it settles down to business. But some thoughtful Egyptians are already forecasting that the workers' representatives at least, whose basic interests are bound to conflict with the Government's, may not prove as pliant as the authorities hoped.

3. On the 23rd of March a Provisional Constitution was published in the form of a declaration by President Nasser.

--- I enclose an official English translation of this document which contains no less than 169 Articles. This Provisional Constitution, which is to remain in force until a permanent constitution has been drafted by the National Assembly and approved by a referendum - the Assembly may of course adopt the simple course of approving the Provisional Constitution - follows closely the lines of the Constitution of 1956. Effective power is left in the hands of the President. He is to be nominated by the National Assembly and elected by referendum for a term of six years. He will be the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and will have the right to dissolve the Assembly and to appoint and dismiss the Vice-Presidents, the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Ministers and the members of the Cabinet. One of the transitional rules in the Provisional Constitution is that the present term of the President shall end on the 26th of March, 1965, that is one year from the convening of the National Assembly.

CONFIDENTIAL

/4.

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- 4 -

4. Two days later, on the 25th of March, a complete re-organisation of the governmental structure was announced. Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer, for long the closest of President Nasser's confidants, was appointed First Vice-President. In an emergency it is he who will act as President for a maximum period of 60 days during which a new President will be nominated by the National Assembly and elected by referendum. Sayeds Zakaria Muhyiddin, Hussein el Shafei and Hassan Ibrahim were appointed additional Vice-Presidents. Two former Vice-Presidents, Sayed Abdul Latif Baghdadi and Sayed Kemaluddin Hussein have not so far been given any post. In the case of the latter this is no surprise since his disagreement with the other members of the régime has been common knowledge for many months. The absence of Sayed Abdul Latif Baghdadi, which I am told may be only temporary, is said to be due to his refusal to accept a lesser status than that accorded to Field Marshal Amer as President Nasser's "favourite son".

5. The new Cabinet consists of 34 Ministers. Sayed Ali Sabri is Prime Minister and the remaining Ministers are organised in groups under 11 Deputy Prime Ministers, each of whom is responsible for a sector of the country's affairs. A complete list of the new Cabinet is enclosed with this despatch. Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi is one of the Deputy Prime Ministers. He will supervise the work of the Foreign Ministry under Sayed Mahmud Riad, who is at present the United Arab Republic's representative at the United Nations, and the Ministry for Foreign Cultural and Technical Relations under Dr. Hussein Khallaf. Dr. Fawzi's promotion to what

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- 5 -

must be a sinecure is a fitting reward for one who, as Foreign Minister since December 1952, has for twelve years charmingly and adroitly evaded serious discussion of the United Arab Republic's foreign policies with all comers. Further ministerial appointments are likely, in particular to lighten the burden of Dr. Abdul Qadir Hatem, who has become a Deputy Prime Minister. It had been widely predicted that his Ministry would be divided under the re-organisation, but his empire, which embraces culture, national guidance, information, tourism and archaeology, remains intact for the time being. Dr. Hatem seems to be capable of commanding the devotion of some as easily as he arouses the antagonism of others and it may be that his own nominations for junior Ministers to assist him were unacceptable to the President. A scrutiny of the working of the public sector companies has been promised as part of the attack on inefficiency in the administration. This, together with the election of popular councils up and down the country, will complete the governmental re-organisation. Lest the Armed Forces should have felt neglected while all this was going on, 10 senior officers have been promoted to the newly created rank of General.

6. When the National Assembly held its first formal meeting on the morning of the 26th of March, Sayed Anwar Sadat was unanimously elected President. Two deputies were also elected unopposed. One is a worker and the other is Sayed Sayed Marei, the foremost protagonist of the co-operative system in agriculture, who has been loitering in the political wilderness since he was dropped from the Government in October, 1961. In the evening of the same

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- 6 -

day President Nasser addressed the Assembly. In his speech, of which I am sending a translation separately to the Department, he reviewed the origins of the Revolution and the progress made since 1952. This is a road along which he has often led his listeners in the past. But on this occasion he spoke in solemn tones and eschewed the colloquial language into which he likes to lapse to amuse or arouse his audience. Moreover his speech was well constructed and if he was consciously giving the members of the Assembly a model to follow in their debates he set a high standard. He once again displayed his remarkable talent for rationalising his country's past and charting its future. Two passages in the historical section were notable. First, he declared that the development of agriculture, which was by its nature the most difficult field of production and the least responsive to effort, still remained the surest foundation for a sound economy. This would have been heresy a year or so ago. Secondly, in referring to those whose property had been sequestered or nationalised, he said that while the Government had been justified in depriving this social class of its effectiveness, it had no right to do away with the dignity and humanity of individual members of it. Turning to the future President Nasser, paraphrasing Professor Rostow, told the Assembly that the United Arab Republic was entering the stage of "upsurge". This has since become the main theme of the inspired comment on last week's events. Economic advance was only one aim, he continued, which must be accompanied by the achievement of democracy and pan-Arab unity. He then went on, in the most significant

/passage

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CONFIDENTIAL

- 7 -

passage of his speech, to enumerate seven problems facing the country. First, agriculture had to be developed through the co-operative system. Secondly, difficulties had to be overcome in financing and carrying out the heavy industrial projects which would form a great part of the second half of the five-year plan. Thirdly, something had to be done for the three million agricultural workers who had no guaranteed pay system. Fourthly, the governmental machine had not developed adequately. It still tended to regard itself as superior to the people and did not recognise that it existed only to serve. Fifthly, the danger of inflation, arising from the increase in general expenditure and greater employment, had to be faced. Sixthly, the population problem had to be tackled through family planning. Finally, people had to accustom themselves to criticism and courageous self-criticism.

7. President Nasser and his close colleagues clearly attach the highest importance to last week's developments and from the press treatment it is equally clear that they intend the Egyptian people should do likewise. In commenting on the Eleventh Anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution in my despatch No. 36 of the 31st of July, 1963 I said that it was becoming increasingly difficult for the régime to pull rabbits out of the hat every year. There is evidence that the rulers of the United Arab Republic realised even then that the Revolution stood in need of a fresh impetus. For one thing they themselves were tired and overburdened with responsibility and the chores of day to day administration. (Sayed Hassanein Heikal even suggested in private conversation in the late summer that it

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- 8 -

might be necessary for President Nasser himself to step down in order that the Revolution could follow a new direction.) The Yemen war was a drain on resources and unpopular with the masses. The development programme and the rise in the standard of living were pushing up the level of imports and aggravating the already serious shortage of foreign exchange. Nationalisation measures continually extended the scope and range of activity in the public sector beyond the competence of the existing Government machinery, and various administrative shortcomings were causing some discontent. The completion of the first stage of the High Dam at Aswan would throw up new problems in both the agricultural and industrial fields. To meet this situation the President sought various remedies. In the first place he decided to make one more attempt at delegating legislative authority to a popular body. It seems likely that the National Assembly will be allowed to indulge in a certain amount of criticism and free expression; this is in accordance with what I believe to be President Nasser's own wish to liberalise and humanise the régime. But the Assembly will also be called upon to share the responsibility for the unpopular measures which the economic situation may require. At first sight the enlarged Cabinet seems more capable than its predecessors of handling the present mass of business and dealing with the new problems which will flow literally and figuratively from the High Dam. The appointment of Field Marshal Amer as First Vice-President has settled the immediate problem of the succession in the event of President Nasser's untimely death. (This move is, I believe, a result of reflection on the assassination of President Kennedy).

/But

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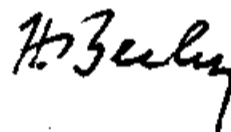
But nothing happened last week to lighten the burden of the United Arab Republic's military commitment in the Yemen. This has become for the régime a headache that no medication seems able to alleviate.

I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosures to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus, Jedda, Tel Aviv, Washington, Algiers, Tunis, Rabat, Tripoli, Benghazi, to Mr. Cleary at Nicosia and to the Political Office, Middle East Command at Aden.

I have the honour to be
with the highest respect

Sir,

Your obedient Servant



(H. Beeley)

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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

President Gamal Abdul Nasser

Field-Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer - First Vice-President
 Zakaria Muhyiddin - Vice-President
 Hussein el Shafei - Vice-President
 Hassan Ibrahim - Vice-President

THE CABINET

Ali Sabri - Prime Minister and Minister of Planning

Dr. Nureddin Tarraf - Deputy Prime Minister, supervising the Ministries of Justice, Labour and Youth.

Badawi Ibrahim Hammuda - Minister of Justice
 Anwar Salama - Minister of Labour
 Talaat Khairi - Minister of Youth

Ahmed Abduh el Sharabassi - Deputy Prime Minister for Wakfs and al Azhar Affairs, and Minister of Wakfs.

Kemaluddin Mahmud Rifaat - Deputy Prime Minister for Scientific Affairs, supervising the Ministries of Higher Education and Scientific Research.

Dr. Abdul Aziz el Sayed - Minister of Higher Education

Dr. Ahmed Riad Turki - Minister of Scientific Research

Dr. Mahmud Fawzi - Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs, supervising the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Cultural and Technical Relations.

Mahmud Riad - Minister of Foreign Affairs.
 Dr. Hussein Khallaf - Minister of Foreign Cultural and Technical Relations.

