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A Thematic Analysis of
The Journal Articles,
Interviews & Speeches
of Moh. Huse. Haykal
1936 - 56

BY
Malak Badrawi
1986

676

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A THEMATIC ANALYSIS
OF THE JOURNAL ARTICLES, INTERVIEWS
AND SPEECHES OF
MOHAMMED HUSAYN HAYKAL: 1936 -56

Thesis
676/86

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE CENTER FOR ARABIC STUDIES
THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

The

BY
MALAK BADRAWI

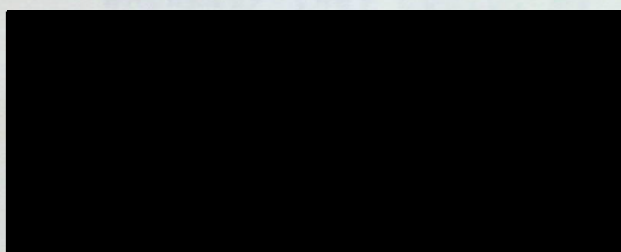
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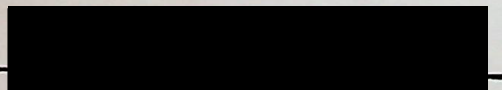
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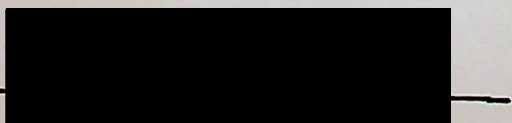
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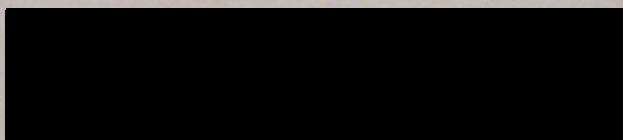
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CHAPTER ONE

MOHAMMED HUSAYN HAYKAL:

A CONDENSED BIOGRAPHY

MOHAMMED HUSAYN HAYKAL: A
CONDENSED BIOGRAPHY

I do not propose here to enter too deeply into an account of Haykal's life. The details are well enough known and have been recorded both in Arabic and Western languages. For this reason, I am contenting myself with an outline biography only. In compiling it, I have concentrated on those stages in his professional career which are directly related to his journalistic and political activities-which are the subject of the present thesis.

Mohammed Husayn Haykal was born on August 20th, 1888 in Kafr Ghannām in Daqahliyah province. He was the eldest son of Husayn Salem Haykal Effendi, the 'umda, who had inherited both the influence and riches of the Turkish noblesse and whose influence was reinforced by the prestige and the group feeling 'aşabiyah of the notable families of the countryside provinces.¹

The class from which he came, the 'umda families of the countryside, were to provide a reservoir of human resources which enriched both the political and cultural life of Egypt in the twentieth century.

As a child, Haykal attended the village kuttāb of Shaykh

¹ Ahmed Luṭfī al-Sayyid (ed.), al-Duktūr Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal, Cairo, 1958, p. 5.

Ibrāhīm Gād,¹ who, according to Haykal's later account, used to beat those pupils with a stick who did not give him his daily pay.² To obtain his ibtidā 'iyah (Primary certificate) Haykal moved to Cairo to the Gamaliyah district. He obtained the certificate in 1901.³

As a youth, Haykal refused to work in the fields, as did some of his contemporaries. He preferred writing or reading, or contemplating nature. He also edited a village magazine al-Fadīlah.⁴

He completed his secondary school education at the Khedival schools in Cairo, and obtained his baccalaureat in 1905. He wished to travel to England to study engineering, but at that time his grandfather died. Among those who came to offer their condolences was Ahmed Lutfi al-Sayyid Bey, who asked the youth what he wished to do and advised him instead to read law. As Haykal wished to study abroad, his father promised he would send him, on condition he completed the School of Law in Cairo.⁵ Haykal obliged his father and graduated from that school in 1909.⁶

Haykal in his Memoirs speaks of how he developed the hobby of writing newspaper articles, and how after he had revised

¹ Ibid., p. 5.

² Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal, "Ḍarabū Ra'īs al-Shuyūkh marrataīn," in Akhbār al-Yawm, January 27, 1945.

³ A. Luṭfī al-Sayyid, op.cit., p. 5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

⁶ Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal, Mudhakkirāt fī'l-siyāṣah al-Miṣriyah, Cairo, 1977, Vol.I, p. 36.

an article and had felt comfortable about it, he had sent it to the newspaper al Mū'ayyad, out of timidity, instead of going to meet the owner of the newspaper himself. He also describes how surprised he was to see that articles which he considered to be inferior to his, were published instead of his own.¹ This decided him to write for his own pleasure. Later he realized that had he gone to the owner of the newspaper, or to one of the editors, he would perhaps have received encouragement.²

When Haykal entered the School of Law in 1908, the building which lodged the newspaper al-Jarīdah, (which represented the 'Ummah party of Lutfi al-Sayyid), was on the route between Haykal's lodgings and the School of Law and, since there were family ties between his family and that of Lutfi al-Sayyid, he called upon the latter at al-Jarīdah.³ Lutfi al-Sayyid encouraged Haykal to write for the paper. Thus the youth was delighted one day to find that his article had been published. He mentions that it was not a political article, but that it dealt with the liberation of woman.⁴ It was thus that many of Haykal's early articles were issued in al-Jarīdah.

Haykal travelled to France in July 1909,⁵ just after he had completed the School of Law. He went to Paris and was accepted at the Sorbonne. He divided his time there between reading, meeting Egyptian students⁶ and writing articles

¹ Ibid., p. 28.

² Ibid., p. 28.

³ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

⁵ Ibid., p. 37.

⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

not too frequently for al-Jarīdah.¹ It was there also that he began the writing of his novel Zaynab.

In Paris, Haykal read voraciously and he mentions in his Memoirs that he read a book by Leon Bourgeois which bore the title Solidarité, and that the ideal of national solidarity mentioned in it appealed to him very strongly.² He was to talk and write about this very frequently later on.

Haykal, before finishing his doctorate in 1912, practised with a lawyer in Cairo and,³ when he completed his dissertation on La Dette Publique Egyptienne, or the Egyptian Public Debt, set up a lawyer's office in Mansourah.⁴ He continued to write articles for a number of newspapers, particularly since in 1915 al-Jarīdah had been closed down due to the imposition of martial law on Egypt.⁵ Haykal then became one of the editors of the newspaper al-Sufūr, which was founded by Haykal and his friends and managed by one of them.⁶ Otherwise he wrote for al-Bayān, al-Muqataṭaf⁷ and al-Ahrām.

Haykal also maintained his lawyer's office and joined the lawyers Union, representing Mansourah;⁸ this gave him the chance to make and maintain many contacts, including those with his 'teacher' Lutfi al-Sayyid and Abdel Aziz Fahmy, a chief judge. He participated in many political activities, and he was amongst those selected for the committee which drafted the Egyptian Constitution in 1923.⁹ Haykal also

¹ Ibid., p. 38.

² Ibid., p. 39.

³ Ibid., p. 45.

⁴ Ibid., p. 47.

⁵ Ibid., p. 65.

⁶ Ibid., p. 65.

⁷ Ibid., p. 66.

⁸ Ibid., p. 75.

⁹ Ibid., p. 109.

lectured in the Faculty of Law at the Fouad the First University,¹ (the present Cairo University) from where he resigned in 1922.

In 1919, the Egyptian nation arose to demand Egypt's independence and the release of Sa'd Zaghlul and the other politicians whom the British government had exiled to Malta. As a result, in 1922 Egypt was no longer a British protectorate but became a sovereign state. In 1923, Fouad, who since 1917 had been Sultan of Egypt, now took the title of King; political parties, chief amongst which were the Wafd, were officially formed. Another party was the Liberal Constitutional Party, the members of which had broken off from the Wafd - although they had been amongst the instigators of the 1919 revolution and one of them, Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, had been exiled with Zaghlul. This party had its own newspaper al-Siyāsah, which was founded in 1922, and of which Haykal became editor-in-chief.²

Haykal was one of the main journalists on al-Siyāsah. His energy and output were prolific, sometimes pushing him to write two or three articles a day, particularly when there were crises in the country, such as Sa'd Zaghlul's impatience with other political leaders such as Adly Yakan Pasha and with Abdel Khaliq Sarwat Pasha, both of whom were Liberal Constitutionalists. Yet when Zaghlul died in August 1927, Haykal wrote a long memorial piece praising Zaghlul's qualities of leadership, his integrity and honesty.³

¹ Ibid., p. 125.

² Ibid., p. 121.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Sa'd Zaghlul: al-ummah rajul wāḥid fī'l-muṣāb bihi," in al-Siyāsah al-'Usbū'iyah, August 27, 1927.

In 1926, the Liberal Constitutional Party founded another weekly paper al-Siyāṣah al-'Usbū'iyah, and Haykal became editor-in-chief of that publication as well. Thereafter he divided his writing between the two papers, writing on various topics - cultural, economical, sociological and political.

Haykal's output of political articles arose during Moustafa al-Nahhas' Wafd cabinet of 1930. He wrote an average of two articles daily denouncing the corrupt practices of this ministry.

Yet Haykal's most virulent attacks occurred after Ismail Sidqi Pasha succeeded Nahhas as Prime Minister in 1930. Sidqi set about preparing the draft of a new Constitution which Haykal disapproved of.¹ His response was to write two or three articles daily attacking Sidqi's autocratic behaviour, and his new Constitution, which appeared four months after Sidqi assumed the Premiership.² Haykal's attacks went on until Sidqi ordered al-Siyāṣah closed down in December 1930, after Haykal wrote an article entitled "Sidqi Pasha asks for the help of the English."³ Consequently, little less than a week later, Haykal wrote an editorial in al-Siyāṣah al-'Usbū'iyah, relating the circumstances under which al-Siyāṣah had been suspended.⁴ He mentioned that he and his fellow journalists were delighted because they felt that they had scored a great

¹ Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol.I, p. 264.

² Ibid., p. 268.

³ Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal, "Sidqi Bāshā yaṭlub 'awn al-Inkilāz," in al-Siyāṣah, December 21, 1930.

⁴ Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal, "Ta'ṭīl al-Siyāṣah al-yawmiyah," in al-Siyāṣah al-'Usbū'iyah, December 27, 1930.

victory.¹ Haykal from there on penned his attacks for al-Siyāṣah al-'Usbū'iyah; this went on for a short time until the weekly met with a fate similar to al-Siyāṣah and was suspended.

A little later, both papers were allowed back into circulation. Yet Haykal had not stopped writing articles in other papers, and he even wrote sections of a book narrating the circumstances of the constitutional crisis.²

In 1936, Haykal, together with three other journalists, was appointed to the Senate.³ When the Nahhas ministry was made to resign in December 1937 and Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, a Liberal Constitutionalist formed a cabinet, Haykal was given the rank of Minister of State (responsible for the Interior).⁴ Later when elections had given popular support to Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, Haykal became Minister of Education.

He kept this position until Mahmoud tendered his resignation in August 1939. Haykal was again made Minister of Education during the ministry of Hasan Sabry Pasha, which was formed during the war. Haykal remained in the cabinet of Sabry Pasha's successor, Husayn Sirry Pasha, until February 1942, with the coming of the Wafd ministry.

¹ Ibid.

² Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal (et al.), al-Siyāṣah al-Miṣriyah wa'l-inqilāb al-dustūrī, Cairo, 1931.

³ al-Ahrām, May 8, 1936.

⁴ Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol. II, p. 51.

In October 1944, a new coalition ministry was formed, and Haykal held two portfolios: Education and Social Affairs.¹ However, he was not to remain with these for long, because on January 17, 1945, he was appointed President of the Senate,² a position he occupied till June 17, 1950,³ when he was removed from the Presidency of the Senate because he had allowed discussions during the sessions of the Senate to bring to light certain nefarious actions by persons in the King's entourage. He remained in the Senate, however, until he completed his term of office as a senator in May 1951.⁴

Haykal was also elected President of the Liberal Constitutional Party in January 1943,⁵ and as such he was one of the leaders of the opposition in Parliament.

He also represented Egypt in various Parliamentary Conferences, and spoke for Egypt on several occasions at the United Nations Organization, until the military coup of 1952, after which political parties were disbanded. Thus Haykal was no longer as politically active as he had been, although he continued to write articles analysing the world situation. These were published mainly in Akhbār al-Yawm and al-Akhbār, although his articles and speeches were also published in al-Ahrām, al-'Asās, al-Miṣrī, al-Wādī, al-Dustūr, al-Balāgh, al-Muṣawwar, Rūz al-Yūsuf and other publications.

Haykal died on December 8th, 1956.⁶ The newspaper articles he wrote in the last two years of his life were restricted mainly to travelogues and book reviews which appeared in Akhbār al-Yawm and al-Akhbār.

¹ Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol.II, p. 248.

² al-Ahrām, January 17, 1945.

³ Ṣalāh 'Issa, (ed.) Muhākamat Fū'ād Sarrāj al-Dīn Bāshā, Cairo, 1983, p. 14; al-Ahrām, June 17, 1950.

⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

⁵ al-Ahrām, January 11, 1943.

⁶ al-Ahrām, December 8, 1956.

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HAYKAL AND THE EVENTS FROM JANUARY 1936
TO DECEMBER 1937

CHAPTER TWO

When King Fuad II, 1936, the interim
ministry of Ali Maher Pasha, on the same day declared Farouk
King of Egypt.

This interim ministry which had been formed on January
30th, 1936, at the order of Fouad, had no political affilia-
tions. It was to govern the country until elections were
held and the majority cabinet took over.¹

HAYKAL AND THE EVENTS FROM JANUARY 1936
TO DECEMBER 1937

The elections for the Chamber of Deputies
(majlis al-nawakil), were to take place on May 2nd, and if
candidates failed to obtain a majority vote, the elections
were to be repeated amongst these candidates on May 10th.
The Senate (majlis al-shaykha) elections and appointments
(two-fifths of the Senate members were appointed),² were
to take place on May 16th and 24th.

The elections for the Deputies (nawakil) took place on
May 2nd, and the Wafd deputies won a majority of
120 seats. As for the Senate, the elections were brought
forward to May 7th and 9th, because article (32) of the
Egyptian Constitution stated that the Parliament was required
to convene with both Chambers present within ten days of the
King's death.³ Five new senators were appointed on May 9th,
one of them was Hafez al-Husseini Haykal.⁴

¹ al-Ahram, April 29, 1936.

² al-Ahram, January 31, 1936.

³ Marcel Cusack, L'Égypte de 1936, Paris, 1937, p. 297.

⁴ al-Ahram, April 29, 1936; ibid., op. cit., p. 288.

⁵ al-Ahram, May 9, 1936.

HAYKAL AND THE EVENTS FROM JANUARY 1936
TO DECEMBER 1937

When King Fouad died on April 28th, 1936, the interim ministry of Ali Maher Pasha, on the same day declared Farouq King of Egypt.¹

This interim ministry which had been formed on January 30th, 1936, at the order of Fouad, had no political affiliations. It was to govern the country until elections were held and the majority cabinet took over.²

The elections for the Parliamentary Chamber of Deputies (majlis al-nuwwāb), were to take place on May 2nd, and if candidates failed to obtain a majority vote, the elections were to be repeated amongst these candidates on May 10th. The Senate (majlis al-shuyukh) elections and appointments (two-fifths of the Senate members were appointed),³ were to take place on May 16th and 24th.