Dr. Abdul Moneim el Kaissouni - Deputy Prime Minister for Economic and Financial Affairs and Minister of Economy and Foreign Commercial Relations, supervising the Ministry of the Treasury.

Dr. Nazih Ahmed Deif - Minister of the Treasury.

- 2 -

<u>Dr. Kemal Ramzi Stino</u>	- Deputy Prime Minister for Supply and Internal Commerce, and Minister of Supply and Internal Commerce.
<u>Dr. Aziz Sidqi</u>	- Deputy Prime Minister for Industry and Mineral Wealth and Minister of Mining, Petroleum and Light Industries, supervising the Ministries of Electric Power and Heavy Industries.
Dr. Mohammed Ezzat Salama	Minister of Electric Power
Samir Hilmi Ibrahim	Minister of Heavy Industries
<u>Dr. Mustafa Khalil</u>	- Deputy Prime Minister for Communications and Transport, supervising the Ministries of Communications and Transport
Dr. Mahmud Mohammed Riad	Minister of Communications
Mahmud Abdul Salam	Minister of Transport
<u>Abbas Radwan</u>	- Deputy Prime Minister for Local Administration and Services, supervising the Ministries of Education, Health, Social Affairs and Housing.
Sayed Mohammed Yusuf	- Minister of Education
Dr. Mohammed el Nabawi el Muhandis	- Minister of Health
Dr. Hikmat Abu Zaid	- Minister of Social Affairs
Mohammed Abu Nosseir	- Minister of Housing
<u>Dr. Mohammed Abdul Qadir Hatim</u>	Deputy Prime Minister for Culture and National Guidance, supervising the Ministries of Information and Tourism and Archaeology.
<u>Abdul Muhsen Abul Nur</u>	- Deputy Prime Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation and Minister of Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, supervising the Ministries of Agriculture and Irrigation.
Dr. Shafik Ali el Khesheh	Minister of Agriculture
Dr. Hassan Zaki	Minister of Irrigation

/Other

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Other Ministries

Abdul Wahab el Bishri - Minister of Defence
Mohammed Sidqi Suleiman - Minister of the High Dam
Abdul Azim Fahmi - Minister of the Interior
Dr. Mohammed Labib Shuqair - Minister of State for Planning

Deputy Ministers

Mohammed Ali Hafez - Education
Ibrahim Neguib - Housing and Services
Abdul Malek Saad - Communications.

March 25, 1964.

V

North and East African Department

VG 1015/16

FROM Cairo

No. 28 saving
 Dated April 9. 1964
 Received April 10.

SUBJECT:

Summary of the review of the U.A.R. Government's Programme as presented by Ali SABRI to the National Assembly on April 6.

References

-/12.

MINUTES

Three and a half hours of the familiar Government thesis about the imperialist threat without and lack of economic progress and increasing social justice within. It is disappointing that he should have persisted in the usual optimistic stuff about sponge, doubling of incomes in ten years whether or not in contemporary "take off" jargon à la Rostow. The mounting need for consumer restraint is indeed specifically rebutted (para 8). The new emphasis on agriculture, which Sidky has long resisted, is however here. But, there again, the realisation of such prestige projects as the nuclear power reactor (para 6) is held to. Mr. Hannan, from 14.01. Embassy, Cairo tells me he doubts that the power product of the High Dam will need to be further supplemented for some time following its completion.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

8b) D.I.S. 28/4 ✓

(Action completed)

2/16/64

(Main Indexed)

INE 19/7/65

E. Dept
 E. A.S.
 F.O. R.
 17/4

R. C. 12.44

P. L. 29/4

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair and
by Bag

No. 28 SAVING
April 9, 1964.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 28 Saving of April 9.

Repeated for information saving to:

Amman	17
Baghdad	18
Beirut	19
Damascus	14
Tel Aviv	8
Jedda	12
J.I.G. (Cyprus)	6
Washington	30

My telegram No. 265 of April 7.

U.A.R. Internal Situation.

The lengthy review of the U.A.R. Government's programme presented by Ali Sabri to the National Assembly on April 6 constituted an exposition of the Egyptian Revolution's economic philosophy and policies. The main emphasis was on increasing productivity. The theme of the review was as follows.

2. The U.A.R. was now entering the stage of "upsurge" on the basis of :

- (a) completion of the "socialist transformation";
- (b) confirmation of the basic social and economic rights and the present policy of securing sufficiency and justice for all;
- (c) sound planning;
- (d) realisation of social freedom and the creation of a sound democratic life, with particular reference to the formation of the National Assembly (it was in this context that Ali Sabri announced the ending of the State of Emergency reported in my telegram under reference).

3. There followed a long attack in familiar terms of the predatory policies of imperialism, allied with feudalism, towards Egypt prior to the Revolution. The Revolution had nonetheless transformed this gloomy scene, peacefully and by asserting the independent and Arab personality of the nation.

4. Ali Sabri went on to say that the break-out from the
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See d.o.l.c

VG.1015/16

VG.1015/12

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From Cairo to Foreign Office telegram No. 28 Saving

- 2 -

economic isolation imposed on Egypt by foreign interests had paved the way for the socialist transformation of which the main trends had been :

- (a) the assertion of the people's control over all means of production;
- (b) the establishment of a socialist relationship between all the producing forces in Egyptian society as a guarantee against exploitation and a means of ensuring the essential social and economic rights of the people;
- (c) comprehensive planning aimed at doubling the national income every ten years; and
- (d) the diversification of the economy to achieve balanced growth.

5. Ali Sabri then quoted a wealth of statistics to indicate the progress made in achieving social freedom. He laid particular emphasis on agriculture and justified the decision to distribute reclaimed land to the small proprietors rather than farm it on a large-scale. He endorsed the co-operative system which enabled the small farmers in particular to benefit from scientific progress, mechanisation, and organisation.

6. Ali Sabri then quoted further statistics to demonstrate progress in the industrial sector. He announced that the second Five Year Plan provided for the establishment of a nuclear electric power station. He reviewed the benefits which will flow from the High Dam, and progress in transport and communications, which had been taken into public ownership as a matter of economic principle and practice.

7. He then developed the theme that the second stage of the Revolution aimed at providing a wide range of social benefits for Egyptian society. Progress had already been achieved regarding security of tenure in agriculture, workers' wages, private housing and housing services, conditions in the Civil Service social insurance and education. He referred to the role of the state in guaranteeing essential commodities at reasonable prices, so that consumption would not be affected by price increases. The process of effecting this protection by subsidies should be developed further, but this depended on a satisfactory expansion of production.

8. In describing the merits of comprehensive planning, Ali Sabri referred to the need to achieve a suitable balance between increased production and the expansion of services and to expand industry and solve the balance of payments problem. This latter problem was an initial feature of all developing economies, but at a particular stage of development, the balance of payments deficit

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From Cairo to Foreign Office telegram No. 28 Saving

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could be converted gradually into a surplus. Statistics showed that during the first Five Year Plan the increase in consumption nearly equalled the increase in national income. Some saw in this a danger to development and called for a curb on consumption, but the Government could not agree to reduce consumption. The people had suffered deprivation long enough. This generation in its lifetime must reap the fruits of its efforts for development. To curb consumption would be to remove incentive for development and progress; the right solution would be to allow consumption to increase at a slightly lower rate than the growth in national income, provided there were sufficient savings for investment. This depended on an increase in productivity, both agricultural and industrial. The Arab Socialist Union would undertake the task of making the people realise the need to save and the danger of over consumption.

9. Ali Sabri ascribed the shortages of some consumer goods during the last few months to the priority given to the High Dam and connected works. The second Five Year Plan would concentrate on the development of exports and industries. There were problems to be faced - problems of productivity, failure to understand the place of profits, and bureaucracy. Productivity depended largely on the workers. The Revolution had given them an equitable wage; it was up to them to raise their productivity in the coming years in order to allow a continual rise in wages. Some public enterprises had made profits their sole criterion and achieved them artificially, thus deviating from the path of socialism. Great results had been achieved in the public sector; but even greater successes were looked for. Self-criticism would help. The decentralisation of administration to the localities and the emergence of popular councils in the Governorates should work to keep the Executive up to the mark.

10. In the final section of his statement, Ali Sabri dealt with foreign affairs. The U.A.R. was determined to eliminate imperialism, oppose foreign pacts and military bases and adhere to positive neutralism and peaceful co-existence. The voice of freedom emitted from Cairo in thirty languages could overcome all the barriers erected by the imperialists round certain areas of the world; the U.A.R. radio spread sound revolutionary thinking, advocating the right of every nation to freedom and preaching the doctrine that all liberation movements everywhere must be morally and spiritually supported if they were to remove the darkness imposed by colonialism on the thoughts of the colonised peoples. The ether would continue to carry this strong voice from Cairo.

11. Ali Sabri restated the thesis that the U.A.R. should participate in the battles fought by her Arab brethren.

/This

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From Cairo to Foreign Office telegram No. 28 Saving

- 4 -

This was a duty which had to be performed regardless of the cost. The U.A.R.'s attitude to Israel, which was an imperialist base created to harm the Arab liberation movement, was founded on the conviction that she could not be at peace with Israel, and that the rights of the Arab peoples of Palestine must be restored.

12. Ali Sabri concluded by recalling the statement in the National Charter that production was the true yardstick of Arab power.

BEELEY



JW

CONFIDENTIAL

(1014/64)



BRITISH EMBASSY, *Revised*
CAIRO.