The elections for the deputies (nuwwāb) took place on May 2nd, and the Wafd deputies won a majority of seats. As for the Senate, the elections were brought forward to May 7th and 8th, because article (52) of the Egyptian Constitution stated that the Parliament was required to convene with both Chambers present within ten days of the King's death.⁴ Five new senators were appointed on May 8th, one of these was Mohammed Husayn Haykal.⁵

¹ al-Ahrām, April 29, 1936.

² al-Ahrām, January 31, 1936.

³ Marcel Colombe, L'Evolution de L'Egypte, Paris, 1951, p. 291.

⁴ al-Ahrām, April 29, 1936; Colombe, op.cit., p. 288.

⁵ al-Ahrām, May 9, 1936.

Farouq, who had been at school in England, returned to Alexandria on May 6th, and immediately set out for Cairo. He was given a hearty welcome by the people in both cities.¹

On May 7th, Ali Maher sent a formal declaration from his cabinet to Parliament declaring Farouq's accession to the throne of Egypt. Since he was still a minor (seventeen and a few months), article (55) of the Constitution ruled that the Council of Ministers bore the official responsibility for the country until a Council for the Regency was appointed. This was done on May 8th, the first day of the convening of Parliament after the elections. Haykal attended it, and each of the heads of parties made a speech eulogizing the late King; the new King was cheered.² Two days later, after Ali Maher's resignation as Prime Minister, Moustafa al-Nahhas as President of the Wafd Party, formed a Wafd cabinet.

With the business of elections completed the country could return to its affairs. This also included the resumption of talks and negotiations with the British High Commissioner, Sir Miles Lampson, pertaining to the independence of Egypt, the evacuation of British forces from Egypt, and the problem of the Sudan, which the British insisted was not an integral part of Egypt. These had started on March 2nd, 1936.³

The Wafd al-Mufāwāḍah (the Delegation for the Negotiations), or al-Gabhah al-Waṭāniyah (the National Front), as they called themselves, which represented the demands of the Egyptian people, had been formed at the demand of the late King on February 13th, 1936. It was composed

¹ al-Ahrām, May 7, 1936.

² al-Ahrām, May 9, 1936.

³ al-Ahrām, March 2, 1936.

of seven Wafd members (as the majority), with Nahhas as President, and Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha for the Liberal Constitutionalists, Ismail Sidqi Pasha for the Sha'b Party and three Independents.¹ All parties were represented except the Watanī Party, which refused to negotiate with the British before the evacuation of foreign forces from Egypt.²

Nahhas presented the Regency Council with a report of the programme he would present to Parliament. In it he stated that his cabinet was "making its ultimate aim the realization of the independence of the country by establishing a pact of friendship and alliance with the friendly British state and that it (the cabinet) would strive to preserve the nation's Constitution by improving its rule and strengthening its traditions and it would lead the country on the path of reform."³

The negotiations were accordingly resumed in Cairo up to the latter half of July and were then continued in Alexandria. The treaty was finally signed in London, in the Locarno Room at the British Foreign office, on August 26th, 1936, by the original delegation for negotiations (Wafd al-Mufāwadah). The British delegation with a total of five members was headed by Anthony Eden.⁴

The articles in the treaty stated that the occupation of Egypt by the British forces was terminated, that ambassadors should be exchanged between both countries

¹ al-Ahrām, January 31, 1936.

² Abdel R. al-Rāf'ī, Fī a'qāb al-thawrah al-Miṣriyah, Cairo, 1951, Vol.II, p. 214-215.

³ Ibid., Vol.III, p. 13.

⁴ A.L. al-Sayyid Marsot, Egypt's Liberal Experiment 1922-1936, Berkeley, 1977, p. 253; al-Rāf'ī, op.cit., Vol.III, p.18.

and that the British government would support Egypt's request for membership of the United Nations. Moreover, it stated that an alliance had been established between both countries to consolidate "their friendship, cordial understanding and their good relations."¹ In addition, neither of the governments should adopt "an attitude which was inconsistent with their pact of alliance." It also stated that if either of the countries should engage in a dispute with a third, they would consult with each other to settle the dispute.²

Furthermore, since Egypt was an ally, if war broke out Egypt was to offer all facilities and assistance in her power - including her ports, airports and means of communications, and apply martial law and effective censorship.³

The Suez Canal was to have British forces stationed near it, but these were in no way to prejudice Egypt's sovereign rights. These forces would not exceed 10,000 land forces and 400 pilots and include the necessary administrators and technicians - not counting civilians.⁴

Facilities such as barracks, technical accommodation, emergency water supplies should be built by the Egyptian government in the localities specified by the treaty and these should be provided with gardens, playing fields, etc., and a site for a convalescent camp on the Mediterranean was also proposed.⁵

¹ al-Sayyid Marsot, op.cit., p. 254.

² Ibid., p. 255.

³ Ibid., p. 255.

⁴ Ibid., p. 255-256.

⁵ Ibid., p. 256-257.

Other items which were added amongst the facilities to be offered by the Egyptian government were the building of four long specified roads of suitable material to take army personnel. Railway lines in the area of the Canal were to be extended for the rapid transport of British personnel.¹

Moreover, the Egyptian government had to provide sufficient space for the storage of material and for the British forces to train in.² Regarding the Sudan issue, the British were to be assisted by the Egyptians in its supervision.³

The treaty also included other articles, one stating that the treaty abrogated any preceeding ones. Another stated that if any disputes arose between the two countries, which they were unable to settle between themselves, the problem should be settled by the Covenant of the League of Nations.⁴

The last clause decreed that since the treaty was subject to ratification it should come into force on the date of the exchange of ratifications and then be registered with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.⁵

Nahhas, as chief instigator of the treaty called it the Treaty of Honour and Independence (mu'āhadat al-sharaf wa'l-istiqlāl).⁶ Furthermore, one of his chief ministers, Makram Ebeid Pasha, gave an enthusiastic speech in support of the treaty in the large auditorium of Fouad the First University (Cairo University) calling the treaty a victory.⁷

¹ Ibid., p. 258-259.

² Ibid., p. 260-261.

³ Ibid., p. 261-263.

⁴ Ibid., p. 266.

⁵ Ibid., p. 267.

⁶ Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol.I, p. 341.

⁷ Ibid., p. 341.

The subject of the treaty was only introduced to Parliament on November 2nd, 1936. The Chamber of Deputies agreed to it on November 14th with a majority of (20) votes for to (11) against.¹ The Senate gave its agreement on November 18th with a majority of (109) votes against (7).²

Haykal did not, as was his wont, write any articles concerning the treaty. He mentioned in his Memoirs that Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, the Liberal Constitutional Party President, declared at a meeting that his conscience was not at rest concerning the clause pertaining to Egypt's aid in the threat of war.³ He gave his opinion about it in the Senate as well, and another Wafd member of the delegation for the negotiations, Dr. Ahmed Maher, agreed with Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha's opinion.⁴

Amongst those who objected to the treaty were Bahī al-Dīn Barakāt Pasha, a former minister,⁵ and amongst the senators were Hasan Sabry Pasha, who became Egyptian Prime Minister later during the war, and Hafez Ramadan Pasha, head of the Watanī Party⁵ mentioned above.

Haykal presented an analysis of the treaty in the Senate and concluded by declaring that it was bastardized version of the Milner proposal, that it would not bring about independence, that it did not even raise Egypt to the status of a dominion, and that each senator had to give his vote with that in mind. Therefore, whosoever wanted independence or a system similar to that in the dominions

¹ al-Ahrām, November 15, 1936.

² al-Ahrām, November 19, 1936.

³ Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol.I, p. 339.

⁴ al-Ahrām, November 13, 1936.

⁵ al-Ahrām, November 17-19, 1936.

should refuse it, and those who wanted to take a step for the cause of independence should accept it.¹

When the time came to give his vote (the afternoon of the day Haykal commented on the treaty), he was unable to cast his vote because he had been taken ill. He wrote in his Memoirs that certain people and newspapers believed that he had deliberately avoided the meeting not to vote.² However, he was to attack the treaty often later. For example, almost eighteen months later, during the electoral campaign for his party in March 1938, Haykal in one of his speeches said that the Nahhas ministry had, without thinking, signed the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty for the sake of Moustafa al-Nahhas, at Egypt's expense.³

Nahhas was so enchanted with his feat regarding the treaty that his cabinet took the decision on December 27th, 1936 to make August 26th of every year "Independence Day." This decision was later ratified by the cabinet of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha. None of the delegates received any decorations, except Moustafa al-Nahhas who was awarded the Order of Fouad the First; and his wife, who had accompanied him abroad during the talks, was given the medal of Perfection (nishān al-kamāl).⁴

¹ "Majlis al-shuyūkh yuqir al-mu'āhadah bi'akthariyat 109 aṣwāt did 7-kalimat Haykal ek," in al-Ahrām, November 19, 1936.

² Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol.I, p.342.

³ "Khutbat Haykal Bāshā fī ḥaflat al-wuzarā' fī'l-Fayyūm," in al-Balāgh, March 23, 1938.

⁴ Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol.I, p.343; al-Rāf'ī, op.cit., Vol.III, p.48.

Moreover, Haykal in his Memoirs was indignant that the Nahhas government after the conclusion of the treaty had bestowed honorific titles on hundreds of Wafd supporters who had done nothing to deserve the titles of "Bey", save that they belonged to the Wafd central committees in the provinces.¹

There still remained a very important job for the Nahhas cabinet to do. This was the cancellation of the Capitulations. These had been special privileges applicable to foreigners, which had been established by the Ottoman sultans over the dominions they ruled, such as Egypt, to protect and insure foreigners and their property and to alleviate them from the payment of exorbitant taxes. These conditions had ultimately had an opposite effect, since foreigners could get away with almost anything, and seek the the protection of their consuls, who also served as judges in disputes. The Khedive Ismail had sought to remedy this situation by establishing the "Tribunaux Mixtes," or the Mixed Courts, in which disputes were settled by judges - but most of the chief judges were foreigners.

Haykal also mentions in his Memoirs that Mohammed Mahmoud had recognized the veiled threat behind an article in the treaty which stated that "...in the event of war, imminent menace of war, or apprehended international emergency...",² the Egyptian government had to offer all facilities and aid to the British: Mohammed Mahmoud had consequently insisted that the British government promise to help Egypt get rid of the Capitulations.³ As a result, an

¹ al-Rāf'ī, op.cit., Vol.III, p. 48; Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol.I, p.343.

² al-Sayyid Marsot, op.cit., p.255, Art.7.

³ Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol.I, p. 339.

article was included in the treaty which read: "His Majesty the King and Emperor recognizes that the capitulatory regime now existing in Egypt is no longer in accordance with the spirit of the times and with the present state of Egypt."¹ Furthermore, the annexes to the article indicated that a speedy abolition of the Capitulations with the establishment of suitable legislation was to be sought. Meanwhile, a transitional regime was to be established during which the Mixed Courts would remain.

Consequently, on January 16th, 1937, the Egyptian government sent a letter to the twelve Capitulatory powers inviting them to participate in a conference in Montreux on April 12th, 1937.²

In March 1937, Haykal delivered a lecture to the Muslim Youth Association in which he referred to the Capitulations in the treaty, or more specifically the sixth paragraph in the annex of article (13) of the treaty. This read: "His Majesty the King of Egypt hereby declares that no Egyptian legislation made applicable to foreigners will be inconsistent with the principles generally adopted in modern legislation, or with particular relation to legislation of a fiscal nature, discriminate against foreigners, including foreign corporate bodies."³

In his lecture Haykal told his audience: "It is a well known fact that Egyptian legislation owes its derivation today to the principles of European legislation, and that this was derived before the creation of the National Courts (al-maḥākim al-ahliyah) in 1882, and the creation of the

¹ al-Sayyid Marsot, op.cit., p. 264-265.

² al-Ahrām, January 16, 1937.

³ al-Sayyid Marsot, op.cit., p. 265.

Mixed Courts in 1875, from Muslim canon law. Is it not to be understood from the phraseology in this paragraph that the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) are in contradiction with the principles of modern legislation? And is it not to be understood as well that the distance between them is great so as to require setting down that stipulation..? If that is what foreigners understand and imagine to themselves regarding Islamic jurisprudence, it is a very serious misunderstanding and in it is a violation of the Egyptian people's dignity and the dignity of their legislature. It is our right to correct this misinformation to foreigners."¹

Haykal told his audience that the Sharī'ah had been applicable before Napoleon had come to Egypt and that Egypt's change to European law had been too rapid.

He said that it was not possible in Islam to separate the state from the church as had been done in European countries, since Islam had no church and the Sharī'ah was an integral part of Islamic law. He also told the students that they had to explain how foreigners had come to make this mistake for their own sakes and for the sake of their legislation.

His final advice to his audience was that whatever was learnt should also be put to use. As he put it "... the talk of some about learning for the sake of learning, or art for its own sake and by that they mean that learning or art are independent from life. I do not understand that, because learning and art and other such things are part of life and therefore should be related."²

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Tashrī' al-Misrī wa'l-fiqh al-Islāmī," al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah, March 20, 1937.

² Ibid.

He declared that it was necessary that each study have two aims, knowledge and the search of its origins, and the following up of its secrets in the past. Then the arrangement of the results of this knowledge and its impact on life. Rigidity of thought or fanaticism would not lead to the truth or to development at any time, nor could these be expected to bring progress today or in the future.¹

The Montreux Conference took place as planned on April 12th, 1937 and the talks and negotiations were completed satisfactorily for Egypt and the Capitulations were abolished on May 8th, 1937.² Foreigners would now have to obey Egyptian laws pertaining to commercial, civil, criminal, managerial and financial law - although international legal practice was to be taken into consideration.

While the conference was taking place in April, Haykal wrote an editorial in which he fervently asked the Egyptian delegation at the Montreux Conference not to be content with any conditions other than absolute sovereignty for Egypt - not by causing harm or distress to foreigners, but for foreigners not to have any authority to interfere in Egyptian legislation and the organization of her public welfare and the benefit of her development and resources.

Haykal also spoke in his editorial of the contradictions in education and of justice. As an example, he wondered if anyone had ever asked an Egyptian on what foundation Egyptian legislation was built - Was it Islamic, or was it built on modern foundations? Was it possible for the Egyptian to answer? Or, for example, was Egypt's legislation religious or civil? Could a clear answer be given?

¹ Ibid.

² al-Ahrām, May 9, 1937

He also compared the education at al-Azhar with secular education. He wondered how secular education (al-tālīm al-madani), in government schools was related to religious life, or how separate it was? The same thing applied to foreign schools.

He did not wish to suggest any particular point regarding this unification, but for him the principal aim was to remove any obstacles in the path of unification... and the obstacle that was to be removed was the obstacle of foreign concessions. When these were removed all the anxiety and trouble, which made Egypt a nation of strange phenomena "...and which makes us different in our dress, culture and thought and makes this difference the cause for our disunity; the absence of cohesion in our race, the cohesion which will withstand everything - providing we remain united. The unity of a nation is its livelihood in life and it prepares it for freedom and independence and it is the first basis on which its existence is built in all eras and times."¹

A week later, another article appeared in al-Siyāsah al Usbū'iyah. This one bore the title "al-Muwazzafīn al-ajānib wa siyāsāt tajdīd 'uqūdihim," or the foreign employees and the policy of renewing their contracts. This article discussed the point that the government had lately renewed the contracts of (55) foreign employees and before that had renewed other employees' contracts and would later renew more.

According to Haykal this policy had previously been carried out following the wishes of the British High Commissioner. But the High Commissioner was now an Ambassador

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Waḥdat al-ḥayāh al-qawmiyah-tawḥīd al-tashrī'," in al-Siyāsah al- Usbū'iyah, April 24, 1937.

and the Egyptian government wished to prove to foreign nations, with which it was negotiating about the concessions, that foreign welfare was still important to it. But Haykal wished to warn, of the consequences of this policy, since more Egyptian youth was being educated both in Egypt and abroad and receiving degrees equivalent to the highest degrees obtained by foreigners, who were occupying key positions in the state. The Egyptian government did not need to employ more foreigners than it already had. In 1922, it had dispensed with foreign personnel without its efficiency being impaired. Besides, the Egyptians who had acquired degrees abroad, and who had worked in the government, had acquired sufficient experience to assume heavy responsibilities.

It was, he concluded, a serious problem which would have to be solved without the concern of keeping the foreigners satisfied, because the crux of the problem was the nation's welfare and, equally, that of its sons.¹

On May 15th, Haykal wrote an article championing the formation of an Arabic Language Institute. He wrote that Arabic usage was the official representation of our relationship to Arabization. Besides, Egypt's position as the elder sister in the Arab World and her usage of Arabic language guaranteed her commercial and economic ties.²

The treaty of Montreux was signed - as mentioned previously, on May 8th, and Egypt having won a major victory

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Muwazzafūn al-ajānab wa siyāsat tajdīd 'uqūdihi," in al-Siyāсах al-'Usbū'iyah May 1, 1937.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Majma' al-lughah al-'Arabiyah al-Malakī inshā'uhu wa taḥdīd aghrādihi," in al-Siyāсах al-'Usbū'iyah, May 15, 1937.

in her struggle for independence could now settle back and deal with her internal problems. These were discussed in Parliament, and suggestions were made about how to tackle them.

Haykal as a Senator, and a member of the Opposition, made speeches concerning policies. At the end of May, he made a speech concerning the state's financial policy. According to him, in the previous year he had criticized the Finance Minister's declaration that Egypt had no specific economic or financial policy in the way that the Conservative, Liberal, Labour or Socialist Parties in Britain had, and Haykal had answered that a policy which was not built on a specific basis, but which fluctuated every year from principle to principle, was dangerous. Lately, however, the minister had said that the first obligation was to fight against the abject poverty of the fellah class... The state's duty was to find a way to balance the relative levels of living between the people in the country "...by cooperation and brotherhood within the classes..." For him, one of the solutions was the distribution of taxes between the classes. Haykal said that, he for one, gave his total support to the Finance Minister's proposals and to the splendid programme he had drawn up and to which the government had agreed; and he added a few recommendations of his own.

He recommended that all Egyptians and foreigners who owned stocks or bonds should pay taxes on them. He said that taxes for tobacco, sugar, tea and such consumer goods should be increased, since taxes are payed so that the government aids and protects the tax payer.

There was also the question of employees, and the ranks they occupied. The lower ranks and the upper ranks should be altered and brought closer, as well as a revision of the

division of labour between employees. He said "... I believe the government is inclined to agree... with this opinion... It would also be preferable to stop actual promotions and salary raises until the new framework is set, or else make these promotions or raises nominal."¹

"As for the question of foreign employees, it is hoped that something be done about them... We cannot deny their kindness to Egypt, but the sons of Egypt have the right to occupy these positions. I ask the government to take some care of these able people, particularly since the government has recompensed the foreign employees with approximately a seven million pounds bonus."²

To which the President of the Senate answered. "Nine million pounds."³

Haykal had little more to add except to ask the government not to give foreigners new concessions. He gave Turkey as an example - that country had threatened to boycott a French company which it had wanted to buy out and the French asked for a high price. After the threat of boycott the Turkish government had acquired the company at a little more than the price it had originally wanted to pay the French. (Haykal had visited Turkey and had been very impressed by the Kemalist reforms).

¹ "al-Siyāṣah al-māliyah li'l-dawlah-kalimat al-Duktūr Mohammed Husayn Haykal fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh," in al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah, June 6, 1937.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

In July 1937, after a trip to Palestine, Haykal asked the Prime Minister Moustafa al-Nahhas, in Parliament, what the Egyptian government intended to do about the British decision to divide Palestine into sections.¹

Nahhas answered that he had had many discussions and negotiations with the British regarding the question of Palestine. He said that he saw no benefit in making a public issue out of the Palestine problem, whereupon Haykal withdrew his question.²

That same month, July 1937, the King became legal ruler of Egypt. He had just turned eighteen according to the lunar calendar and was therefore entitled to rule. Nahhas handed in his cabinet's resignation, according to constitutional custom and he formed his new ministry on August 1st.

The next issue Haykal dealt with in an article in al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah very rapidly became an issue of major consequence in Egyptian party politics. This was the Aswan Dam Project. The title of his article was "'Istinbāt kahrūbā' Aswān."³

The Egyptian government had offered the project to international tender. In response, the British Imperial Chemical Company had offered to build the Aswān Dam for eight million pounds. Another Swiss company had offered to construct the project for five million two hundred thousand pounds. Nahhas, as Prime Minister, preferred to give the project to the British, as he expected to get preferential

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Istijwāb barlamānī ilā Sāhib al-Maqām al-Rafī' Ra'īs al-Wizārah," in al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah, July 17th, 1937.

² "Bayān Ra'īs al-Hukūmah ḥawlā Istijwāb Husayn Haykal Bek," in al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah, July 24, 1937.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Istinbāt kahrūbā' Aswān," in al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah, August 14, 1937.

treatment from them, but no ministry wanted to take the responsibility for the project.

The President of the Liberal Constitutional Party, Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, wrote a memo to Dr. Ahmed Maher, President of the Chamber of Deputies, asking him to decide which company was best. Maher recommended that the company offering the lower tender be accepted, but the discussion between the ministers was not over. Haykal believed the problem had to be put in form of public opinion and so he had published the article.¹

The ministers who had objected the project were Mahmoud Fahmy al-Noqrashi, Minister of Transport, Mahmoud Ghaleb, Minister of Justice, Mohammed Safwat, Minister of Awqāf. They had also insisted that the project be presented to Parliament, but Nahhas did not want a ministerial crisis, despite the fact that the ministers' intentions were pure and honest, and so the three ministers had not been included in Nahhas' new ministry of August 3rd, 1937, and in September Noqrashi was expelled from the Wafd.²

After that, Nahhas was said to have tried to please Noqrashi by offering him a post on the board of the Suez Canal Company, a very lucrative job, but Noqrashi refused,³ and the story was by no means over.

¹ Ibid.

² al-Raf'ī, op.cit., Vol.III, p. 44; al-Ahrām, September 14, 1937.

³ Ibid. p. 46.

Riots seemed to have spread during that period, because at the beginning of September Haykal wrote an article in al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah denouncing the use of weapons and brute strength for persuasion and for convincing public opinion. He said that Victor-Emmanuel of Italy had allowed Mussolini's Fascist Youth to take over and that Egypt now also had Green Shirts and Blue Shirts. (The Green Shirts belonged to the youth movement Miṣr al-Fatāh or Young Egypt). The Blue Shirts, according to Haykal, were like Mussolini's Black Shirts "... their leader is Nahhas, as we were told by Makram Ebeid Pasha (Wafd Minister of Finance and Nahhas' right arm), in his last speech..."¹

Haykal asked: "How does the existence of this militia agree with the Constitution of our Parliament and how do the Miṣr al-Fatāh agree?... While we write this we are worried about the consequences to our paper (al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah) or to one of our reporters."²

Yet Haykal cannot really have been afraid, because a week after the above article he wrote another entitled "Uṣṭūrāt al-za'amah aw'mashiyakhat al-turuq al-siyāsiyah" - the legend of leadership or the monastery of Sufī political paths. In it, he said that Makram and Nahhas were making speeches about leadership which the educated could not understand, like philosophers talking about metaphysics. Haykal wrote that Makram reminded him of the white prophet

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Qumsān al-mulawwanah-hal yataffiq wujūduhā ma'al-dustūr," in al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah, September 4, 1937.

² Ibid.

Hal Kane, at the beginning of the twentieth century, He was ignorant and made speeches in which he spoke the language of the masses just like Makram. The British, he added, at the turn of the century had outlawed Sūfī orders for Egyptians, since Muslims claimed educated people did not need Sūfī tariqas.¹

After the end of October, Haykal mentioned in an article that there was a project which was going to be presented to Parliament to cancel the King's right to appoint Palace employees directly. It was certain the ministry had taken that decision as a result of the King's appointment of former Prime Minister "Ṣāhib al-dawlah," Ali Maher Pasha.²

He reflected that this decision was strange, because it dealt with the organization of royal authority in Egypt as subject to the authority of the cabinet-and this meant the alteration of the monarchical system in Egypt from its very foundations, since the King was subject to cabinet opinion and to that of the Parliamentary majority, which the cabinet was dependent on... If the cabinet did actually do this then the King's authority would not even be equivalent to that of the President of France.

His question was: What advantage was Egypt to gain by doing this? The answer was easy and required no argument. "If Egypt had once revolted in defence of the nation's rights which the Constitution had entrusted to the hands of the cabinet, we believe that she would do what she did yester-

¹ Moḥammed Husayn Haykal, "Uṣṭūrat al-za'āmah aw'mashiyakhat al-turuq al-siyāsiyah," in al-Siyāсах al-Uṣbū'iyah, September 11, 1937.

² Moḥammed Husayn Haykal, Tadyīq huqūq al-mulk-ta'dīl li'l-nizām al malakī fī Miṣr," in al-Siyāсах al-Uṣbū'iyah October 25, 1937.

day... When she revolted in the past it was for principles not for individuals. She is always ready to revolt for principles without looking to individuals."¹

Haykal, in the same article, made a reference to the integrity of government when he said: "They say that the cabinet wishes, by this crisis that it is creating between it and the throne, to deflect glances from its behaviour regarding internal affairs, in order for people to forget what touches the purity of government in many affairs."²

One month after the above article appeared, during which the situation gradually deteriorated between the Palace and the Wafd, Haykal penned a very strong article denouncing Nahhas, his Blue Shirts and all their deeds. "It was said that the King had no right to criticize or interfere in Palace affairs and it was also stated that His Majesty did not have the right to object to the cabinet's behaviour since the cabinet had majority support?"³ He asked what results could be expected of such behaviour, and what would happen to Egypt, which was facing a serious problem? Only the future could tell what the consequences would be.⁴

His last article, in November 1937, dealt with the freedom of justice. According to this article Nahhas' speech from the throne on August first, 1937, (Nahhas' fourth ministry mentioned above) had promised the study of judicial systems and rules related to all items that guaranteed the freedom

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Azmat Miṣr al-siyāsiyah hiya azmat niẓam al-ḥukm fī Miṣr," in al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah, November 20, 1937.

⁴ Ibid.

of justice and its protection. Nahhas had said almost the same thing, Haykal wrote, on forming his third ministry in May 1936; but nothing had been done.¹

In the same issue Haykal wrote another editorial, in which he accused England of being a very close friend of the existing cabinet and that it was possible that England could not hope for a cabinet that would obey all her demands on the execution of the treaty as the present cabinet did. "As for the plot against the Constitution it was addressed against the King and that was not done, particularly since the nation knew how careful the King was to obey the Constitution and to respect it."² England, he went on, before the treaty, interfered in the country's affairs... Now it was impossible for England to interfere, or else it would go against the clauses in the treaty.

"It is better to keep in mind that those who rule have accounts to give of their deeds just like paid trustees, and if they misbehave what they do is equivalent to treachery against the nation, since they go against the Constitution and its rules."³

On November 28th, a Green Shirted youth shot four bullets at Nahhas' car. He did this, he claimed, after he had read the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and had decided from it that Nahhas was incapable of serving his country.⁴ The same day riots

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Istiqlāl al-qadā' mata yatahaqq al-wu'ūd fī'l-tashrīlahu?" in al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah, November 27, 1937.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Mū'āmarah 'alā al-dustūr hiya al-mū'āmarah 'alā al-ḥukm al-sālih al-nazīh," in al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah, November 27, 1937.

³ Ibid.

⁴ al-Ahrām, November 29-30, 1937.

broke out and shots were fired around the house of Mohammed Mahmoud, who next day decounced both acts of aggression.¹

al-Ahrām wrote that, according to the British newspaper the Daily Telegraph, the assailant had no money and that he had visited Palestine recently, and had been given money there from parties interested in getting rid of Nahhas. The report also mentioned that Nahhas would, as a result of the incident, probably regain a great deal of the popularity he had lost. The Times also emphasized the man's visit to Palestine.²

Haykal responded in al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah that no Egyptian of sound judgement would look on the incidents of the past week except to dishonour them "... because the question is aggression against Egypt... One should also pause to reflect on the sacrifice incurred by Egypt since 1919, and previously, when Egypt was a British protectorate."³

A week later, Haykal wrote that he had heard that the cabinet was seriously thinking of issuing a law allowing ministers to stand on trial. He reminded his public that this law had been a point of difference between the Wafd and the late King Fouad and was one of the reasons the ministry had been obliged to resign. Egypt, he concluded, was more in need of serious industry and production, training and formation of personnel, then to waste time on such rubbish.⁴

¹ al-Ahrām, November 29-30, 1937.

² al-Ahrām, November 29-30 & Dec. 1, 1937.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Ḥawādith al-usbū' al-akhīr wa mā tufīduhu min 'ibrah fī hayāt Miṣr, in al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah, December 4, 1937.

⁴ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Ṣiyānat al-dustūr wa qānūn muḥakāmat al-wuzarā, " in al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah, December 11, 1937.

In the same issue, (Haykal was in the habit then of writing two or three articles weekly since the political atmosphere was charged), he remarked in another article, that many people had been arrested and had been kept in custody.¹

On December 18th, the topic he dealt with was the independence of the University, which was, he considered, being impaired. The government was treating the University as though the professors were non-existent and not worthy of respect. These professors were responsible for the future of the freedom of the University and for the nation's future.²

An article published on December 25th, discussed the release of the author Abbas Mahmoud al-'Aqqad from jail in the reserve prison (al-sijn al-iḥtiyātī) because, wrote Haykal, he had dared to be disrespectful to His Excellency the Prime Minister. (al-'Aqqād had been arrested before, without being sentenced or going on trial).^{*} His articles did not incite to crime nor did they disturb the security and safety of the nation. They should therefore have been left to the discretion of the courts... He asked the Public Prosecutor to investigate thoroughly before ordering arrests, and to look at these from a purely legal angle. There could be no reform, nor would any reform be of any value if each author writing his opinion would offend the powers that be.³

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Qabd wa'l-ifrāj fī qadiyat al-i'tidā 'alā Ra'īs al-Wuzarā'", in al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah, December 11, 1937.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Istiqlāl al-jāmi'ah man al-mas'ūl'an idtirāb maṣīruhā, in al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah, December 18, 1937.

^{*} see al-Ahrām, September 3, 1937.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Ḥabs al-iḥtiyātī lā yajūz fī jarā'im al-nashr," in al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah, December 25, 1937.