June 5, 1964

*Kemaluddin is no loss
at all. Baghdad is.*

VG 1015/18
Dear Kemal,

In your letter No. VG 1015/9 of May 19 you asked about Baghdad and Kemaluddin Hussein.

2. We have heard very little about these two gentlemen since the re-organisation of the governmental structure in March. One of the President's advisers, Hassan Sabri el Khali, told Donald Maitland at the time that they had both been placed on pension and that there was no question of their ever being re-employed. Hassan Sabri said that Kemaluddin Hussein had been at odds with his colleagues for some time, but that the immediate cause of Baghdad's dismissal was that he objected to the appointment of Field Marshal Amer as First Vice-President.

3. So far as Baghdad is concerned, we do not think that this is the whole story. Baghdad is one of the moderates and there have been indications for ever a year that he has been out of sympathy with many of the régime's policies. He is said to have opposed the U.A.R.'s involvement in the Yemen and to have considered that the process of socialisation was proceeding far too fast. He is believed to have argued that the administrative machine could not cope with all the concerns which had been nationalised.

4. We should be rather surprised if Kemaluddin Hussein reappeared on the scene. Baghdad, however, is a more formidable character. There is some evidence that his views are shared by men in high places and a time may come when Nasser may feel obliged to bring him back lest he become a focus of discontent and opposition.

Yours ever,

Calvin

(C.T. Brant)

R.T. Higgins, Esq.,
North and East African Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

En Clair

Mr. Maitland

No. 471

June 19, 1964

D. 2.00 p.m. June 19, 1964
R. 2.59 p.m. June 19, 1964

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 471 of June 19.

Repeated for information to:

Jedda
Tel Aviv

POMEC (Aden)

Beirut
Baghdad

and Saving to: Washington Amman Damascus

In a speech yesterday at the U.A.R. Military Academy to mark the anniversary of the evacuation of British troops from Egypt in 1956, President Nasser dealt in familiar terms with the British occupation. He also spoke about the Yemen and the alleged "war of nerves" launched by the United States and Britain against the Arabs.

2. President Nasser said that in the Yemen U.A.R. forces had at times been operating simultaneously on more than six fronts. He added that violent battles were now taking place in wild mountainous areas in the North West of the country. The Yemen Armed Forces were now in existence and the tribes were collaborating with them, the Yemeni Arab Republic had become capable of defending itself and the U.A.R. therefore felt it had discharged its duty towards the greater Arab revolution and Arab nationalism. U.A.R. forces were now gradually returning from the Yemen.

3. President Nasser went on to refer to the "war of nerves" launched by the United States and Britain against the Arabs, particularly at the time of the Israel Prime Minister's visit to the United States. It was being alleged that the U.A.R. was continually strengthening its armed forces by acquiring vast amounts of weapons, including rockets of different types, by producing missiles and by manufacturing aircraft. People were forming the impression that Israel had no armed forces and acquired no arms. But Israel, which was the bridgehead of imperialism in the Middle East, was receiving arms, including rockets, armour, aircraft and submarines, from the United States.

/France

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Cairo telegram No. 471 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

France and Britain. The object of the campaign in the Western countries was to weaken the Arabs' determination, but in no circumstances could the U.A.R. accept the contention of the Governments of the United States and Britain that the Arabs should be satisfied with what they had already obtained, since the Arabs could never forget the lesson of 1948 when the West and the United Nations placed an embargo on the supply of arms to the Arabs and to Israel. The ban was however applied only to the Arabs.

4. President Nasser concluded his speech with a detailed complaint that the history of the Sinai campaign in 1956 was being falsified in books published by the Israelis. The U.A.R. Armed Forces who knew the truth would not be deceived by these distortions.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Washington, Amman and Damascus as my telegrams Nos. 46, 34 and 21.

[Repeated as requested]

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

V
V G1015/19(A)

Cypher/OTF

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITSHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Maitland
No. 472
June 19, 1964

D. 2.18 p.m. June 19, 1964
R. 2.55 p.m. June 19, 1964

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 472 of June 19.

Repeated for information to : Jodda Beirut
Tel Aviv Baghdad
POHEC (Aden)
and Saving to : Washington Damascus.
Amman

My immediately preceding telegram.
Nasser's speech on Evacuation Day.

By this year's standards this was a restrained performance. President Nasser aired some of the subjects which preoccupied him when Sir H. Beeley paid his farewell call on June 15 (see Cairo telegram No. 462), but he made no mention of Aden, Cyprus or Libya.

V 1051/10

Foreign Office please pass Jodda, Tel Aviv [group omitted] POHEC (Aden], Baghdad and Saving to Washington, Amman, and Damascus as my telegrams Nos. 58, 11. 58, 20, 47, 35 and 22 respectively.

[Repeated as requested and also to POHEC (Aden)].

88888

CONFIDENTIAL

ME/1584/A/1

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

VA 1015
BHUW 7/19/63

Nasir's Evacuation Day Speech

Cairo home service 16.23 GMT 18.6.64 (live)

Precis of Abd an-Nasir's speech at Military Academy, including quotations of the two passages enclosed in quotation marks:

Today we honour our armed forces who have fought bravely in support of the free Yemeni people. We thank God for giving us victory and for helping us discharge our duty honourably and faithfully.

We got rid of occupation and imperialism eight years ago. From 23rd July 1952 till 18th June 1956 the armed forces were in a constant state of preparedness and emergency. It was God's wish we should triumph. The British forces evacuated the country on 18th June 1956 after more than 70 years of occupation. Britain did not leave Egypt voluntarily. It left Egypt when it felt certain that its presence in the Canal zone would not serve its interests or strategy but would occupy its forces with defending their existence in the zone as a result of the guerrilla warfare launched against them.

Following the evacuation the armed forces encountered several obstacles but they stood fast. There was the invasion and the tripartite aggression in 1956. We, the army and the people, openly declared that we would fight to the last drop of blood for our country's freedom and our honour. God gave us victory and we were able to defeat the tripartite aggression and liberate the homeland from the occupation forces. The forces of aggression evacuated the country again on 23rd December 1956.

We then felt that imperialism was lying in wait for us and would resort to (open) war or an economic war and use any means to bring Egypt back to its control. We realised what had befallen imperialism following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, the abrogation of the Suez base agreement, and the nationalisation of its assets and interests in Egypt. All these actions were victories for us and they induced us to depend on the armed forces to defend the homeland from outside aggression and imperialist plots and to protect our achievements. God gave us victory and we were able to achieve the six aims we declared on 23rd July 1952. We got rid of imperialism and its agents, the country was united, we eliminated feudalism, exploitation, capitalist control and one-class rule. We worked to establish social justice and to build a sound and strong national army. We also worked to establish a sound democratic life. This was only a prelude to the work to double income every 10 years or less, to liberate the worker and the peasant, to abolish poverty, and provide a happy life for the people. The Army played a big part in achieving these aims. The people feel grateful to their armed forces which were always ready to make sacrifices.

Then the revolution broke out in Yemen. Imperialism and reaction opposed it. The UAR did not hesitate to support it because support for the Yemeni revolution is tantamount to liberating the Yemeni people and Yemeni soil from the domination of reaction and imperialism. The armed forces did not hesitate to answer the call. Our armed forces went through difficult circumstances known to us all. Plots were hatched by reaction and imperialism from the first days of the revolution. Every member of our armed forces was ready to sacrifice himself. Every member of our armed forces realises that the soldier is a part of his country's history and life.

Our forces fought in Yemen, on the mountains and in the valleys, setting the finest example of sacrifice, courage and determination to win. In co operation with the Yemeni revolution and the free Yemenis, they were able to fight on numerous fronts. On one particular day we were operating on more than six fronts in Yemen - North, South, and East. God also gave us victory in this battle and defeated the forces of reaction and imperialism.

B

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ME/1584/A/2

"The Yemeni Republic has become able to defend itself by itself. I can say that in these days fierce battles are taking place in north-west Yemen in vast, primitive areas where our armed forces never went before, because there were no roads. Today, this area which was a passage for the collaborators of reaction and imperialism has been surrounded by the Yemeni forces and Yemeni tribes. In recent days they have been able to liberate a great part of it and to capture large quantities of arms and ammunition."

You members of the armed forces have played your part in supporting the Yemeni revolution with honour, bravery, and determination. You have spared nothing to achieve this aim. We deserve to be proud today because the Yemeni revolution can now defend itself by itself. It has its own army, armed forces, and the tribal forces which co-operate with the revolution. That is what we have been trying to achieve. We feel we have carried out our duty to honour, the homeland, the Arab revolution and Arab nationalism. Our forces are now gradually returning from Yemen, but will the responsibilities placed on their shoulders come to an end? When our forces went to Yemen, the entire people were behind them. The armed forces felt this. In 1956 and still earlier, on and after 23rd July 1952, the whole people was behind the armed forces. When the armed forces went to Yemen, they were served by various sectors of the State - land transport, railways, supplies, sea transport. All the State sectors felt it was their duty to assist the armed forces to achieve their aim. The whole nation was the second line of the armed forces.

Have the responsibilities of the armed forces ended? Responsibilities mount whenever the State grows and its importance increases. We feel daily that our country is growing through development, economy, the international field, in every field. All this places more responsibilities on the armed forces.

"Today we hear of a war of nerves and campaigns directed against us in America and Britain. When the Israeli Premier visited America, there were campaigns against Egypt, against the UAR. Egypt is getting large quantities of arms, Egypt is getting various types and kinds of rockets, Egypt is producing rockets, Egypt is manufacturing aircraft, Egypt is increasing its armed forces. These campaigns continued until the reader began to believe that Israel has no armed forces and does not get arms. The fact is that Israel is a bridgehead for imperialism in this region of the world, in the Arab region, to divide the Arab countries. Israel gets arms from America, France and Britain. It has got rockets from America. It has got tanks and aircraft from France. It has got tanks and submarines from Britain.

"These campaigns directed against us in America and Britain and in the Western countries aim at weakening our determination. But we know in detail what Israel's armament is. In no circumstances can we respond to what the rulers say, either in America and Britain, that we should be content with what we have obtained, because we cannot forget the lesson of 1948. In 1948 the West and the UN declared an arms ban on us and Israel. This ban was only applied to us, it was not applied to Israel. In 1948 Israel was able to get arms which it did not have when the Palestine War began. It obtained tanks whereas we were unable to obtain a single tank. We can in no circumstances forget the lessons and circumstances of the past.

"We cannot in any circumstances forget either that Israel is a bridgehead for imperialism. If we want to build our country and to assure the safety of this homeland, we must always be prepared to confront aggression, not only Israel's aggression but Israel's and those who back it. They backed it in 1956 and fought alongside it before they declared war on us in 1956. Today facts are mentioned and known.

"In October 1956 they asked the Israeli Premier Ben Gurion to take arms and weapons and to take charge of the operation of aggression on Egypt, but he faced them with reality: that he could not act unless all the Egyptian airports were destroyed. He asked for French aircraft to participate with him from the first day of the fighting. They falsified the 1956 battles to the world, but they cannot falsify them to us because we know what took place in 1956. Israel could in no circumstances enter the Abu Uqaylah before the afternoon of 2nd November 1956, the date set for the rear

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ME/1584/A/3

groups of the withdrawing forces to leave the Abu Uqayyah position. Later they said they had got to Suez in 100 hours. Of course they sent paratroops to the Mitlah Pass near Suez. Any state can send paratroops to any empty place and say they had sent paratroops to a distance of 200 or 300 km. But the fighting forces could not penetrate the borders before the afternoon of 2nd November 1956. The armed forces realise this, whatever Israel (claims) and the press writes about the fabricated attacks carried out in 1956, when the aim was to crush our armed forces; but the enemy could not achieve this objective. We were able to preserve our armed forces."

On this day when we honour our armed forces for their glorious actions, we pray God to make them always successful and to act with honour and sincerity for the sake of the homeland. We also thank them for the part they have played from 1952 until now. God grant victory to this Republic. Long live the UAR and its armed forces! Peace be upon you.

Cairo 'Al-Masa' on Butler's Reply to Hamilton

Cairo "Voice of the Arabs" 17.50 GMT (press review) 18.6.64

Text of report:

'Al-Masa' of Cairo, commenting on the British Foreign Secretary's statement in the Commons, said:

Reiterating the old imperialist tune, Richard Butler, the British Foreign Secretary, declared in the House of Commons that his Government was determined to keep its military bases in Aden, Libya, Cyprus and Singapore because it believed they played a vital part in safeguarding independence in that region. In repeating this outworn tune, Mr. Butler forgets, or more precisely pretends to forget, the principles of the UN and the unequivocal resolutions adopted by the UN committee for liquidation of colonialism. They all underline without ambiguity the right of every people to have self-determination and the regime they desire. There is no doubt the words of this Minister who is responsible for Britain's foreign policy exposes Britain's premeditated designs against the will of peoples in whose countries British military bases exist. These deliberate, wicked intentions must serve as a warning to and must be before the eyes of the Arab negotiator in Libya while he talks with the British representative to liquidate its bases in his country, the Arab citizen in the Yemeni South while he fights the British forces to purge his land of British impurity and others who are struggling to drive occupiers out of their homelands.

This statement delivered by the British Foreign Secretary in the Commons which is not said at an ordinary meeting or in a passing way capable of being subsequently (corrected) or denied, indicates furthermore that Britain persists in its imperialist policy by not giving up these bases on the ground that they are necessary to the establishment of peace, when in fact it is this alien imperialist presence which is the cause of disturbed peace, as the statement reveals. Why does not Britain allow fact-finding committees to enter countries under its domination?

The British Foreign Secretary, not content with this vaunting of encroachment on people's rights, went on to say: We have interests in all these regions and historical responsibility which we cannot possibly overlook. He emphasised that his Government was determined to maintain its commitments towards the States of the South and the Gulf and would defend them against any aggressing neighbour.

We should like to ask the British Foreign Secretary about this brazen falsification: Are the alleged British interests in those regions put above the interests of their peoples, and should these peoples sacrifice their freedom and sovereignty for the sake of aliens? We should like also to ask the Minister: Who can this aggressing neighbour be? At any rate Butler was right when he said Britain would not leave these regions, for in fact it will be decisively expelled from them.

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ME/1584/1/4

UAR Treatment of Khrushchev's Attack on Ruler of Kuwait

Amaz in Arabic 16.15 GMT 14.6.64

Excerpts of commentary:

"The Arabs know better than anyone else their rulers and the territory they live in." This, it is said, is what the Egyptian President told Nikita Khrushchev after the violent communist attack on the Shaykhs. The statement was published by certain newspapers well known for their ties with Cairo. But no such statement appeared in any Egyptian newspaper or periodical. Egyptian media did not find it necessary to mention it or even refer to it in any of their news bulletins.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the Egyptian President was trying to calm down the feelings roused in Kuwait, hoping that the Kuwaiti loans and grants for his projects would not be discontinued.

Only the paid newspapers published the statement in question. Even if the statement is true, would it be enough to defend the victim of the communist attack? Does it represent sufficient appreciation of all the favours shown by the Kuwaiti rulers to Egypt and other countries?

What the Egyptian rulers know about the Arabs and Arab territory is well known. They have said it often and repeated it in different shapes and forms. They have said it in the abusive language they utter. They have said it in their vilifications, in their instigations to revolt against lawful rulers and to overthrow regimes, in their conspiracies and plots to spread chaos in every Arab country which refuses to toe the Cairo line, and in the various false slogans by which they try to deceive the Arab peoples. In short, they follow the principle that the end justifies the means in their efforts to lay hands on the fortunes of the other Arab countries.

Arab News and Comment of 18th June 1964

Algeria Bin Billah inaugurates railway workers' congress (speech broadcast from a recording, in French after introducing greetings in Arabic). 'Alger Republicain' celebrates the occasion.

Algerian-French oil talks end in Paris with disagreement on some problems and agreement on others. They are to be resumed in second half of July.

FLN Political Bureau discusses Central Committee resolutions and sets up committees to give them effect. 'Le Peuple' applauds its work.

Bashir Buma'zah cancels visit to Kuwait for health reasons. Minister of PTT [Abd al-Qadir Zaybak] leaves instead. He is to sign long-term loan agreement to finance the Algerian pipeline project. He also carries a message to the Ruler from Bin Billah.

Talks between FLN and UAR Socialist Party continue in private; a communique is to be issued when they end. Minister of PTT says in Beirut that FLN has not yet mediated between Arab Socialist Union and Ba'ith Party. Algiers 'Ash-Sha'b' greets the UAR on its Evacuation Day. New Iraqi ambassador arrives. Boycott-of-Israel conference at Annaba [Bône] is ending. Yusuf as-Siba'i is to attend the Algerian independence celebrations in July.

The Algerian Peace Committee is making active preparations for the Mediterranean demarcation conference. Meetings are to be held in towns. A petition has been launched. Newspapers including 'Alger Republicain' are beginning to carry detachable formulas for sending of messages of support. The same is to be done in other countries.

The Soviet mission visits the Gran glassworks.

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Maitland

No. 503
July 2, 1964.

D. 7.24 p.m. July 2, 1964.

R. 9.14 p.m. July 2, 1964.

V
VG1015/21

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 503 of July 2.

Repeated for information to:-

Amman,	Baghdad,
Beirut,	Damascus
Tel Aviv	

and Saving to:-

Washington,	Jedda.
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President Nasser made a short extemporary speech at Bilbeis Air Academy yesterday.

2. His main theme was the U. A. R's need to strengthen her armed forces to resist and defeat Zionist aggression, supported by the Western Powers and imperialism. The only means by which the U.A.R. could prevent a recurrence of what happened in 1948 and 1956 was to maintain a striking force sufficient to deter Israeli aggression. President Nasser made much of the support which Israel had received from the United States, the United Kingdom and France.

3. He made the following specific points.

- (a) War with Israel was inevitable, because Israel was aggressive. The peace which the U.A.R. talked about was peace based on justice.
- (b) The U.A.R. was now taking steps to amalgamate its armed forces with those of Iraq, so that there should be full co-operation between the two air forces.
- (c) The only remedy for the Israel threat to attack Syria and the other Arab countries, should they divert the Jordan tributaries, was for the Arab armies to be united, and the road taken towards Arab unity. He did not mean constitutional Arab unity, because there are obstacles in the way of such unity.

/later

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ire telegram No. 503 to Foreign Office.