In another article, published on the same day, Haykal asked: "In whose hands lie the ruling of the country - to the streets and to riots?" -Liman al-ḥukm al-yawm li'l-shāri' wa'l-muḏāharāt? He answered his own question by saying: "I believe each reader can answer before even reading what has been printed." There was no Constitution in Egypt and no law.¹

"The newspapers have stated that the latest crisis has been ended by the ministry's agreement to all the Palace's demands. Yet the crisis, despite this, still exists as it has been since last October after the dispute started between the Palace and the cabinet."

"We therefore reiterate our advice," wrote Haykal in his summing up, "to the ministry to solve its problems constitutionally. If it is unable to do so, then it may have a problem staying in power."²

In the event, the ministry was not to stay in power since a very few days after the publishing of the above article on December 25th, the King called on Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, the Liberal Constitutional Party President, and asked him to form a cabinet.³

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Liman al-ḥukm al-yawm li'l-dustūr wa'l-qānūn 'am li'l-shāri' wa'l-muḏāharāt?"

² Ibid.

³ al-Ahrām, December 30-31, 1937.

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TO MID-AUGUST 1939

CHAPTER THREE

HAYKAL AS MINISTER: JANUARY 1938
TO MID-AUGUST 1939

On January 25, 1938, Haykal wrote an article which appeared in the daily newspaper *Liban* in which he discussed the situation of the country and the role of the government. He pointed out that the government was not doing enough to improve the economic situation and that the people were suffering from poverty and unemployment. He called for a more active role for the government in the economy and for the implementation of social reforms.

According to Haykal, when the Senate had met, one of the main points discussed was the economic situation of the country. He pointed out that the government was not doing enough to improve the economic situation and that the people were suffering from poverty and unemployment. He called for a more active role for the government in the economy and for the implementation of social reforms.

1938, December 31, 1937

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HAYKAL AS MINISTER: JANUARY 1938
TO MID-AUGUST 1939

The advent of Mohammed Mahmoud's ministry on December 30th, 1937 meant the rule of a national ministry (wizārah qawmiyah) composed not only of Liberal Constitutional members, but of all other parties excepting the Wafd.¹

Mohammed Mahmoud assured the King that the Constitution was going to be obeyed. In his address to the King on becoming Prime Minister he wrote the following: "The welfare of the country is dependant on the presence of the Constitution as a foundation for rule, in order that the true constitutional spirit dominate in its shadow and the authorities cooperate for the good of the country, and that the general liberties be taken care of, and that all the efforts be made for the general welfare. And that the tangible responsibilities which the government is facing in the country's internal or external life at present, necessitate a communal policy built on harmony of hearts and unity of efforts..."²

On January 5th, 1938, Haykal wrote an article which appeared in the daily newspaper al-Wādī, and entitled "al-Haq al-dustūrī fī tā'gīl al-barlamān," or the constitutional right to postpone the meeting of Parliament.

According to Haykal, when the Senate had met, one of the Senators Youssef al-Guindī, speaking for the Wafd, pointed out a theory Haykal had advanced in the book of which he

¹ al-Ahrām, December 31, 1937.

² al-Ahrām, December 31, 1937.

was one of the co-authors al-Siyāsah al-Miṣriyah wa'l inqilāb al-dustūrī. This theory stated that if the meetings of the Chamber of Deputies were postponed by the ruling ministry, it was necessary first that the ministry obtain the Chamber's confidence before any decisions were taken. Haykal said that Youssef al-Guindī had quoted certain paragraph from the book and that these were correctly quoted, but he had failed to mention the end of the paragraph: "If the existing ministry sees that it is dependent on their confidence, (of the deputies), or that they are not representing the nation (properly) and that their representation (of the nation) is not legal, there is only one constitutional alternative to follow, and that is the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and the resorting to the nation by way of elections..."¹

"As for the decision agreed upon which is that the ministry has the right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies whether it did ask for the confidence of the Chamber or not..." Haykal concluded his editorial saying: "If that is an offense in the opinion of Mr. Youssef al-Guindī, I hope no one will agree with him, and I hope that the postponement of the Parliament will reflect the same relaxed atmosphere prevailing in the whole country."²

Two days before the above article appeared, Dr. Ahmed Maher, President of the Chamber of Deputies, and a member of the Wafd - the only one who had voted against expelling Noqrashi Pasha from the Wafd - had issued an order not to discuss the decree ordering the formation of the Mohammed Mahmoud ministry, nor to discuss the postponement of the

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Haq al-dustūrī fī tā'jīl al-barlamān," in al-Wādī, January 5, 1938.

² Ibid.

convening of Parliament for a month.¹ This was what had caused Youssef al-Guindī's protest in Parliament, and Haykal's editorial.

The Wafd's reaction was to expel Ahmed Maher from the Wafd² as well, so that now it had four of its former members out - one of which was Noqrashi.

These ex-members got together and formed a new political party al-Hay'ah al-S'adiyah, or the S'adī Organization. Ahmed Maher was elected its President.

Still in January, on the 18th, King Farouq got married for the first time, and the whole country celebrated the occasion. Haykal made a speech about the wedding (which he attended). He said he was speaking to all the people who had not had the opportunity to come to Cairo and witness the nation's happiness at the nuptials of its sovereign, particularly "...since His Majesty the King chose the good queen from a noble Egyptian house..."² Haykal said he hoped this would serve as example to other monarchs.³

After the Mohammed Mahmoud ministry had decided to postpone the meeting of Parliament, an order was issued on February 2nd, to dissolve Parliament, and April 3rd was designated for the convening of the new Parliament.

Thus a month before April 3rd, Haykal and the partisans of this ministry ran their electoral campaign - which was aimed chiefly against the Wafd. Haykal himself made roughly

¹ al-Ahrām, January 4, 1938.

² al-Ahrām, January 4, 1938.

³ "Kalimat al-Duktūr Haykal Bek bi'nunāsābat al-zawāj al-malakī al-sa'īd," in al-Balāgh, January 23, 1938.

nine speeches in the month of March. These were given all over Egypt, and in them he denounced the Wafd cabinet, its chief Moustafa al-Nahhas, his right hand man Makram Ebeid Pasha, and the corruption which they had brought about in the country.

The first of these campaign speeches given by Haykal was in Menufiyah where he thanked his listeners for their invitation, and proceeded to talk to them about "general affairs, on the occasion of the elections that would take place there (in Menufiyah) on April 2nd....."¹ and particularly the matter which Nahhas had chosen to call "the constitutional crisis" (al-azmah al-dustūriyah), and which had ended by the removal of that ministry. Haykal asked his audience to judge the situation - "Was the Nahhas ministry correct when it caused this crisis and permitted the outbreak of riots in which the rioters called for revolution - if His Majesty did not agree to their demands....."² The constitutional crisis, continued Haykal, could be summarised in three items. The first of these was a result of the King's refusal to appoint a certain protégé of the Wafd to fill an empty seat in the Senate. A second man suggested to the King was also refused on the same grounds as the first - he was not suited. According to Haykal the second favourite had cursed Nahhas when he thought it would help him politically and had returned to Nahhas when only he would support him. Haykal asked his audience how they could conceive of such a man in a responsible position and representing the people in the Senate.

The second item on which Nahhas Pasha built what he called a "constitutional crisis" was the factor regarding

¹"Fī Ijtimā 'al-Menufiyah - Kalimat Haykal Bek," in al-Ahrām, March 8, 1938.

²Ibid.

the ministry's secret expenses. Parliament had guaranteed in the year's budget from the beginning of May 1937 to the end of April 1938, L.E. 38,000. That amount would have been sufficient had the situation in the country been stable, but Nahhas had created for himself an army for which he made for himself the position of supreme commander - that was the army of Blue Shirts and it was absolutely necessary for this army to have expenses. Nahhas, instead of spending from his own personal income on this army, or from the Wafd's budget, had used the secret income that had been set aside for the maintenance of security. Moreover, the Nahhas cabinet had paid an additional L.E. 14,000 in six months - and it was necessary that Parliament agree, and the King had to agree, to the law to be presented to Parliament to allow this. The King was presented with a request to guarantee L.E. 25,000 for these expenses and he refused.

According to Haykal, the King had also warned Nahhas that the existence of these coloured shirts was unconstitutional and he had asked him more than once to dissolve them.

The third item, Haykal went on, that was included in the constitutional crisis were the by-laws of the University, since Nahhas Pasha had decided that the University students had turned against him, because of his poor politics. Consequently, he wished to bribe them and therefore presented to the King a project in which he lowered the average passing grade for them. It was the University Board's responsibility to raise or lower the students' average pass marks, and the King refused to give his agreement to this law, since the University Board had not agreed. Nahhas had therefore cried out once more "constitutional crisis."¹

¹ Ibid.

Haykal told his listeners that the success of their sons was dependent on the independence of the University and (emphasized the need for) staying away from interference in the affairs of education. The Egyptian University, he said, communicated with various other universities and if the Egyptian youth did not learn properly, these universities would not accept them.

"So what did His Majesty King Farouq do," he went on, "when Nahhas Pasha and his friends talked of a constitutional crisis in Egypt? He suggested to them that former Prime Ministers and former Ministers of Justice and the important men of justice be consulted regarding the so-called crisis. He (the King) accepted the ruling of these men. That was wise constitutional action...Had Nahhas and his friends accepted the suggestion their acceptance would have been the most dignified way to get out of this abnormal situation they had created by their mistaken action."¹

Haykal's next speech took place on March 12th, in Banha, the capital of ^{Qalyubiyah} Menufiyah. In his opening statement he quelled a spreading rumour that the new ministry was going to fall and that another ministry would replace it. "The person who has the right to appoint ministers and the right to depose them is His Majesty the King," he said, "and His Majesty is satisfied with his ministry, sure of it and covers it with his care as you know, and if it was to resign, who would invite it to resign?"²

In the same speech, he said that if a man had done a great thing and then he had proved to his nation that time had run too

¹ Ibid.

² "Khutbat Haykal Bāshā fī Banhā," in al-Wādī, March 13, 1938.

fast for him and that he was unable to carry the burden, it was the duty of that man to his nation to seek his own comfort and resign rule in favour of others. If he did not do that the nation would not give him rest. That is what you (the people) granted Moustafa al-Nahhas Pasha and Makram Ebeid Pasha." He then gave as an example the caliphate of 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, who was the Prophet's son-in-law. The Arabs had gone to him to ask him to stop his nepotism and when he did not they killed him.

He continued this speech by pointing out that during the Conference of Capitulations, Dr. Ahmed Maher had done a tremendous job and that he had been careful to maintain his country's rights and many had testified to this. Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha had also been a member of the delegation for the negotiations (wafd al-mufawāḍah) and Dr. Maher and his friends had testified to that and that his stand had done a great deal for Egypt's fight for its rights.¹

He concluded by saying that a man who wished to rule a nation had, above all considerations to forget himself and to work entirely for his nation, and he went on to praise the King.²

The next day, March 13th, Haykal was in the 'Abdin district making a speech to promote a candidate. In this speech, he spoke of the coloured shirts and the previous ministry. "The champions in the previous ministry declared to the heads of the "millah" that they were the ministers of the people who had put their confidence in them, the ministers

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

who represented their wishes and who worked for the welfare of the homeland... and they said that they were dependent on a force they had established other than you (the people) which was the force of the (coloured) shirts. As for your strength, it had receded from them because of their misdeeds, as for the force of the shirts which they bluffed you with - this dissolved in one night..." "That," he said, "was because these shirts were mercenaries, and stayed in the fray only as long as they were paid... and when they were afraid of being attacked they fled."¹

Haykal also told the people how Makram Ebeid Pasha had gone to a British journalist and had asked him how he could have deserted him. 'He (Makram) said: "I want you to reveal what magic made you leave me to join him..." (i.e. Mahmoud).

Haykal added that the unity which had been realized by the 1919 revolution was a splendid thing, and (again), in 1926 when Sa'd Zaglul Pasha had headed the coalition. He blamed Makram Ebeid Pasha for saying 'no coalition and no cooperation'. He also told the people that if they had been in support of unity in 1926, then they should support it today and cast off or castigate those who were not in favour of this unity.²

After Haykal's speech in 'Abdīn, he travelled with other candidates to Minya province in Upper Egypt, where he and the other candidates spoke to the people. The speeches according to al-Balāgh were very well received by the people of Minya. It was very ironical that his words should be recorded in al-Balagh, which only two years before had been one of the organs of the Wafd.

¹ "Ḥaflah 'intikhābiyah fi'dā'irat 'Abdīn-Khutbah hāmmah li Ma'ālī al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā," in al-Balāgh, March 14, 1938.

² Ibid.

He started by praising Minya for having had so many patriotic and pure spirits, many of whom had been his friends, so that their mention was painful to him. He brought back to the memories of his audience the days when Sa'd Zaghlul, Ali Cha'rāwi and Abdel Aziz Fahmy had discussed the affairs of Egypt with Sir Reginald Wingate, and how Ali Cha'rāwi, a son of Minya, had spoken to Wingate in the spirit of friendship - whereas the other two had spoken as lawyers do. Haykal praised the province for its moderation in all circumstances because moderation was the guarantee of success. He went on: "I do not wish to speak of the last ministry, because you heard its declarations and you witnessed its deeds..."¹

Haykal then mentioned that the Wafd had met the day before and only a few of them met despite the fact that they usually had many candidates. He commented that their supporters seemed to have deserted them because they were not as numerous as when they had been in power. "They met and they talked. They talked? Was it (of the) welfare of Egypt? Was it of a programme to reform the affairs of the country?... No! They talked of what they would do regarding the next elections... They spoke about that at length... Some said, "Let us withdraw from the elections. Why? Parties have withdrawn one day from elections because they saw that a Constitution had replaced a Constitution..." (he was talking of Sidqi's Constitution of 1930 which had replaced that of 1923 and had remained until 1936) "... and regulations for elections replacing other regulations. The Constitution they had asked for is still present, and the regulations for elections they had approved have not changed, but that is not what they are thinking of when they are thinking of withdrawing. They have thought, in that strange manner: that " If we withdraw,

¹"al-Wuzarā fi'l-Minyā - Haykal Bāshā Yarshif'an masāwi' al-Naḥḥāsiyīn," in al-Balāgh, March 15, 1938.

some of those who are ambitious to win will desert us and that will be an excuse to split us after we have already split once when Ghaleb Pasha and Noqrashi Pasha and Safwat Pasha left the ministry, and we split once again when Dr. Ahmed Maher left the Wafd.... So they remained to attend the elections and to maintain their personal benefit, not for the benefit of the homeland..."¹

He continued by saying that they had sung their obsolete patriotic songs and had handed out elections tickets double the number of those who were supposed to vote. He gave as an example the village of Moustafa al-Nahas, Samanūd, which had a population of 3000 and yet 6000 tickets had been handed out. "This fraud," he said, "has been denounced to the responsible parties for investigation and it has become clear that they assigned more than one ticket for each voter and they accused others of forgery when they are the forgers....."