-2-

Later, President Nasser stated that it was hoped that work on the diversion of the course of the tributaries of the Jordan, which had not yet begun, would begin shortly.

Foreign Office please pass Washington and Jedda as my telegrams Saving 55 and 31.

[Repeated as requested]

AAAAA

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
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Mr. Maitland

No. 501

D. 7.38 p.m. July 2, 1964

July 2, 1964

R. 8.45 p.m. July 2, 1964

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Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 501 of July 2.

Repeated for information to: Amman Baghdad

Beirut Damascus

Tel Aviv

and Saving to: Washington

Jedda VG 1015/21 A

My immediately preceding telegram: President Nasser's speech at Bilbeis.

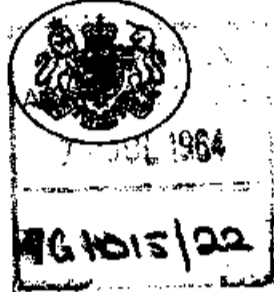
The main points of interest in this speech are Nasser's admissions that there are obstacles in the way of constitutional Arab unity, and that the work of diverting the tributaries of the Jordan has not yet begun. These remarks may be intended as a warning to Arab opinion not to expect dramatic results from the Arab summit in September.

Foreign Office please pass Baghdad, Damascus, Tel Aviv and Saving to Washington and Jedda as my telegrams Nos. 22, 17, 14, 56 and 32 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

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BRITISH EMBASSY, enter
MOSCOW.
July 2, 1964

(L0342/27)
FO 342

Dear Laurence,

The June issue of the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Kommunist, publishes an article on the U.A.R. by I. Belyaev and V. Cheprakov, which is of interest for its handling of Arab unity and socialism and of the Arab Socialist Union, a subject skirted with circumspection during Khrushchev's visit to the U.A.R.

Not by
K. himself
m.

2. The article seeks to demonstrate not only the increasing progress but also the increasing progressiveness in Egypt since the 1952 revolution. Arab nationalism and Arab unity were slogans which, according to the article, although they had a certain usefulness in that they united all sections of the population in the struggle against foreign persecution, were doomed to failure. The union with Syria, which was to be based on the unity of all classes, in fact turned out to be a union of the bourgeoisie to suppress the workers and the progressive intelligentsia. The illusion "We have no classes and no class struggle, we are all Egyptians" suffered a serious blow through the collapse of the Syrian union. Since then the U.A.R. has been searching for new ways. The Egyptians have now admitted that classes exist and that the struggle between classes is becoming more acute. "The class struggle has ceased to be 'an invention of Marxism'".

3. Through a series of economic and political reforms, the article says, Egypt has created a wider social base: the popular masses of fellaheen, workers and intelligentsia. The political organisation which is to serve as the weapon in the hands of the popular masses and support the state authority is to be the Arab Socialist Union whose aim is to oppose reaction and facilitate the building of a new society in the Republic. The article emphasises that only patriotic forces are to be allowed into the Arab Socialist Union by the exclusion of a large part of the bourgeoisie who have been expropriated.

4. The authors of the article describe discussions they had with Egyptian friends in which they tried to refute the Egyptians' allegations that the Arab form of socialism had nothing to do with Marxism/Leninism with relation to religion, private property and nationalisation. In refutation of one Egyptian's remark that "the economic laws of Marx are not suited to the U.A.R." the authors told the Egyptian that he had not paid attention to the words in the first volume of Capital that laws are /modified by...

P.H. Laurence, Esq., M.C.,
North and East African Department,
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

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by circumstances. The U.A.R., they comment, has entered on the path of non-capitalist development. This is not a third way between capitalism and socialism, as the Western press tried to affirm today, but a way leading to socialism.

5. In this connexion, in conversation with our Ambassador, the Algerian Ambassador here said that the Soviet line was changing in favour of socialism of the Nasser/Ben Bella sort. Communist Parties in Arab countries were receiving more cavalier treatment. He regarded as indicative the fact that a recent article in Pravda by Bukhali, Secretary General of the Algerian Communist Party (which supported the Soviet line on a conference of world communist parties) was signed with his name only and not as Secretary General of the Algerian Communist Party. This he contrasted to Bukhali's visit to the Soviet Union last year as leader of an official delegation of the Algerian Communist Party. Since then there has been a Soviet Communist Party (as well as Government) delegation to Algeria on the invitation of the Algerian National Liberation Front party.

6. This and the general tenor of the Belyaev/Cheprakov article seem to indicate at least temporary acceptance by the Soviet Union of Arab socialism and probably a policy of encouraging the Arab Communist Parties to infiltrate the Arab Socialist Parties. As a lecturer addressing a Soviet audience said recently "Algeria is not following exactly the same path as we trod, but one very close to it. There are objections that the Communist Party is banned in Algeria, but it should be remembered that the ban affects not the Communist Party alone but all parties other than the Government Party. Ben Bella assured us that Communists in Algeria are not subjected to any oppression". The Algerian Ambassador here takes the line that they know very well who are the Communists in their party and can control them.

7. The justification adduced by the Soviet theorists for this attitude to Arab Socialism is that it is not as incompatible with Marxism-Leninism as many Arabs seem to think. The real reason for it is presumably the realisation that the Russians can build up their position in what they regard as these important bridgehead countries only by accepting certain aspects of Arab nationalism, although they still find the concept of Arab unity difficult to live with. Having taken this decision they are putting the best face on it they can.

/8. ...

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VP 103155/16. (N.A.)

8. It would be interesting to hear from the Chanceries at Algiers and Cairo, to whom I am copying this letter, how the Arabs view this Soviet approach to Arab socialism and how far they regard Arab socialism as compatible with Marxism-Leninism. Judging from the Algerian Ambassador's remarks reported in Sir H. Trevelyan's letter of June 19 to Smith, Ben Bella at least is conscious of the Soviet attempt to appropriate Arab socialism to Marxism-Leninism, and is resisting it. Moreover I imagine that Soviet insensitivity to the importance of Arab unity, indeed the discounting of it in the Kommunist article as discredited by experience, will continue to irritate the Arabs.

*Yours ever,
B.L. Crowe*
(B.L. Crowe)

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*Mr. Lawrence
enter 24/7*

BRITISH EMBASSY,

CAIRO.

No. 1018/64

July 21, 1964.

RECEIVED BY ARCHIVES 27 JUL 1964 VC1015/25

Mr. de la Roche

President Nasser's family have been in the news recently.

2. First, his eldest daughter Hoda married Hatem Ali Sadeq, a graduate of the Faculty of Economy and Political Sciences at Cairo University and the son of a former Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture; there was the equivalent of a society wedding at the President's house, with full publicity. Hoda herself has already taken some small part in public life, having paid a visit to the Soviet Union last year at the invitation of Mr. Khrushchev's daughter, Mrs. Rada Adzubei. She also attained a certain measure of academic distinction while studying at Cairo University.

3. Secondly, the houses of Abdul Nasser and Abdul Hakim Amer were apparently happily united by the marriage on July 9 of the President's young brother, Flight Lieutenant Hussein Abdul Nasser to Amal, the daughter of Abdul Hakim Amer. This was lavishly celebrated at the Officer's Club in Zamalek (disrupting traffic in the area until the small hours), and also well publicised.

4. Finally, the President's younger brother, el Leithy Abdul Nasser Hussein, came to our cognizance officially when a visa for the U.K. was requested for him (and given) on July 8, ostensibly to enable him to travel to England for medical treatment (we offered the Presidency assistance in making arrangements for his treatment but they required none). His wife and the Financial Director of the Alexandria Chamber of Commerce were given visas to accompany him.

5. Neither of the two brothers of the President are well known to us. I enclose such details as we have; if further information about them were readily accessible, we should be very glad to have it.

6. I am sending a copy of this letter to Owen in Washington.

Tom E...
Donald Hawley
(D.F. Hawley)

R.T. Higgins, Esq.,
North & East African Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON S.W. 1.

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EL LEITHY ABDUL NASSER HUSSEIN

Born 1925.

Younger brother of President Nasser. He appears to be something of a family failure, since the President once revealed in a speech on a public occasion that his brother (presumably el Leithy) had failed to qualify for the Military College, and that he (Nasser) had refused to use his influence to have him admitted. Rumour has it that el Leithy is now a prominent layabout in Alexandria.

In 1960, when he applied to us for a visa, he described himself as "Resident of the National Union, and Member of the National Council". When he applied again in July 1964 for a visa for the United Kingdom ostensibly to enable him to obtain medical treatment, he was described as a Director of "el Gumhuriya".

His wife, Zeinab Abdul Latif Abdul Rahman (b. Cairo 1933) was given a visa to enable her to accompany her husband.

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FLIGHT-LIEUTENANT ("CAPTAIN-PILOT") HUSSEIN

ABDUL NASSER

Youngest (?) brother of President Nasser, and a pilot in the U.A.R. Air Force.

He married Amal, the daughter of Abdul Hakim Amer, at a lavish and well publicised wedding at the Officers' Club at Zamalek, on July 9, 1964.

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair
Mr. Maitland

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION ✓

No. 583
July 23, 1964

D. 2.54 p.m. July 23, 1964
R. 4.45 p.m. July 23, 1964

IMMEDIATE

Vc 1065/26

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 583 of July 23.
Repeated for information to Washington Tripoli Jeddah
POMBC (Aden) Benghazi
and Saving to Baghdad Damascus UKMIS New York
Bahrain Amman
Beirut Sec. J.I.G. Cyprus

July 23 Celebrations.

Last night President Nasser addressed a popular rally in Giza Square to celebrate the 12th anniversary of the Revolution. His theme was the will for revolutionary change.

2. The President spoke after speeches by Vice President Hussein Shafiq, and a number of African and Arab leaders (Haile Selassie, Sekou Toure, Kenyatta, Ben Bella, Banda, Tahir Yehia). The African leaders, in their speeches, praised President Nasser and the U.A.R. Revolution and stressed the U.A.R.'s strong connections with Africa. Mr. Kenyatta, who said this year was also the twelfth anniversary of the Kenya Revolution, and Dr. Banda thanked the U.A.R. for moral and material assistance before independence. President Sekou Toure voiced his faith in the justice of the Palestine cause and recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to freedom and self-determination along with the peoples of Angola, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

3. President Nasser welcomed the African and Arab leaders and made the following principal points.

(a) Africa.

Imperialism in the past tried to separate Egypt from her brothers in Africa and to sow the seeds of doubt between Arab North Africa and the rest of the continent. For instance, Egyptian officials who arrived at Nairobi during British rule were held at the airport and sent back to Egypt on the first plane. African leaders who symbolized the will for revolutionary change have gained their freedom and are now here in Cairo. A number of African countries have gained independence and those which have not yet obtained it will undoubtedly have their turn. President

/Nasser

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Cairo telegram No. 583 to Foreign Office

Nasser also saluted President Holden Roberto, leader of the resistance which all African people look to with pride and honour, confident in its inevitable success against Portuguese despotism. The end of imperialism still dominating Angola, Mozambique and South Africa is near.

(b) U.A.R.

After rehearsing the history of the Revolution and the tripartite aggression in familiar terms, President Nasser referred to the people's desire for revolutionary change. £700 million had been allocated for the second industrial plan which aimed to double the national income in ten years. In the new plan now being prepared to be executed next year £1,000 million had been allocated for heavy industry.

(c) Arab Countries.

The will for revolutionary change has proved stronger than anything else, not only in Egypt but in all Arab countries. The Iraqi revolution is now marching along the road of social freedom and establishing liberty, socialism and unity. The Syrian people too have proved stronger than reactionary and separatist forces. What they want to pull down must inevitably topple, for they are strong and there is no need to worry about them. The will for Arab unity is stronger than the will of the enemies of unity because it is a revolutionary will for change. The coordination agreements concluded with Iraq and Yemen represent a step towards unity. The Yemeni people have also proved stronger than the backwardness imposed upon them. The Yemeni revolution was launched by the people as a result of the will for change. The U.A.R. forces went to the Yemen when they were asked to support the revolution there in the belief that they were doing a duty arising out of the Arab desire for change. (There followed a passage concerning the United Kingdom's attitude to the Yemen: see my immediately following telegram).

(d) Israel.

The U.A.R. will remember with gratitude for ever what President Sekou Touré said about the rights of the people of Palestine. What is taking place in Palestine is similar to what is happening in South Africa and other parts of Africa. The settlers want to commandeer everything and then get rid of the original inhabitants by killing them, but the Arab will for change is stronger than Israel and the imperialism which created Israel.

/Foreign

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Cairo telegram No. 583 to Foreign Office

Foreign Office please pass Washington and Saving to Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus, Amman and UKMIS New York as my telegrams Nos. 77, 35, 13, 28, 40 and 40 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

ADVANCE COPIES:

- Private Secretary
- Sir H. Caccia
- Sir G. Harrison
- Head of N.E.A.D.
- Head of W.C.A.D.
- Head of Information Policy Department
- Head of News Department

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr Maitland

VG1015/26(9)

No. 585
July 23, 1964

D. 4.02 p.m. July 23, 1964
R. 6.20 p.m. July 23, 1964

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 585 of July 23.

Repeated for information to :

Washington POMEC (Aden) Tripoli
Benghazi Jeddah

and saving to :

Bahrain Beirut Baghdad
Damascus Amman U.K. Mission New York
Secretary J.I.G. Cyprus

My immediately preceding telegram. ^{See document 1001} _{2001 1001 1001 (C)}

Following are the main points in President Nasser's references to the United Kingdom.

2. The British were annoyed by the presence of U.A.R. forces in Yemen. The U.A.R. had said the British were smuggling arms and spending money there but they had denied it. "Today" he said, "we read in the Press that Home declared in the House of Commons that arms were being sent without his knowledge. Can it be believed that he was unaware of this? The Prime Minister's confession showed that Britain had been conspiring."

3. President Nasser continued, "if Home does not know what is happening in Aden how can he know what is happening in Yemen? He had said in the House of Commons that there was a civil war in Yemen. He knew nothing at all but British malice and rancour had induced him to say that he would try to expel U.A.R. forces from Yemen. "We told him" Nasser added "that our forces will remain in Yemen in agreement with the Yemeni Government and that if anyone attempts to attack us in Yemen we shall break his leg."

4. The British had raided Harib and killed 25 Yemenis. The British Government in all its pomp and majesty had announced that the Prime Minister had ordered the raid to be carried out but, he went on "we can take our revenge. When they kill 25 of our people

EX-100
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Cairo telegram No. 585 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

our people we can kill 50, 100 or even 150 of theirs. We did not start this. It was they who began it by that raid on Harib." The British had given money to El Badr and the reactionary monarchists. "When they smuggle arms" he added "we shall smuggle arms too when they create trouble in Yemen we shall create trouble for them in 50 places and we can harass them and ruin their interests everywhere."

5. The U.A.R. could not let this challenge pass. They were in complete solidarity with Yemen and could not accept that Britain should give or smuggle arms to strike at the Yemen revolution. Britain's pretext could not be accepted because whenever the U.A.R. had said that arms were finding their way into Yemen from the "Yemen south" they had denied it and asked the U.A.R. to produce evidence. This evidence had been produced. But when investigations carried out by the Commons and Press had proved that the "British Assistant Governor in Aden" had been smuggling arms and giving money, the Prime Minister had told the Commons that this was true but that the Governor and British Government had had no knowledge of it. President Nasser asked how he could believe that the Prime Minister had not given his permission.

6. Whatever Britain might do, the forces of reaction would never return to Yemen, but the spirit of change in the Yemeni people would triumph. "Who is stronger", Nasser asked, "Britain's Prime Minister, the British Colonial Secretary or Sultan Ahmed El Fadli, who has left his Sultanate because he feels that the spirit of change will inevitably be fulfilled and that the British colonies in Aden and the south will inevitably achieve independence?" "The people in Yemen, Aden and the south were stronger than Britain."

7. The spirit of change in the Libyan people was also stronger than the bases. The Libyan people would live on and the bases would be closed. The Libyan Government with the Libyan people were now demanding that these bases should be removed.

Foreign Office please pass Washington and Savig to Bahrain, Baghdad, Damascus, Amman and UKMIS New York as my telegrams Nos. 78, 14, 36, 29, 41 and 41 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

ADVANCE COPIES:

Private Secretary
 Sir H. Gaccia
 Sir G. Harrison
 Mr. Cragford
 Head of U.A.R.
 Head of Eastern Department
 Head of Arabian Department
 Resident Clerk

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V		(Security Grading—to be Up-graded where Appropriate)
NORTH AND EAST AFRICAN DEPT.		CONFIDENTIAL
		V G 1015/28 ✓
FROM Mr D.J.D. Maitland, Cairo	SUBJECT: Report on The Celebration of the Twelfth Anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution from 21st - 28th July.	
No. Despatch No 31 (104/64)	D.S.	
Dated 1-8-64	Encloses Copy of:	References and Relevant Papers:
Received 7-8-64		
(Outward Action)		
66) D.I.S. (Metropole) 24/8	MINUTES	
	<p>A copy has gone for printing f.o.</p> <p>2. Shelli Cairo representative was told that President Nasser cancelled his appearance at Alexandria after explosion was found at the stadium there. But he had heard the for only one source - a pro-Bahil man who may have hoped to please, albeit incorrectly. So we cannot put any weight on the story.</p> <p>3. As for the rest Nasser appears to have had another reason in his own country, also used to it, and in his own cabinet, which he is not.</p> <p>4. Cf to D.I.S. please.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">R. Taylor n.p.</p> <p>W.C. AS RAS 27/8 F. 20/8</p> <p style="text-align: right;">see VG 1015/30</p> <p>From the letter attached at Page A it seems that there was an anti.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Nasser</p>	
(Printing Instructions)	f.o. PRINTED	
(Referred to Legal Advisor)		
(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)	
17/9/64	ME 19/7/65	
-130-		

Nasser plot afoot in Alexandria.
 Now I do not believe that
 Baghdad or Amman could be
 involved, nor I think should
 be used into this any suggestion
 that there is an effective anti-
 Nasser movement in Egypt.

Re Swinnen
 12/8
 CWT 15/8
 Ref. 1.

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 Sir,
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VG 1015/28

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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC
7th August, 1964
Section 1

THE CELEBRATION OF THE TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

Mr. Maitland to Mr. R. A. Butler. (Received August 7)

SUMMARY

This year's celebrations took place immediately after the meeting in Cairo of the Assembly of the Organisation of African Unity. Many African Heads of State stayed on to attend the celebrations, of which the U.A.R.'s role in Africa was a dominant theme.