"I heard an hour ago," Haykal continued, "that they wish to go to the Royal Palace and to spend the night there until they meet His Majesty the King. If these are their plans and their methods, this means that they are still in their old ignorance as to what is due to the person and dignity of His Majesty in terms of respect and reverence.... Gentlemen," he went on, "while that party is doing that vis-a-vis His Majesty the beloved King, they spread amongst you false declarations to cause a schism and split, and they try to create the reasons, and they want to revive the former time which passed away years ago, separating by means of it between the elements of the nation...." (he meant religious)..." with no end and no cause. They say Copts and Muslims and you know that those who head our fellow Copts and their leaders in opinion were the foremost Egyptians to declare loyalty to the King and to safeguard the unity."²

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

He continued: "For whose benefit is this? And what is the purpose of it? The proof of their purpose was their resorting to the English newspaper correspondents to raise through them the question of minorities..."¹

The next speech given by Haykal was in Tanta and, after thanking his audience for their welcome and praising their city which he used to visit with his grandfather, he told his audience he did not wish to talk too long of the past but he wished to speak to them of the present. "You are now at the period of elections and everyday you hear something new. You hear from our side our mention of what we have prepared for this homeland and its people and you hear from Nahhas Pasha and his friends a chain of rumours which never end, lie after lie after lie each rushing the other, and the following one throwing out the previous one... And these lies, which they favour for themselves, express their fervent hope and their principle aim - how to return to government. Is there a way? They are truly aware and cognizant that since this ministry enjoys the affection of the King and the support of the nation and its confidence, they have no way of getting what they want... ...When was it a fault for a prince to give his opinion on national affairs? That he should say to a politician that he had achieved his aim in what he had done- and for that reason had been mistaken? We have seen (some) of the great princes who sent to Nahhas Pasha and Makram Pasha and to Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha and to Sidqi Pasha writs which involved political questions, and no one ever accused the members of this noble family to its head (the King). As for those (people) they did not take care of that house or of its head and of what their duty was in terms of reverence and respect."²

"This insulting plan was what pushed Nahhas Pasha and his friends to what he called 'the constitutional crisis'..."

¹ Ibid.

² "Khitāb siyāsī hām fī Tanṭā li' Ma'ālī al-Duktūr Haykal Bashā," in al-Balāgh, March 20, 1938.

"Did you see," he went on, "those who resort to His Majesty the King? Did you see this spirit which is rebellious to the system and to the law and to the rules of politicians? If you wish to see it clearly look at the telegram sent by one of Nahhas' allies, I believe he is called 'Abduh ... I don't remember what (voices: 'Abduh al-Burtuqālī) ... but our friend there went beyond the limits..." (in sending the telegram to Farouq), "when he said 'from 'Abduh al-Burtuqālī to Farouq'. Gentlemen, this sneaking spirit has penetrated from above to below and came out from leaders to those led...."

"Brothers," he concluded, "the cabinet has cars and these are not allowable except for general welfare. If the minister wishes to go on a private venture he uses his private car. But Nahhas has taken for himself four cars - one for himself, and a second for the members of his household, and a third for his relatives and a fourth for the relatives of the members of his household. Maybe these are silly affairs, but they show the man's nature. Whoever is not moderate with himself will not be moderate with others, and the man who favours his family, and who is influenced will not accept that palms should meet and that hands be shaken, and that people should like each other and that Egyptians should become, with God's bounty, brothers..."¹

The next speech given by Haykal was in Fayyūm province, although he had not been scheduled to speak there. When he was asked to, he told the people there that the disorder that had forced him to speak was similar to the disorder which had existed in Nahhas' ministry.

"Brothers," said he, "what has been agreed upon between all people and in all the countries of the world is that what is between the person and his God is not for any human to interfere with - whether he is Jewish or Christian or Muslim or even a

¹ Ibid.

a Magian, that is something between him and his God and no one has any power over him. This is a rule decreed... and while there were differences in opinion between Lord Cromer and the Khedive Abbas Helmi the Second, when these differences were related to religion, then the Khedive said to Cromer: 'This question is related to my beliefs,' Cromer backed away and said: 'Since that is a matter of creed we have nothing to do with it and your knowledge of your religion we cannot interfere in, no matter how strong we become.'"¹

"And England, before the war, was very dominant over Egypt, and Lord Cromer's word filled hearts with dread... yet despite all that he used to back off in front of freedom of belief and the sanctity of religion and it was his duty to back off... And now government has returned to us... we have respected freedom of beliefs in relation to Egyptians- as the respect Cromer had in relation to the Khedive Abbas Helmi the Second. When I prepare to speak of the politics of religion of the last ministry I believe my friend Makram Ebeid Pasha will pretend that I am using the King's name in the electoral war. But No! Because it is impossible to misuse the King's name in the electoral war..."

"Prince Mohammed Ali said-when he was head of the Council for the Regency-to Nahhas Pasha that His Majesty the King was to be crowned soon and that he was the first independent King to be crowned in this country for hundreds of years, so it is the duty of the nation to adopt traditions for his coronation which will remain in the future. I suggest that prayers be said and that this festivity take religious overtones taken from the fact that Islam is the state's official religion and I believe that each kingdom, no matter how advanced it has become, puts weight on these rituals and is attached to them... and Egypt is an

¹"Khuṭbat Haykal Bāshā fī haflat al-wuzarā' fi'l Fayyūm ams," in al-Balāgh, March 23, 1938.

Eastern country and leading the East is Japan and she is like England in the West... And this state (Japan) with its position in economy and martial arts, as you know, pays a lot of attention to coronation celebrations and religious rites... If that is the case with Japan, and it is a constitutional state, and that is the case of England, and she is one of the oldest constitutional nations, ... why would it be that if that occurred in Egypt, it would not be constitutional and would split the people into factions? Would it not be the same in England, where these are Protestant coronation rites - and the Jews and the Catholics are present...? I assure you that I am not a religious fanatic and I never was, because I am convinced Islam abhors fanaticism. And that is where I am amazed that despite the permissiveness of the Muslim religion - the party should refuse that the coronation be religious."¹

"Moreover," continued Haykal, "when the month of Ramadam arrived and the King had wished to listen to the rules of religion and instead of calling the Shaykh to the Palace, he had wished to sit with the people, this caused others to complain and they did so to the British representative in Egypt. The latter answered that this was something related to religious beliefs and traditions, and England preferred not to interfere in such matters, and that he did not wish to hurt the feelings of the Egyptian people by interfering in religious beliefs."

He went on: "Those people did not think the day they signed the Treaty of Independence that they had done so at the expense of Egypt but they thought the day they signed it ... that they signed it for the sakes of Moustafa al-Nahhas and Makram Ebeid. They imagined that they were writing a contract to own Egypt, as though Egypt in their view had become free of the English to fall into the tentacles of Moustafa al-Nahhas and Makram Ebeid."²

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

"When we signed the treaty we took over the consequences of independence. And the consequences of independence were cutting off a month from the employees' salaries, and the bestowing of titles and medals to those who contributed with thousands, and such methods... But the true consequences of independence are the establishment of a strong army and they did not do a thing in regard to the army in one and a half years..." He further remarked that if Nahhas had collected money to establish an army it would have been an army worthy only of a comedy and the theatre.

He added that the present ministry had included in its considerations the refocusing of the people away from their own problems to those of their country. He also said that this programme involved all the classes of the population.

He concluded by asking his listeners to allow the ministry to work on its reforms and said that the King had placed the choice in the hands of the people and that it was up to them.¹

Two days later the ministers were continuing their electoral campaign in Upper Egypt. Haykal's speech that day dealt with the higher qualifications of the people who were chosen to occupy important positions... "And I do not doubt that Nahhas Pasha and his friends know this primary truth and whichever of you men - who own an industry and wish to leave its management to someone, would look for capability. The post of President of the Senate is not the least important of jobs, and the head of the Senate in any country is the one chosen as President of the Republic in republican countries. He has to have the character of a statesman, and has to be chosen because he is above party politics even if he is a party man and that he maintains justice among people."²

¹ Ibid.

² "Khutbat Haykal Bāshā fī'l-haflah al-intikhābiyah am fī Ḍṣsyūt," in al-Balāgh, March 25, 1938.

Haykal's aim was to cast a slur on the former President of the Senate, al-Basyūnī, who had been appointed by Nahhas. "The President of the Senate, the brightest, the most supreme, has sent to His Majesty the King objecting to the schedules for the elections and the altering of the districts, and he speaks like the President of the Senate - clever, honest knowledgeable of the Constitution and the law. But he is the one who is running for the (Chamber of) Deputies, so he is descending from his exalted position and damning the men of management, and he is the one who brings rascals armed with sticks and daggers and guns, and prepares them for you know whom... just as though he wishes to guarantee freedom in the Senate with guns and daggers and sticks in the way Nahhas Pasha guaranteed it for Egypt with the Blue Shirts and aspects of terrorism."¹ Haykal then stated that these had gone to the house of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha and had attacked it. The day after the attack Haykal had gone to the Senate and met with Mahmoud Basyūnī (the President of the Senate) and said to him, 'This situation is completely out of control, the country is in upheaval, and the head of the opposition (Mohammed Mahmoud) is set upon in his own house. I am coming to you because I am an Egyptian and I say that a continuation of this situation (makes) the treaty pieces of paper without any value and prepares for the intervention of the English in our private affairs...'"²

Haykal's denunciation of Basyūnī was very lengthy, but before concluding his speech he told his listeners he was confident that they knew (the truth of) of what he said and he advised them to be like him and to forget friendships and enmities. He said that there was a friend greater than family, and friends asking them to save him, and that was the fatherland, and that they should extend their hands to him.³

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Haykal also made a speech in Choubra, where he asked the audience to vote for his friend Aziz Mishriqī because he called for true democracy and for the real constitutional idea based on the division of authority between the legislative and judicial and executive powers. "As for Makram Pasha," he continued, "even if he did pretend to be calling for democracy the truth of the matter is that he denies them (these powers) all completely, indeed he declares war on them when he calls for 'sacred leadership', and if sacred leadership is mentioned the Constitution is destroyed and democracy is lost and equality between people will no longer exist."¹

"The idea of sacred leadership which Makram Pasha is calling for is not a party idea, - partymanship is not wrong - but it is the idea of a party pushed by its leader to refuse all agreement and understanding with any organization or authority in the country. As for the idea of Mr. Aziz (Mishriqī) it is the idea which we believe in, the idea of communal unity (waḥdah qawmiyah), or the idea of combining parties-were we to borrow the expression of the late regretted Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha in the last days of his life. As for Makram Pasha he has refused this idea and all his stances bear witness to this. You will remember that Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha's invitation to coalesce was a strong one. And it was hoped that it would bear fruit had fate given him time."

Haykal then said that he had tried in 1931 to discuss the idea of a communal ministry with Makram Pasha and that Makram had refused the idea.

¹"al-Duktūr Haykal yakshif mafāsīd al-ḥukm al-Nahhasī-nasṣ al-khitāb al-siyāsī aladhī alqāhu 'ams fī Choubra," in al-Balāgh, March 20, 1938.

Much later, he recalled, when the treaty had been signed he had again spoken to him of keeping the ranks together. Makram had answered: "We thought of that but there is an obstacle." He (Haykal) had asked what the obstacle was. Makram had said that Nahhas Pasha had read in certain newspapers what had been said about the mission of the Wafd being over when the treaty had been signed, and so he got angry and refused the coalition.

"That," continued Haykal, "is the way of Makram Pasha, always, and the reason for this is his belief in his influence on the Wafd and his ability (alone) to convince Moustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, and that if a person differs with Makram Pasha's opinion he has to force the person to resign from the Wafd or to be removed from it."¹ This had been even more obvious when Nograshi Pasha and Ghaleb Pasha had been removed from the ministry in 1937. This attitude had even been extended by Makram Pasha to the King because he was of the opinion that the King had no right to interfere in the affairs of the ministry.

Haykal also mentioned that Makram, who had not been a Minister of Education, had wanted to interfere in the school curriculum by wishing to prevent Christian Copts from studying the Qur'ān which was given to them to make their usage of the Arabic language richer. "The kinsmen of Arabic," ('ahl al-'Arabiyyah)," all agreed that the basis of eloquent Arabic and Arabic language is the Qur'ān, the great linguistic miracle. Makram Pasha knows that, indeed so do all our Coptic brothers... It was required in all Egyptian schools that pupils learn samples of the Qur'ān as illustrations of the colouring of Arabic expression."

¹ Ibid.

"...Although a person may say that Makram Pasha was not Minister of Education, you know Makram's influence was not restricted to the Ministry of Finance; indeed his fingers reached into all the ministries and branches of ministries..... "There are amongst the Copts excellent capabilities which should be made use of, just as it is necessary to make use of the capable among the Muslims. Makram Pasha, by arousing this fanaticism, is doing away with the cooperation required between Egyptian capabilities..."

He ended his speech by advising the people of Choubra to vote for Aziz Mishirqī (who was obviously a Copt) because of his capabilities and his worthiness.¹

The last speech made by Haykal before the elections took place was on March 30th, a day after the speech given above. In it he said that Nahhas had destroyed his cause with his own hands since he had removed men from his ministry - men it was not at all necessary to remove and why? "The man had re-formed his ministry on... a joyous occasion which had moved Egypt with delight, and that was the seating of King Farouq the First on the throne of Egypt." Haykal went on to say that although Nahhas' ministry had committed a great many mistakes that occasion was sufficient to make people forget the past, but God's will had made him err against himself.

Haykal went on to enumerate the faults of the Nahhas ministry (as mentioned above) bewailing the fact Nahhas in 1931 had been very patriotic and Makram Pasha had been loyal truthful and honest, and that Makram had admitted after the negotiations, '...that had it not been for Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha we would have lost 50 percent of what we won in

¹ Ibid.

the treaty...' Later he had turned his back on the same person he had praised, not "worthy of being listened to."¹

The elections took place as scheduled and on April 3rd, Haykal's statement concerning them appeared in the papers, to the effect that they had not yet obtained official results from the Cairo area and the Delta governorates and that "... what we have as unofficial information allows me to assure that the 'Wafd of Nahhas' is no happier in situation in today's elections that it was in the elections to the governorates of Upper Egypt, and I calculate that the number of centres (dawā'ir) that the Wafd has succeeded in the Delta zone does not exceed ten or approximately that...."²

"As for the Sa'dī Party (the newly formed party composed of ex-Wafdist ministers who had been expelled) their candidates have had a great victory."³

The newspaper al-Ahrām of April 4th, 1938, gave the following figures - the coalition which was headed by Mohammed Mahmoud, had won (92) votes, the Sa'dī party had won (80) seats, the Independents (61) seats, the Wafd had won (12) seats; there was only one centre (dā'irah) the result of which was unknown. The coalition ministry had won the support of the people.⁴

As Haykal stated it: "This result shows that the nation has started to look to the extent to which the deputies attach importance to the proper conduct of internal government after

¹ Khutbat Haykal Bāshā fi'l-haflah al-intikhabiyah fī dā'irat 'Abdīn 'ams, in al-Wādī, March 31, 1938.

² "Natā'ij al-intikhābāt-taṣrihi li'Ma'ālī al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā," in al-Wādī, April 3, 1938.

³ Ibid.

⁴ al-Ahrām, April 4, 1938.

the external problems of Egypt ended...,as in the past the evaluation of internal questions was considered of less value than suspended questions between Egypt and England and the question of foreign capitulations..."¹

The Parliament with its new members met on April 12th, 1938. It was headed by Mahmoud Basyūni, the President of the Senate. Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, as Prime Minister, made the speech from the throne. The Chamber of Deputies met and voted for Bahi al-Din Barakat Pasha to preside over it.