The main events were the Youth Festival (Paragraph 3), the rally of the Arab Socialist Union (Paragraph 4) and the military parade (Paragraph 5).

President Nasser's failure to make his promised speech in Alexandria is still unexplained. (Paragraph 6.)

Stress was laid on the United Arab Republic's economic achievements. (Paragraph 7.)

The celebrations were well-organised and on a grand scale. President Nasser succeeded in impressing his African guests with the achievements and armed might of the United Arab Republic. His reputation in Africa will have been enhanced. (Paragraph 8.)

(No. 31. Confidential) *Cairo,*
Sir, *August 1, 1964.*
The Twelfth Anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution was celebrated from the 21st to the 28th of July.

2. Africa and the United Arab Republic's role as an African country were the dominant themes of this year's celebrations and the Heads of State and Government attending the Assembly of the Organisation of African Unity, which ended on the 21st of July, were invited to participate. Though some, including many of the franco-phone leaders, left Cairo on the conclusion of the Assembly, most Commonwealth and Arab leaders and the Emperor of Ethiopia attended the main anniversary celebrations.

3. On the evening of the 21st of July a Youth Festival was held in the Cairo Stadium. The start, scheduled for 8 p.m. was postponed until 10 p.m. as the final meeting of the Organisation of African Unity Assembly was prolonged beyond the appointed time. When President Nasser and his African colleagues finally arrived at the

stadium, which was liberally decked with flags and emblems symbolic of African unity and brotherhood, the crowd of 80,000 gave them an enthusiastic welcome. As the Heads of State walked to their seats, military bands struck up and fireworks shot into the sky. Students formed an outline map of Africa and human letters—forming slogans such as "Free Africa"—in the arena. The festival, which was televised, eventually ended at half past midnight.

4. On the evening of the 22nd of July the Arab Socialist Union held a mass rally in Gumburiya Square. This is usually the occasion for a major policy speech by President Nasser. This year, however, the other African Heads of State and Government were also invited to speak after Vice-President Hussein Shafei had opened the rally. The Emperor Haile Selassie lauded the achievements of the Egyptian people and their President and this was the principal burden of those who followed. The United Arab Republic's strong connections with Africa were also stressed. President Sekou Touré voiced his faith in the justice of the

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2

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Palestine cause and recognised "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to freedom and self-determination along with the peoples of Angola, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa". His speech must have gratified President Nasser and the other Arab leaders present. President Ben Bella spoke for only two minutes, saying that time was short and that he "wished to give President Nasser a chance". This hint did not, however, deter Mr. Kenyatta or Dr. Banda from delivering long speeches in which they both mentioned the moral and material assistance given to them by the United Arab Republic before their countries' independence. President Nasser, who at one stage of Dr. Banda's speech shrugged his shoulders and intimated to one of his neighbours on the platform that there was nothing he could do to stop the flow of words, eventually began his own speech at 11.30 p.m. The main points of what was a lukewarm performance were reported in my telegram No. 583 of the 23rd of July. The President promised his audience he would speak at greater length on the Palestine question during the celebrations at Alexandria.

5. A military parade took place as usual on the morning of the 23rd of July. This year it was held for the first time at Nasr City, a new suburb to the south-east of Heliopolis, and not on the Nile Corniche. A fleet of buses took thousands of Cairenes to the scene of the parade and President Nasser himself arrived promptly at 9 a.m. He was joined shortly afterwards by other African Heads of State and Government, including Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Lieutenant-General Ibrahim Abbud of the Sudan, President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, President Ahmed Sekou Touré of Guinea, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta—Prime Minister of Kenya, Dr. Hastings Banda—Prime Minister of Malawi and President Nkrumah of Ghana. Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer, the First Vice-President and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, delivered a short speech on the role and achievements of the United Arab Republic Armed Forces, stressing their capacity to defend the United Arab Republic and the Arab revolution and to respond to the call of truth and justice in Palestine when the time comes. A formation of troops recently returned from the Yemen then marched to the saluting base where President Nasser greeted the officers and N.C.Os. and decorated some of them. The

parade proper which, though there were no significant new weapons on view, was by far the most impressive ever seen in Cairo, then began. Some 250 armoured fighting vehicles, 125 armoured personnel carriers, assorted artillery and missiles and 10,000 marching troops passed the saluting base. The general standard of marching and turn-out was very good, the cadets being especially smart. This was a competently organised display of military might and its effect was enhanced by a fly-past of military aircraft.

6. It has been customary in past years for President Nasser to attend the revolution celebrations at Alexandria when those in Cairo have ended. This year, however, despite his promise to speak at Alexandria he did not follow his usual practice. The military parade in Alexandria on the 26th of July took place without him. No public explanation has been given for this change of plan and there has naturally been much speculation. It has been suggested, for instance, that President Nasser was expecting some *coup* in Syria which he would exploit in his Alexandria speech; or that he was upset by the destruction of the "Star of Alexandria" at Bône; or that he was unwell; or that he was over-tired. There may be some truth in all these theories. President Nasser has certainly had to spend a great deal of time at Cairo Airport saying good-bye to his African guests and, in addition, he was occupied for some days with President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, whom he had invited to pay a State visit to the United Arab Republic after the Assembly. On top of this, General Tahir Yehia, the Prime Minister of Iraq, together with a strong Iraqi delegation, has been here for talks in connection with the Co-ordination Agreement. It is none the less strange that President Nasser should have changed his announced plans without offering any explanation.

7. During the celebrations stress was laid on the United Arab Republic's economic achievements. This was underlined by the Industrial Exhibition now open in Cairo. The United Arab Republic authorities were clearly presenting themselves to their African guests amongst others, not only as leaders of the revolutionary struggle against Imperialism but also as potential suppliers of manufactured goods to the rest of Africa.

8. There can be little doubt that President Nasser's decision to invite the African

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3

Heads of State and Government to stay on for the Revolution Celebrations justified itself. Some of his guests may have wondered why a State which could afford such impressive armed forces had not done more to raise the standard of living of the Egyptian people and talked so much about the danger of Israel aggression. But all of them will have left Cairo with the feeling that the United Arab Republic is no mean power, politically, militarily and economically. Many of the tributes paid to President Nasser by the African leaders went far beyond the requirements of normal courtesy and his stature will certainly have been increased in Africa. The last two weeks'

events will, therefore, almost certainly have enhanced the President's prestige in his own country.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Algiers, Baghdad, Beirut, Benghazi, Damascus, Jedda, Tel Aviv, Tripoli, Washington, the United Kingdom Mission, New York, the Secretary, J.I.G. (Cyprus), and to the Political Officer, Middle East Command, Aden.

I have, &c.

D. J. D. MAITLAND,
Chargé d'Affaires.

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British Embassy in Libya,

Benghazi.

August 7, 1964.

From time to time we receive reports from travellers returning from Egypt about conditions and events there. Most of these are not of great interest but I record the following in view of its persistence and its potential significance should it later prove to be true.

2. It was first reported to me early this week that Libyans returning from Egypt were saying that an attempt had been plotted against the life of Nasser. It was to have been made at the public celebrations in Alexandria on July 26. Shortly before the ceremonies the police discovered that the microphone and dais which Nasser was to have used were booby-trapped. Nasser, who had already set out for Alexandria, turned back to Cairo. All reports are agreed that the attempt is being kept a closely guarded secret in Egypt.

3. With the proliferation of reports there is a proliferation of detail which may or may not be true. It is variously reported that Kamal al Din Husain, Husain al Shaf'i and even Anwar al Sadat were connected with the plot; that the conspirators were dissatisfied with the wastage of men and money in the Yemen; that they were betrayed by the wife of one of them; and that 45 officers and two generals are under arrest accused of conspiracy.

(A. Ibbott)

The Hon. I.T.M. Lucas,
British Embassy,
Tripoli.

CONFIDENTIAL

W
Feb
 I had heard the story in Suez
 - Cairo. *RT Higgins*
N. Brant

SECRET

BRITISH EMBASSY,
 CAIRO.

No. 1014/64

August 7, 1964

RECEIVED IN
 ARCHIVES N. 12
 14 AUG 1964
 V.G. 1015 30

Dear General,

In paragraph 6 of his despatch No. 31 of August 31, Donald Maitland speculated on the reasons for the abrupt and unexplained cancellation of President Nasser's public appearance at Alexandria for the second phase of the revolution anniversary celebrations.

2. We have now received reports from a number of sources, some of whom claim to have derived their information from government officials, that President Nasser's public appearances in Alexandria were cancelled because of an abortive attempt on his life. John Wall has reported that the story generally current in Alexandria is that one or more bombs were discovered in the stadium where Nasser was to have made his speech on July 26. One version of the rumour says that bombs actually went off prematurely, causing some deaths. But this seems very far fetched. Another version is that this was a conspiracy organised by army officers, one of whom betrayed his comrades at the last minute. Rumours of arrests are also rife. One has it that 32 people were arrested, including some officers. Another story is that 10 officers were brought to Cairo after the conspiracy was discovered and shot immediately.

① see above
 President
 ② see above
 of the National
 Congress

3. As was probably inevitable certain prominent personalities have been mentioned as having some connexion with the plot, notably Baghdadli and Anwar Sadat. We have no means of verifying this or any other part of the story. Firmer indications of the truth will probably emerge eventually, but this may well take a long time. Meanwhile we are inclined to think that some anti-Nasser plot has indeed been uncovered.

4. I am sending copies of this letter to John Wall in Alexandria, and to the Chanceries in Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus, Jeddah, Tel Aviv, and Washington, and to the Secretary, J.I.G., Cyprus and POMEC (Aden).

Yours ever,
Colin
 (C.T. Brant)

R.T. Higgins, Esq.,
 North & East African Department,
 Foreign Office,
 LONDON S.W. 1.

SECRET

RECORDED IN
 ARCHIVE No. 12
 20 AUG 1984

V1015/30(A)

Minutes

SUNDAY EXPRESS.

Cutting dated 16 AUG 1964 194

KILL-NASSER PLOT

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Army coup fails

by JAMES RAY

A GROUP of Egyptian army officers attempted to assassinate President Nasser and take over the Cairo Government according to reports reaching London and Washington.

The reports say the plotters tried to blow up a building where Nasser was due to make a speech.

But the coup failed and 12 officers, including, it is believed, some generals, were arrested.

The attempt is said to have been made on July 28. More than 20 sticks of dynamite are reported to have been discovered in a building in Alexandria where Nasser was due to speak.

'Too busy'

But at the last minute his speech and a huge military parade were cancelled.

The official explanation at the time was that Nasser was "too busy" playing host to African leaders who were in Cairo for the Conference of the Organisation of African Unity.

The conference of 34 African kings, presidents, and Prime Ministers had ended a few days before. And some African leaders—including Kenyatta of Kenya and Haile Selassie of Ethiopia—were still in Egypt.

It is not known whether any of them were due to join him in the building in Alexandria where the dynamite was planted.

British Foreign Office and American State Department officials have received reports of an attempted assassination.

A British spokesman said: "We don't know yet what weight to put on them."

Defence

In Cairo a government spokesman would neither confirm nor deny the report. And Egyptian military sources discount rumours of a plot.

But Nasser's generals are said to be disenchanted with the war against the royalists in the Yemen, where Egypt has 25,000 troops and 25,000 rifles.

The generals are said to be urging him to withdraw Egyptian forces from the Yemeni fighting, which has drained the Egyptian treasury and is damaging Egyptian prestige in the Arab world.

King Hussein of Jordan arrived in Alexandria for talks with Nasser and to Beirut radio said he will discuss in the coming days a joint Arab force to be drawn from the Egyptian and Yemeni.

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V
B7 'SUNDAY EXPRESS' + PLOT+ STORY AN ISRAELI LIE: CAIRO PAPER

FOR INFORMATION ONLY: NOT TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO M.E.N.A.

(MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY) CAIRO: 'AL-AHRAM' TODAY REFERS TO THE COLLECTION OF RUMOURS PUBLISHED YESTERDAY IN THE LONDON 'SUNDAY EXPRESS', AND SAYS IT HAS NOW BEEN DEFINITELY ASCERTAINED THAT THE BASIS FOR THESE LIES IN THE ANTI-U.A.R. CAMPAIGN WHICH ISRAEL HAS BEEN CARRYING OUT WITH ALL METHODS AND WHICH IS BASED ON THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE ANNUAL 26TH JULY CELEBRATIONS AT ALEXANDRIA.

MF BBC MON 17/8 ZA

Handwritten: VG 1015/3c(B)
NFA

B7 CAIRO PAPER 2 +PRESS SCANDAL+

'AL-AHRAM' CONTINUES: NO P. OF VALUE IN THE WORLD, EXCEPT THE 'SUNDAY EXPRESS' AGREED TO PUBLISH THESE RUMORS SPREAD BY ISRAEL. IT IS STRANGE THAT THE PAPER ATTRIBUTED THE STORY TO CAIRO. WHEN 'AL-AHRAM' REFERRED TO THE BUREAU OF RADIO PRESS DISPATCHES, IT DISCOVERED A SHAMEFUL PRESS SCANDAL. IT WAS FOUND THAT THE 'SUNDAY EXPRESS' HAD CABLED ITS CORRESPONDENT IN CAIRO ASKING FOR CONFIRMATION OF THESE RUMORS. THE CORRESPONDENT REPLIED IN CABLE DATED 15TH AUGUST, SAYING +IN REPLY TO YOUR CABLE, ALL THE SOURCES TO WHICH I REFERRED EMPHASISE THAT ALL THESE ARE BASELESS RUMORS+. YET, THE PAPER PUBLISHED THE RUMORS AS BEING A REPORT BY ITS CAIRO CORRESPONDENT.

MF BBC MON 17/8 ZA

B7 CAIRO PAPER 3

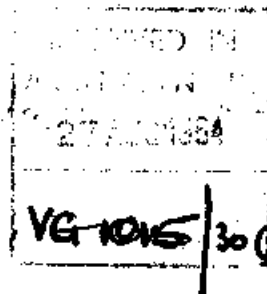
'AL-AHRAM' ADDS : IT WAS NOTE THAT ISRAEL, WHICH ITSELF BEGAN THE RUMOUR, DID NOT SPREAD IT IN PUBLIC, BUT WAS CONTENT, AT THE BEGINNING, TO RAISE AN ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION OVER THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE 26TH JULY CELEBRATION. ITS PRESS AND RADIO RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE REASON FOR THE POSTPONEMENT, AND SAID THAT IT +MUST UNDOUBTEDLY BE SOMETHING GRAVE+. HOWEVER, WHEN THE 'SUNDAY EXPRESS' PUBLISHED THE RUMOURS YESTERDAY, ISRAEL REPEATED THEM ALL DAY THROUGH ITS RADIO, SO THAT IT APPEARS AS A +CARRIER+ AND DENIES ITS ROLE AS ORIGINATOR.

THE 'AL-AHRAM' CORRESPONDENT HAS LEARNED THAT THE U.A.R. DOES NOT INTEND TO PUBLISH A DENIAL OF THE 'SUNDAY EXPRESS' STORY. AS AN OFFICIAL SOURCE SAID TO HIM: +IF WE PURSUED ALL THE LIES SPREAD AGAINST THE U.A.R. THERE WOULD BE NO TIME TO DO ANYTHING ELSE.+

END BBC MON 17/8 ZA 1000

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

August 21, 1964.

(1014/64).

My dear Ronald,

The lead item in 'The Sunday Express' of August 15 reporting a 'General's Plot' against Nasser provoked a predictably angry response on the front page of 'Al Ahram' on August 17.

2. The Ahram article made the following points:-

- (i) The Sunday Express story was Israeli propaganda. The rumours originated in Paris where they had been passed by the Israeli Intelligence Service to Western intelligence organisations.
- (ii) The Sunday Express was the only paper giving credence to the Israeli rumours; it was scandalous that the Express 'correspondent' in Cairo had specifically cabled to the effect that the rumours were totally unfounded (The Sunday Express has no correspondent in Cairo, only a stringer).
- (iii) On July 23 Ahram reported that the Alexandria ceremonies might be postponed and on July 28 had explained that there was no point in holding any ceremonies after the 26th. Moreover, Nasser's activities in the previous weeks had been superhuman and he would be starting his holiday in Alexandria.
- (iv) Algeria had announced official mourning for the 'Star of Alexandria' but the U.A.R. was unable to follow suit because of the presence of its African guests. However, it was inconceivable that Alexandria, after which the ship was named, should be the scene of festivities.
- (v) There was no intention of issuing a denial. The fact that the rumours had only been publicised by The Sunday Express and the Israeli Radio was sufficiently significant.

R.T. Higgins, Esq.,
North and East African Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

1/3. It seems

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↑

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BC 1016/74.

3. It seems to us that Ahran protests too strongly. In this connection I see, on rereading my letter 1014/64 of August 14 to Frank Branchly (not to all) about Patrick Seale's article in 'The Observer' of August 9, that the words: "We are incidentally inclined to discount them" (i.e. these rumours) in paragraph 5 (c) might seem to be inconsistent with our assessment "Meanwhile we are inclined to think that some anti-Nasser plot has indeed been uncovered" in paragraph 3 of Colin Brant's letter 1014/64 of August 7.

VE 1015/20.

4. I should have made it plain that while we are not inclined to credit these stories - some of which are particularly wild - we think it probable that some subversive activity has been discovered.

5. I am sending copies of this letter to John Wall in Alexandria, the Chanceries at Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Tel Aviv, and Washington, to Stephen Whitwell at POMEAC (Aden), to the Secretary, J.I.G., Cyprus, and to the Chanceries at Jodda, Damascus, Benghazi and Tripoli.

Yours Ever

D. F. Hawley

(D. F. Hawley)

CONFIDENTIAL

PUTTING

DAILY EXPRESS

15 SEP 1964 19

Cutting dated

NASSER PLOT: '22 PUT TO DEATH'

10001106
V61015/30(7)

Express Staff

TWENTY-TWO young officers were executed by firing squad in Cairo last week following an attempt to assassinate President Nasser and seize power.

This information reached London last night from a reliable source.

The officers tried to blow up a building in Alexandria where Nasser was to make a speech on July 26.

Dynamite

More than 20 sticks of dynamite were reported discovered.

At the last minute his speech and a military parade were cancelled.

The official explanation was that Nasser was too busy being host to African leaders who were in Cairo for a conference.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

M.F.P