Changes were made in the ministry on April 27th and Haykal became Minister of Education. Two other Liberal Constitutionalist Ministers were added to the cabinet, although it remained a coalition ministry with all parties represented, except of course the Wafd.²

On May 7th, Haykal talked on the occasion of Farouq's ascent to the throne. He praised the King and said that the latter wanted to record in Egypt's history pages of glory and greatness worthy of the son of Fouad and Ismail and the grandson of Mohammed Ali.

He also said: " Youth does not know the slow escalation which old people talk about. Indeed it dashes impulsively with its bold enthusiasm to the highest places... and that is the case with Farouq... This is the first time Egypt celebrates the seating of His Royal Majesty, the beloved King Farouq the First, on her throne after his Majesty took over his constitutional rights. For that reason, smiles are drawn

¹ "Natā'ij al-intikhābāt-taṣrīh li-Ma'ālī al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā," op.cit.

² al-Ahrām, April 27, 1938.

to all her sons' faces and happiness overflows..."¹

The same day Haykal made the above speech, al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah published in its column "Usbū'al-barlamān," (weekly reports on Parliament), a report which mentioned that Haykal had made a speech in Parliament which was a lesson in parliamentary discussion and in which he said; "We have to be in the government and in the opposition-in order to weigh matters with one balance."²

As Minister of Education, Haykal had said that the responsibility of the ministry was enormous since it had to spread education and that the ministry, during the twenty-two years of the reign of Fouad, was to be thanked for its efforts. He added that "the mission of the Ministry of Education does not stop at the preparation of youngsters for the life of the present - indeed it goes beyond that to illustrate the future as it should be - and the mental preparation for that future..."

"The first duty the ministry would have to carry out was to inject the spirit of the faith in truth in the souls of youngsters and to educate them with the respect for justice, free from fancy..."³

Later on in that same month of May, al-Ahrām published an account of a meeting of the Senate in which there had been a fierce argument between the Wafdist Speaker Youssef al-Guindi and Haykal.

¹"Kalimat al-Duktūr Mohammed Husayn Haykal bi'munāsabat 'īd al-julūs," in al-Āhrām, May 7, 1938.

²"Usbū'al-barlamān," in al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah, May 7, 1938.

³"Bayān li'Ma'ālī Haykal Bāshā Wazīr al-Ma'ārif al-'Umūmiyah'an risālat wizāratihī fī ḥayāt al-ummah," in al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah, May 7, 1938.

Youssef al-Guindī had accused the Mohammed Mahmoud government of treacherous behaviour. He said that the Wafd government had put up a plan to raise the income of the poor classes and to improve the situation of the factory workers and of civil servants and had assigned a budget of 200,000 Egyptian pounds for that. The present government had ratified this, although it had said it would increase the income of the poor classes. He had concluded his address by calling the present government's actions treacherous.¹

Haykal had responded promptly, telling Youssef al-Guindī that although the latter had started his speech moderately and calmly, he had become more and more abusive. He also told the Chamber that after the signature of the 1936 treaty two agreements had been made between Nahhas Pasha and Anthony Eden, which both parties had agreed would not be recorded in the League of Nations - but the British government had stipulated that the Egyptian government record these by the period of time between August 1936 until July 1937 at the League of Nations, but Nahhas had not done so and consequently the British government had itself recorded these in the League of Nations in November 1937 and then had informed Nahhas. Haykal after mentioning this asked who was the real traitor?²

The Senators thereupon asked what the two agreements were. Haykal answered that the first agreement dealt with Telegraph and Telephone Communications, and the British position regarding them. Since 1931 the Sidqi government had given the broadcasting concession to the Marconi Corporation for (10) years, after which the Egyptian government would be free to deal with this

¹ "Fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh - Khitābān li'l-Ustādh Yusūf al-Guindī wa li'Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, May 25, 1938.

² Ibid.

contract in anyway it wished - but Nahhas, in official documents after he had agreed that Egypt should leave its sea-ports and airports at the disposition of the British and since broadcasting fell under communications, had asked that the concession be left (in abeyance) until after the war.¹

Voices in the Senate asked what was wrong with that, whereupon Haykal answered that, in 1931, the Sidqi government had refused this condition because it had considered it a breach of Egypt's sovereignty and independence.

The second agreement Nahhas had omitted to mention dealt with the compensation of salaries to the British employees after the conclusion of the treaty. "Gentlemen," he explained, "these two agreements were signed without the knowledge of 'the men of the National Front,' and they represented the various parties. So why were there two agreements hidden from the men of the Front? It was because their declaration would be met with opposition and denial - and after that we are accused of treachery."²

As for the compensation of employees, Haykal argued that in 1922, a law had been passed concerning the compensation of foreign employees which had cost the Egyptian government 7 million Egyptian pounds - and yet Nahhas had signed this agreement without the knowledge of the Front. He added that he was willing to show them to the dossier of the case.³

On June 24th, 1938, there occurred another radical change in the Mohammed Mahmoud cabinet. This involved a new coalition

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

with the new Hay'ah Sa'diyah party - since five of them joined Mohammed Mahmoud's ministry. They were Ahmed Maher, Mahmoud Fahmy al-Noqrashi, Mahmoud Ghaleb and two others of that party.¹

Mohammed Mahmoud had had to include them in the cabinet since their presence outside the government weakened his cabinet and strengthened the opposition against his government in the Chamber of Deputies.

Although this change had caused a reshuffling there were still five Liberal Constitutional ministers against the five Sa'dī Party members - and Haykal remained in his post as Minister of Education.

Haykal was an active minister. He stressed the importance of education, particularly primary school education. In one school he encouraged the presentation of prizes to the total of 800 Egyptian pounds. He also supported physical education and sports matches and the celebrations that followed these.² In an interview he mentioned that his ministry was preparing an index of famous Arabs (Fihrist a'lām al-'Arab). He told another interviewer that he was investigating secondary school education with the secondary school headmasters. He asked to meet with these because he felt an exchange of opinions would help - "... No matter what our opinions are (mine, the wakīl of the ministry etc.,)-yours count just as much, because of your impressions and your judgements which are closest to the correct ones."³

He also said that when the teacher was free to enjoy his freedom and independence (to act) he was thus more capable of fulfilling his duty."For that reason the Englishman in the

¹ al-Ahrām, June 25, 1938.

² al-Ahrām, November 13, 1938.

³ "al-Baḥth fī shu'ūn al-ta'līm al-thānawī - nuḡār al-madāris al-thānawiyah 'ind Wazīr al-Ma'ārīf," in al-Ahrām, November 11, 1938.

public schools leaves the school affairs to the headmaster to deal with. Experience has proved that that independence was the best guarantee for the best results... since the headmasters believe that these rights have to be met with a feeling of responsibility and duty....."

He said he believed that these headmasters were no less responsible than the English ones.

He also wished to investigate the possibility of free education in schools. Was it preferable to give free education to pupils the first two years of primary education? Or should this be extended further, in order for the pupil to prove his worth and to be more prepared? Were grades sufficient to judge a pupil? Was poverty a strong enough reason to justify the right of a pupil to free education?

He also emphasized the importance of making pupils read outside their curriculum to broaden their horizons and culture. Other points he stressed were the necessity to educate girls and the importance of technical schools to teach pupils various skills such as carpentry, electricity, weaving etc., (madāris ṣinā'iyah).¹

He must have made a certain impact on the students because he once visited a school in Helwan at the demand of pupils who had gone to visit him in the Ministry. They had said to him that they felt like strangers in their own country and he was very paternal towards them.²

About that time he wrote an article for the Hay'ah Sa'diyah paper al-Dustūr, on the mission of the University, saying that it served to teach students how to research and

¹ Ibid.

² al-Ahrām, November 27, 1938.

investigate and that Egypt needed this very badly and that the nation should have learned the 'the scientific personality' (al-shakhsīyah al-‘ilmīyah) taken from its communications with the contemporary world: "Although we have a history which has enabled us to have that educated personality - yet we need to mature more in that direction."¹ "Egypt could take the example of certain European countries which had contributed largely to the sum of knowledge, and yet Egypt was still thinking how to make use of this knowledge. Yet, he concluded, he did not wish to depreciate the value of 'our University', (Fouad the First) in Egypt, in its short period of existence, but he wished to emphasize the heavy responsibility which Egyptians had towards their homeland.² He told the students, on several occasions, to persevere and follow the rules and acquire learning and knowledge.

The students in some faculties of Fouad the First University went on strike, however, several times towards the end of 1938. As a result of these, classes had to be suspended and Haykal was interviewed by newspapermen in his office in the Ministry. He told them that the student strikes had been the topic of discussion in the cabinet the day before. The ministers had agreed to leave the situation in the hands of Haykal, since he was actually the supreme head of the University, and with the right according to its law, to take over the handling (of the situation) together with the Chancellor of University and members of its board and its professors. He stated: "I took advantage of a University Board meeting

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Risālat al-Jāmi‘ah," in al-Dustūr, October 15, 1938.

² Ibid.

yesterday afternoon to look into the decision to suspend study in the Faculty of Agriculture... and it became clear that there were remarks the University people wished to make concerning the closing down of the University..."¹

He went on: "These University men have noticed that the press is showing a certain amount of sympathy towards the Egyptian students whenever there is news spread of their strikes and their demands, and that sympathy encourages them to continue their movement; indeed, to follow up on actions which are doubtless harmful to their welfare and which keep them away from their first duty-and that is education and the sole devotion of duty."

He also said that while it was within the rights of the University to expel riotous students, the University did not use these rights; and the students continued to riot. He had therefore asked "the University men to use the right given to them by law to prevent strikes and demonstrations, and to punish the rebels before the situation became more serious, and before the authorities interfered once more as they promised they would."²

He also advised the students: "My sons the University students whom I am addressing as a father and not as Minister of Education - (to) tell them that they (should) return to peace and quiet and leave this affair for us to deal with and to look into it in the same way a father would look into his son's future..."

In his closing statement Haykal asked the students of University to let the future take care of itself and not to worry about tomorrow - "And doubtless each individual who's

¹"Sulūk al-tulāb - bayān hakīm li'Ma'ali al-Duktūr Mohammed Husayn Haykal Bāshā," in al-Wādī, December 21, 1938.

²Ibid.

knowledge enables him to have a good life will attain it." He continued: "The reason for the students' strikes is that they are afraid that when they graduate from University they will not be able to find suitable jobs."¹

In January 1939, Haykal as part of a clique of statesmen, spoke to the youth of the Arab East. He told them: "My advice to youth is that it sets itself a target in life, realizing thereby what it believes is its highest ideal and that it should have the unwavering faith in that ideal and that it should direct all its vital energies towards it; nor should it become bored or weary, even if that ideal seems far out of reach."²

He went on: "And let each youth remember that for a seed to sprout it needs to be tended and cared for at length, and that the hardship incurred by his parents during the school years have to be related to long years of effort to achieve success in life..."³

Later that month he wrote an article on the inspiration of the pilgrimage and reflected that getting ready for the pilgrimage made one prouder than getting ready to meet kings and plenipotentiaries clad in one's best clothes and with one's medals.⁴

In March, the weekly magazine, al-Musawwar, interviewed Haykal concerning a rumour that Persian was going to be taught at al-Azhar. The occasion was the coming nuptials of the King's

¹ Ibid.

² "Waṣīyatī ilā shabāb al-Sharq al-‘Arabī - al-Duktūr Mohammed Husayn Haykal Bāshā, in al-Hilāl, January 1939.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Wahīy al-haj," in al-Dustūr, January 19, 1939.

son and heir of the
sister with the Persian Shah. Haykal said that maybe the language would be taught to a small extent, but that cultural exchange would occur between the two states.¹

The Chamber of Deputies met in May 1939, to discuss the internal budget and Haykal made his report. He said he had tried to work within the framework of the financial and other recommendations and policies the Chamber of Deputies had set the previous year.

Haykal said that he had Egyptianized the cinema management, that of the missions abroad and that of the physical education management.

The Deputies recommended a speedy change and he said that the most important thing was to find suitable teachers. To encourage these he had established a series of literary and scientific contests. He would also have summer seminars organized for the teachers. He recommended an emphasis on physical education, and he was pleased to report that the attendance at military training in University had increased from 10% to 18%.²

He spoke of his aim to decentralize education - the Ministry of Education had recently divided Egypt into six educational areas each headed by an inspector.³ Haykal also mentioned that he wished to promote technical education. He stressed that he and the ministry were careful to put a steady and continuous policy for education.⁴

¹ "al-Rawābiṭ al-thaqāfiyah-juhūd Wizārat al-Ma'ārif fī tawthīqihā bayn Miṣr wa'Irān," in al-Muṣawwar, March 17, 1939.

² "Bayān Haykal Bāshā fī Majlis al-Nuwāb, in al-Ahrām, May 10, 1939.

³ al-Ahrām, May 9, 1939.

⁴ "Bayān Haykal Bāshā fī Majlis al-Nuwwāb," op.cit.

He reminded the deputies of their recommendations of the previous year that education be national and important - the aim being to produce enlightened national character, and not a private aim intended to produce a set of educated people whose fortunes would be made from their educations. He indicated that speed was the intention and that the desire was there. He also reminded them that the financial question was important and that although the budget for education in 1914 had been half a million, it had risen in the present (1939) to five and a half million, of which a million was intended for Cairo University.¹

Haykal gave a lecture on the radio on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday that May. He said that in view of the Prophet's teachings "... the world under the present circumstances should listen to, think of and work on these. If it does then it may find the cure to a great deal of what is troubling the world today..."²

"And that," he went on, "is the view I wish to speak of, and which the Prophet... made the foundation of the civilized city - that is the call for the brotherhood, a brotherhood which knows no limits or bonds; indeed, it is built on genuine love ..." "For that brotherhood, which calls people to love each other with the light of God among them, unaware of differences, colour or race or nation or any of these confines."³

Further on, he said that if people were now seriously to call others to follow the Prophet's way it was necessary first to pause and assimilate all the learning our present era

¹ Ibid.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Dhikrā al-Mawlid al-Nabawī-al-Islām wa'l-Salām," in al-Ahrām, May 2, 1939.

³ Ibid.

had acquired and to use that learning for the targets that that call aimed at - not to gain people to the call without the use of learning.

He went on: "And when I say modern learning, I mean being steeped in it, sharing in it, and working to increase its fruits... I mean the sciences of physics, law, economics, politics, mathematics, medicine, engineering, the social sciences ... And if they do steep themselves in these sciences and master them... it will be easy for them after that to use these to support what they believe is the truth... and the day that truth is defined... all the people will rise to the highest human perfection."¹

Near the end of May, al-Ahrām published a memorandum by Haykal, in which he welcomed the suggestion made by Lutfi al-Sayyid Pasha, a former Minister of Education, who headed a committee which had been formed to advise on the teaching of Arabic language. This committee had recommended the unification of Egyptian culture and Arabic culture. Haykal saw this as a measure to resolve the problem caused by the various institutes which were producing Arabic language teachers. Haykal also said he wished this step would be carried out and hoped it would set a precedent in the unification of culture.

He declared: " I know that a party of worthy views amongst those working in educational affairs has a different view, and believes that preparing an Arabic language teacher for the religious institutes should be different from preparing a teacher of Arabic language for other institutes. Their excuse for that is that the aim of the Arabic language teacher in religious institutes had to be specialized in

¹ Ibid.

the religious sciences and had to be a competent authority (ḥujjah), whereas the Arabic language professor in the governmental schools had to be competent in religious culture generally."¹

Haykal found that this argument had its value, but the committee presided over by Lutfi al-Sayyid, which had been accepted by the Shaykh al-Azhar, Shaykh al-Maraghi, had ruled that a contest be given allowing entrance into the Institute of Education after graduating from al-Azhar, and studying either there or in the Arabic section of the Faculty of Arts for two years. This would enable the graduates from either of these to become Arabic language teachers - which had been the whole issue. Haykal suggested that there should be examinations for those accepted in either of the institutes, and that these be supervised by the Institute of Education, since standardization was absolutely necessary, and to ensure that the candidates would learn the subject of teaching.

Haykal said that the origin of the crisis was that the graduates of the Faculty of Arabic Language (al-Azhar) wanted their diplomas to be on a basis of equality with the graduates of Dār al-‘Ulūm.²

The dispute between the Shaykh al-Azhar and Haykal calmed down after each party offered suggestions and compromises.

The threat of war loomed more and more clearly on the horizon. Mohammed Mahmoud had wanted to resign his post on June 1st, 1938, because he said he was in precarious health,³

¹"Mudhakkirah jami'ah li'ḥaḍrat Sāhib al-Ma'ālī al-Duktūr Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal Bāshā," in al-Wādī, May 28, 1939.

²Ibid.

³al-Ahrām, June 25, 1938.

the King consequently asked Dr. Ahmed Maher, President of the newly formed Sa'dī Party, to be Prime Minister instead, and the latter had answered the King that he was not yet ready to assume such a responsibility. As a result, the sovereign had asked Mohammed Pasha Mahmoud to reconsider his resignation, and he had therefore withdrawn it.

His ministry lasted until August 12th, 1939, when he resigned at the King's orders.¹ He had been sick during most of the period of Premiership,² and his removal from office was sudden. Parliament was on summer vacation, so there was no reaction from its members.

The new cabinet was formed at the King's order on August 18th, 1939. It was headed by Ali Maher Pasha and composed of members of the Hay'ah Sa'diyah, together with the supporters of Ali Maher. Neither Haykal nor any of the members of the Liberal Constitutional party were included in the new ministry.³

¹ al-Ahrām, August 12, 1939.

² al-Ahrām, August 13, 1939.

³ al-Ahrām, August 19, 1939.

HAYKAL AND THE INCIDENTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR:
SEPTEMBER 1939 - FEBRUARY 1942

CHAPTER FOUR

HAYKAL AND THE INCIDENTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR:
SEPTEMBER 1939 - FEBRUARY 1942

These measures had been taken without the meeting of Parliament, since it was still in its summer vacation. The measures were called, however, in an extraordinary session of Parliament to meet the needs of martial law.⁵ The

⁵ For example, see the *Parliamentary Debates*, 1939-1940, vol. 1, p. 110.

⁶ *Parliamentary Debates*, 1939-1940, vol. 1, p. 110.

⁷ *Parliamentary Debates*, 1939-1940, vol. 1, p. 110.

HAYKAL AND THE INCIDENTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR:
SEPTEMBER 1939 - FEBRUARY 1942

The war broke out between England, France and Nazi Germany on September 3rd, 1939. In Egypt, the British Ambassador "deemed it wise to see Ali Maher again to make sure that the Egyptian declaration of a State of War would synchronize with our action at home."¹ The Egyptian Prime Minister answered him by saying that it was "unnecessary for Egypt actually to be at war...", and that Egypt "...would do everything Britain wanted without actual declaration of war, and that he (Ali Maher) wished to have complete unanimity among his colleagues..."²

Egypt actually responded to the British request to execute the clause concerning war as mentioned above, by declaring martial law. Egyptian posts were placed under British control, and the media as well as letters and printed material were placed under strict censorship. Egypt broke off all relations with Germany, ordered the arrest of all Germans in Egypt and sequestered German property.³

Yet these measures had been taken without the meeting of Parliament, since it was still on its summer vacation. The members were called, however, to an extraordinary session on October 2nd pertaining to the issue of martial law.⁴ The

¹Trefor Evans(ed.), The Killearn Diaries 1934-1946, London, 1972. p. 110.

²Ibid.

³al-Ahrām, on September 3, 1939 - but martial law started from September 2.

⁴al-Ahrām, October 2, 1939.

issue was agreed upon after several days of Parliamentary meetings. Among the deputies there were only (13) votes against the application of martial law.¹

The Senate reached its decision on October 17, 1939. al-Ahrām reported that the session was attended by a great many visitors, including a British Embassy official and several ladies. The Chamber agreed to continue to impose martial law, but the decision was won by only (9) votes, the voting being (68) votes for the application of martial law and (59) votes against.²

Haykal made a speech in the Senate in which he said that the subject had been investigated thoroughly, and it was clear that there was a difference of opinion very difficult to resolve. He declared: "We speak of the danger of the hour and its horror and it crosses our minds that we may be surprised by air raids in which the Wafdist side by side with the Constitutionalist and the Sa' dist may be victims, and so we speak of unity and solidarity without trying to attain these. That is why it is difficult to reach a consensus of opinion. It is surprising that what we see here is in contradiction with what occurred in the Chamber of Deputies. Our colleagues the members of the majority and the members of the minority asked for reservations which it was said that His Excellency the Prime Minister refused."³

Haykal mentioned in his speech that he had read a report of the session of the Chamber of Deputies and that it showed that "... there was cooperation and understanding between the opposition and the government in the Chamber of Deputies."

¹ al-Ahrām, October 13, 1939.

² al-Ahrām, October 18, 1939.

³ "Kalimat Haykal Bāshā fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh - Majlis al-Shuyukh yuqarrir istimrār al-aḥkām al-ʿurfiyah," in al-Ahrām, October 18, 1939.

He stressed that the danger of the moment required unity. He mentioned that Ali Maher had objected to a demand which he (Ali Maher) said was in contradiction with the principle of division of authority. And, said Haykal "... the principle of the division of authority is a principle respected in normal circumstances, but in these circumstances in which are imposed martial law, ... the absolute adhesion to the principle of division of authority is not relevant. Therefore I believe that it is our duty (to comply) in the execution of the treaty and ... to enable the ally to go about her business, see that the (imposition of) martial law is an absolute necessity." "But," said Haykal, "should the subject remain touchy, it will be preferable that the Martial Law Committee remain in contact with Parliament and with the government and act as a go-between."¹

The Prime Minister answered that this committee had been formed and was included among the duties of the Senate and its opinion was taken into consideration.²

During the war years Haykal only wrote a few articles, and these frequently dealt with aspects of the war. Sometimes he was interviewed, with other personalities, and various questions - mostly dealing with aspects of the war - were addressed to him.

One such debate was published in the December issue of al-Hilāl (it had previously appeared in the paper al-Şufūr in 1915). It comprised Taha Husayn and Haykal and the question was - was war beneficial or harmful to mankind?

¹ Ibid.

² al-Ahrām, October 18, 1939.

Taha Husayn's view was that war was beneficial to mankind. He said that the ancient Greek philosophers were right to say that there was nothing purely good or evil in the world, but that it was an entity that could only be judged by making both extremes join.

"War is a great sin," he said, "but it is very useful... although it cannot be doubted that one of the consequences of war (is that it) stops the march of civilization and stands as an obstacle to the refinement of literature. Although it was similar to torrential rain this rain was bound to stop, and the floods would no sooner dry than the earth would be covered with green meadows. This can be compared with war and the evils it brings with it and the blood that will be spilt. Yet no sooner has this blood dried, than man wakes from his befuddled state and, even if his material and mental life force have diminished, he becomes fitter to resist and abler to survive... History has taught that the transition is only from a bad situation to one more clearly useful."

He concluded that: "Although souls are destroyed and blood is spilt with the fire of the canons and on the edges of swords the emotions of people and their mercy are shown by their compassion for the weak and miserable and by care for those deprived and forsaken."¹

Haykal's view opposed that of Taha Husayn. He saw war as harmful to mankind. "It is," he said, "like a child who has acute stomach pains from overeating and goes on eating whenever his youth or appetite calls him to. Who knows, maybe mankind is, until today, in its prime and is unaffected by experiences."²

¹"Hal al-ḥarb taḍurr al-insāniyah am tufīduhā? al-Duktūr Tāhā Ḥusayn yaqūl," in al-Hilāl, December, 1939.

²"Hal al-ḥarb taḍurr al-insāniyah am tufīduhā? al-Duktūr Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal yaqūl," op.cit.

He continued: "We can only say that war is a necessary evil from which there is no escape. There have appeared among mankind wise men who gained from each evil which occurs, so that it is the basis of a sermon which they give to their brother human beings." "Those are the philosophers," he said, " which Dr. Taha Husayn referred to, whose philosophy had gained greatly from wars and their work is mostly wise... But all that does not mean that the visible signs of civilization which people behold are the fruits of war. Industry and science and art are all the result of calm peaceful toil."¹

"There was," he went on, "in the theory of the survival of existence the theoretical excuse for the existence of wars. The allies of hardship and hatred and ferociousness say that is among the rules of nature that the fittest survive, even if that means the annihilation of the weak... but the theory of competition has been ousted by a new theory built on the brotherhood of humans..."²

"It was," he said, "on this new theory (the theory of solidarity) that labour associations were composed and governments interfered to decrease the difference between supplier and worker."

Haykal said in his conclusion: "let no one have illusions about what he sees today of visions of ferocious strength and let us not wonder at the truth which is said of man's owning of land, air and water. The truth is that he owns these to serve and slave for his profit-not to subdue and enslave his fellow humans. What is happening today is only a fever which when it goes away brings back sanity to the deranged..."³

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Also in December 1939, Haykal wrote two articles which appeared in al-Siyāṣah al- Usbū'iyah, which was his party's paper, and which he managed. The first of these dealt with the policy of reform and its basis in Egypt.

He started by mentioning that in the last issue of the paper he had invited Egyptians of all categories to form an organization which would meet and think of a policy of reform and the means to execute it in Egypt, because he feared that the outbreak of war, the imposition of martial law and the turmoil in economic and financial affairs would impede this.

He reflected on how distressed he would be if that happened, but he was sure his invitation would not go unanswered. What made him certain was the dissatisfaction in all circles with the existing policy of 'improvised politics'. The nation had become bored with the need to find commodities just as it became bored with the policy of improvisation. He said: "And what do you actually see when you hear talk of reform ...? Should we think of the workers and their affairs? Should we look into the latest laws in England and France and on the basis of these formulate a legislation for the workers in Egypt on the model of these laws? Or should we think of childhood and its protection, seek and obtain the latest opinions in European nations... and try to borrow what they establish of systems and organizations for this protection? Should it occur to us to reform the Egyptian family, take into consideration the statistics circulated in Switzerland, or in France, and the systems established on the basis of these?... Should we dash forward on that path, convinced that we are accomplishing for our nation what it is our duty for the promotion of her affairs? Should we find her unconvinced with what has been done we would be accused of ignorance on one count and of ingratitude on another. The truth is that it is

neither ignorance nor ingratitude, but a sincere feeling from the nation that our treatment is useless,... just like the patient whom the doctor gives treatment to and is not cured, or possibly his pain increases. Would the doctor be accused of ignorance and ingratitude? Or would it not be better to make the doctor feel he was mistaken and diagnosed the illness badly and, consequently, wrongly prescribed the cure?"¹

Egypt, continued Haykal, was an agricultural country and therefore had to extend its irrigation to reach the Qiblī (south eastern desert) area and that, when that was done, the irrigation system would have to be like that in Menufiyah and Daqahliyah provinces. This was necessary to increase agriculture.

He continued by saying that Egypt's fertility should not denigrate her industrial potential, which was equivalent to her agricultural fertility. He said that her oil and mineral resources had made her become a source of attraction. But, he went on, projects were started without real planning, and the policy of improvisation won over. Then the people in charge of the policy of the state did not really encourage the execution of these projects.²

He said that the same things that could be said of the agricultural policy could be said for the industrial policy, as well as commercial policy in Egypt. Egypt's geographical position gave her a great advantage, yet the commercial potential was left to chance.³

¹ Moḥammed Husayn Haykal, "Siyāsat al-iṣlāh wa asāsuhā fī Miṣr," in al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Haykal also spoke of education and said that every year education at all levels was met with criticism and this criticism did not stop at syllabuses, but also encroached on the being and essence of education. This, he said, was because people still believed that the primary purpose of education was to produce government employees. The people who thought that were excusable, since they saw that graduates of institutes were only motivated by material gain.

He concluded that the best way to solve this issue was to establish a plan. That could be done, if his invitation was answered. He also said that it was natural that government and various bodies, such as Parliament, should share in such an endeavor and when this organization was formed it would codify principles to be followed.¹

The following article was in the same vein. Haykal wrote of the Renaissance of Reform of Egypt, its history, its basis and its purposes. He mentioned first of all that Egypt's renaissance had been instigated by the French revolution. The coming of the Turks in the sixteenth century had severed Egypt's relations with Europe, but the coming of Napoleon had reestablished links although his martial impact was nil.

He related the history of the French expedition, the coming of Mohammed Ali, and the conquests of his son Ibrahim. He reviewed the story of Ferdinand de Lesseps and the Suez Canal. Then he mentioned the Khedive Ismail and the formation of the Consultative Assembly of Deputies during his reign.

¹ Ibid.

The thought of reform during Mohammed Ali's time had borne a Western imprint, which had the French revolution on one side of it and the Napoleonic dictatorship on the other.

Mohammed Ali had thought, as had Napoleon, of reforming the army and everything had been geared to that, but none of his successors had ever quite attained his genius and vision.

The idea that had originated in Mohammed Ali's reign and had reappeared in Ismail's reign sought to investigate Egypt's late development and the deterioration of the Eastern and Muslim countries. Many foreigners had participated in thinking of this and in giving their opinions. Some blamed the Muslim religion - and these had without doubt been influenced by the conflict in Europe between the Church and the State

Haykal then wrote of Gamal al-Din al-Afghānī and his disciple Mohammed 'Abduh and how they had responded to the accusations hurled by foreigners at Islam and how 'Abduh had succeeded to a large extent in eliminating these accusations.

"If we wish for reforms for this country," he said, "it is necessary that we make the base for this the same basis that Mohammed Ali set, and which Ismail followed afterwards. It is necessary to borrow what is in most nations of civilization and that we should imprint this with our nature and that it shows in our personalities... That those responsible for the affairs of this country should direct their learning and capabilities to amass a fortune and prestige for themselves... is not acceptable to a man with a conscience."

He continued: "There is in this country a hidden strength which is tremendous, so let us work to take advantage (of that) for the welfare of all. In the forefront of this strength is our sincere will...."¹

On December 30, 1939, Haykal gave a speech at the Social Reform Association - Rābiṭat al-iṣlāḥ al-ijtimā'iyah; this was an association which worked at the establishing of cooperation between the various social classes in the nation and of which Haykal was president.²

In this speech he maintained that the individual should encourage the feeling that a man should want for his brother what he wants for himself. Therefore, one should encourage the fraternization of the merchant with the labourer, of the government employee with the free enterprise worker and that each should be interested in the welfare of his brother. He also maintained that social cooperation was the motto of the association of which he was president.³

A great many articles written by Haykal during 1940 are missing from the National Library. However, from the titles of these it would seem that they dealt mostly with issues of social reform.

The impact of World War II was being felt in Egypt and when on June 10th, 1940, the Italians declared war on England and France, Egypt had to decide on the attitude to take regarding the new situation. The two Chambers met on June 12th, in a closed session, to hear the Prime Minister's report, after

¹ Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal, "Naḥḍat al-iṣlāḥ fī Miṣr-ta'rī-khuḥā - qawā'iduhā, gharāḍihā," in al-Siyāṣah al-'Usbu'iyah, December 30, 1939.

² Mentioned in the foreword to the speech.

³ "Kalimat al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā fī ḥafl rābiṭat al-iṣlāḥ al-ijtimā'ī," in al-Ahrām, December 31, 1939.

which they would decide what measures to take. The decision taken was, in brief, to avoid the disasters of war from Egypt, along with the faithful maintenance of Egypt's pact with England, and the offering of as much help and aid as possible to the ally in defense of truth and freedom - stated in the clauses of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance. In effect Egypt's position was to be a defensive rather than an offensive one, but she would cut all relations with Italy and arrest all Italian nationals in Egypt.¹

On June 21st, the weekly magazine al-Muṣawwar reported an interview given by Haykal in which he said:

"The latest war development should increase our firmness with firmness, and our faith with faith; our self-dependance should prevent any weakness... from getting to us. We must prove that we are the descendants of those glorious ancestors who conquered the largest kingdoms and regions, and who fought God's way and for the way of belief and the homeland."²

He was asked where he would move his own children out of Cairo, and he said he would move them to Port Said, which people said was a danger area. And Haykal went on to quote the Quranic verse. "And say that nothing shall befall us save that which God has written for us." *

On June 23rd, al-Ahrām reported that the leaders of various parties had met with the King to discuss the situation, which lacked cohesion internally. Ismail Sidqi Pasha, and Dr. Ahmed Maher who had attended this meeting had said that the

¹ al-Ahram, June 13, 1940.

² "Qul lan yuṣībānā 'ilā mā kataba 'alāhu lanā," in al-Muṣawwar, June 21, 1940.

* Sūra 9 al-Tawba: 51.

King simply wanted to consult with these leaders and, moreover, that they were forbidden to talk. However, it was reported that Nahhas had said that no one had the right to interfere in Egypt's affairs, but that Egypt had to keep its side of the treaty.¹

The lack of cohesion between the various factions and the head of government, Ali Maher Pasha, was such that the latter, on June 23rd, tendered his resignation to the King who accepted it subsequently.²

The King thereupon called on the leaders again for consultation as to whether to have a neutral ministry (wizārah muḥāydaḥ), or to have a national ministry proportional to the strength of the various parties in Parliament. Nahhas had refused to join or even lead such a ministry. However, each party had submitted the names of those they thought should lead the ministry. The liberal constitutionalists submitted (4) names-three of which had headed the Ministry of Education, and the fourth had occupied a position in the Corps Diplomatique. The names, however, were not revealed.³

On June 27th, the King asked Hasan Sabry Pasha, an Independent, to head a new ministry. The next day the cabinet had been formed and comprised sixteen members including Independents, Ḥizb al-Waṭānī, Liberal Constitutionalists as well as Hay'ah Sa'diyah Party members. There were six Independents, who constituted a large portion of the ministry. Haykal was one of the Liberal Constitutional ministers chosen, and he was once again Minister of Education.⁴

¹ al-Ahrām, June 23, 1940.

² al-Ahrām, June 24, 1940.

³ al-Ahrām, June 23, 1940.

⁴ al-Ahrām, June 29, 1940.

Hasan Sabry made it clear in his statement to the Chamber of Deputies that his cabinet would be careful to maintain Egypt's independence and her security, but that she would keep her part of the treaty with Britain.¹

In August, Haykal was interviewed once again by the weekly al-Muṣawwar, and the question was asked: "What will our future be if (a) Great Britain and her allies, win the war (b) the Axis nations win it? Haykal's answer was: "If the Italians enter Egypt they will not leave, and if they do leave that will not be before doing away with our democratic system and gaining in Egypt larger influence and absolute sovereignty."²

He went on: "This war is not a normal war it is a revolution imposed by the weapon of war, which threatens the whole world. And (Roosevelt) was correct when he described this war as being a revolution imposed on the world by means of the force of arms.... And it's my belief that the Italians if they enter Egypt... will only leave it after they will have imposed the fascist system... This would be a disaster to national freedom and a disaster to the Egyptian revolution, and to the fortunes of the people. For that reason, I do not doubt that each Egyptian would prefer the democracy, which England is defending, to win and for the sake of which she is spending millions.... As to whether Egypt will be penetrated by another state, we will have to repeat the long struggle which we have undertaken since 1882 up to today until we achieved this (present) system. For my part, the English are the best people to glorify other people's freedom, and to respect their system and traditions

¹ al-Ahrām, June 29, 1940.

² "Mādhā yakūn mustaqbalinā idhā intaṣarat Inkiltirā wa' hulaḥā'ūha; idhā intaṣarat duwal al-Miḥwar," in al-Muṣawwar August 3, 1940.

and who wish for the democratic nations to live with them (the English) peaceful and happy."¹

Later that month, Haykal gave another interview to al-Muṣawwar in which he said that 45,000 pupils of both sexes needed to strengthen their sense of Egyptian national solidarity (qawmiyah). He believed that the attention given to the martial education of each Egyptian and foreigner should be doubled, to ensure the dominance of the national ideal in all fields of culture. He claimed that twenty percent of Egyptian pupils in Egypt were at foreign schools. The article reported that Haykal was working to make the foreign schools the means of strengthening both the culture of the foreign country and the Egyptian national spirit. The latter needed to become stronger in the spirit of the Egyptian pupils who were studying in these schools, in order for them to realize what they had and what they owed to that country of rights and duties, and in order for the foreigners to know what they owed Egypt when they acquired their educations in her, or when she taught their sons. He concluded that a committee of some ministry and institute directors would soon be formed to research and investigate what should be done to realize these objectives.²

The Italians were by now very close to the Egyptian borders of the Western Desert. As a result, public opinion in Egypt was largely divided over whether Egypt should declare war on Italy - should the Italians cross the Egyptian border, or whether she would maintain her policy of avoiding the disasters of war.

¹ Ibid.

² "al-Tarbiyah al-wataniyah fī'l-madāris al-agnabiyah," in al-Muṣawwar, August 23, 1940.

The first opinion was strongly expressed by Dr. Ahmed Maher Pasha, head of the Hay'ah Sa'diyah and President of the Chamber of Deputies. One of those who spoke against this opinion was Ismail Sidqi Pasha, a former Prime Minister. The subject was discussed in a closed session of the Chamber of Deputies on August 21st. The result was an open declaration of support for the government's actions, namely, of avoiding war.

In September, the Italians had penetrated the Western Desert at Salūm. By September 20th, they had reached Sīdī Barrānī, on the coast where al-Ahrām reported a four hour raid.¹ On that day there was a cabinet meeting. The majority were still not ready to declare war and the next day the four Hay'ah Sa'diyah ministers handed in their resignation.²

A week later, on September 27th, al-Muṣawwar published an interview reflecting the opinions of the members of various parties, as well as Independents, regarding Egypt's position vis-a-vis the war. Haykal was one of those interviewed, and he responded: "My opinion is the opinion of the Liberal Constitutionalists and it is the opinion of the government which was broadcast by its head Hasan Sabry Pasha - that the present situation does not call for the declaration of war and that slow and cautious action is necessary. As long as the Italians have not attacked Egypt's military targets - and that is the subject of the difference (of opinion) between us and the Hay'ah Sa'diyah and has resulted in the resignation of our Sa'di colleagues. There is no doubt that we agree that it incumbent on us to protect our country and that we defend our freedom and our independence, but it is necessary that that duty be discharged cautiously and wisely in order that we do not cause the country affliction and distress which could be

¹ al-Ahrām, September 20, 1940.

² al-Ahrām, September 22, 1940.

avoided with vision and proper management. The decision to declare war at the present moment is not to the benefit of our military defense. This does not mean that Egypt is not presenting the British ally with the necessary aid in her military actions. Indeed, all the aid which was stipulated in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty has been implemented and Egypt is still performing these (actions) in the best possible way. But - as for the question as to when the Egyptian people should enter the war against Italy - Dr. Maher Pasha and his party believed that it was necessary for us to enter the war immediately, and we believed that there was no call for us to burden the country with the calamities of war in those critical moments, and that it would be better for us to prepare ourselves and to observe developments until the hour comes and imposes on each Egyptian the performance of his duty in the defense of the honour of his compatriots and the independence of his country."¹

Almost two weeks later, Haykal wrote a letter (which was also published in al-Wādī on October 10th) to the editor-in-chief of al-Ahrām in answer to a speech made by Ahmed Maher in the Sa'd Zaghlūl club on October 6th. This letter said that Haykal was not writing to give his opinion regarding the speech but that he was called upon to write this letter because Dr. Maher Pasha had dealt with a great many of the Egyptian politicians very critically and insultingly. The statement continued: "And I was the first you said he mentioned in his speech."² Maher had accused Haykal of having

¹"Mawqif Miṣr min al-ḥarb," in al-Muṣawwar, September 27, 1940.

²"Bayān min al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā raḍā 'alā khiṭāb al-Duktūr Māher Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, October 8, 1940; also in al-Wadī, October 10, 1940.

said on February 23rd, 1940, that duty dictated that should either Germany or Russia attack one of the Eastern countries, Egypt should actually participate in the defense of that country on the one hand - and on the other, ensure the victory of the Allies. He further stated that on September 27th, Haykal had declared that the present situation in Egypt did not call for Egypt's declaration of war and that caution and calm were required since the Italians had not attacked Egypt's defense lines." He continued: " And Maher Pasha mentioned after that what he wished to say about (here Haykal refers to certain politicians, Fikry Abaza, Fouad Abaza and Abdel Rahman Azzam)... ... He (Maher) ended by talking about them, and giving their opinions - but these had changed, whereas I have not changed my opinion. And before I point out to my friend Maher Pasha," wrote Haykal, "that which did not change I wish to ask him: "What was his opinion on February 23rd, 1940 when I saw that it was our duty to defend the Eastern countries which had been attacked? He was at the time - as he is today - President of the Chamber of Deputies and President of the Hay'ah Sa'diyah and his party was represented in the ministry of His Excellency (Ṣāḥib al-Maqām al-Rafī') (Ali) Maher Pasha, and I have learned from the speeches by him which have been quoted within the last months, that it was his opinion that Egypt declare war on the side of democracy, when the war started on the first of September 1939. But no one from amongst the people of this country knew of this opinion from His Excellency on February 23rd last and until May 23rd last. Indeed, His Excellency continued during these months to maintain silence faithfully, keeping to the wise saying... "¹ (Haykal quoted an Arabic verse to the effect that silence was golden). "His Excellency did not go beyond the exigencies of this wise saying until the storms struck last June and an Egyptian

¹ Ibid.

ministry went out and another ministry came in. And from that day Dr. Maher started the campaign calling on Egypt to declare war on Italy, He started this campaign two months before the Italian armies crossed the Egyptian borders, and he started it although his party was represented in the ministry which stated in its declaration in front of Parliament, on the session of last July 3rd, 'that Egypt which is careful to maintain her independence and safety - is also careful to fulfill her engagement to her ally Great Britain... and if the government is conscious of its responsibility towards preserving the independence of the country... it is also watchful to preserve its security and the calm of its life.'¹... And Egypt's duty regarding her defense was never the subject of discussion at any time and for that reason our Sa' dī colleagues remained cooperating with us in the cabinet until September 21st last. When the Italians had advanced to Sīdī Barrānī, the Council of Ministers discussed the situation as to whether as a consequence to what had occurred, there should arise a state of war between Egypt and Italy. Their Excellencies, our brothers the Sa' dī ministers, saw that because of the Italian advance it was imperative that the war should start between Egypt and Italy. His Excellency the Prime Minister believed that the present situation did not call for a declaration of war and that it was necessary to be cautious and restrained in action as long as the Italians had not attacked our defense lines, and that the wise thing was for the ministry to maintain the policy it had declared in front of Parliament."¹

Haykal went on: "At that point our Sa' di colleagues withdrew from the Council of Ministers and handed in their resignations and the ministry was reorganized. I do not see that our Sa' di colleagues should be blamed for their opinion even if

¹ Ibid.

I differ with it, but I am asking my friend Dr. Maher Pasha "How was it he stood in solid agreement with them, since he declared his opinion on the necessity of Egypt's participating in the war last June, despite his (Maher's) differing with them (the Sa'dī ministers) until September 21st. And how, since he was in favour of participating in the war since it was declared on September 1st, 1939, did he remain in support of the ministry of His Excellency Ali Maher Pasha for ten whole months, and he remained in support of the present ministry's policy for three months, with the participation of the members of his party in it? Does he not see in this a contradiction?"¹

Haykal concluded his missive by saying that "... it is not wise to discuss questions of war and peace in front of the public. In the discussion of these in this current trend in the situation it could have a harmful effect." He also reminded Dr. Maher that: "We are all aware of the rights our homeland has on us in its present and in its future, and we bear the trust of the homeland just as it is carried by its purest sons. We are not dispersing it (this trust)..."²

The letter was dated October 7th, 1940 and was signed by Haykal.

On November 14th of each year Egyptians celebrated "Īd al-Jihād al-Waṭanī," which commemorated the day in 1918 when Sa'd Zaghlul and two others had gone to the British High Commissioner's residence and had asked that Egypt, which was a protectorate, be granted its independence. This first step had been the precursor to the 1919 revolution, and Sa'd Zaghlul's action had caused his exile from Egypt. That day was celebrated subsequently.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

In 1940, the speeches were made on November 13th, because Parliament's first inaugural session was to be on November 14th. Haykal made a speech on the occasion (which was repeated in al-Ahrām, mostly in indirect speech). In it Haykal talked at length of Egypt's struggle for independence and freedom. He also said that she had built that independence on a basis of forming relations between herself and England in such a way that both states would be satisfied and that Egypt had held to that basis on all levels of her political activities which culminated in the Treaty of 1936.

He also mentioned that relations between nations were like relations between individuals, and that these would not endure or be stable if they were not built on foundations of free consent.

He also described the various stages of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations and discussions from 1918 to 1936, and emphasized that the foundation (of free consent) had been needed from both sides, Egyptians and British and had increased in light and clarity until the Treaty of 1936 had been signed.

He said, further on in his speech, that that foundation was the one that should prevail in the present war if international relations were to remain steady and stable. He went on to comment that the world today was blowing with storms of power which wanted to build a system on a foundation of harm and violent attack. But all history in Egypt and other states was witness to the fact that true strength was not the strength of arms, but the spiritual strength from which came the moral fibre of peoples, and it would not be extirpated by harm and violence.

He told his audience to "go back to the Napoleonic wars and to the old empires which had been built on a basis of destruction of peoples and their abjection and look at what surrounds us today. All that is in the past and the present, bears witness that the best relations and the longest lasting ones are those built on the basis of free understanding and true choice."¹

He went on: "And this was the principle of the Liberal Constitutionalists, and for the sake of this principle they made sacrifices and for its sake they called for national unity. They want this unity on a basis of that same principle."

Haykal ended his speech by calling for unity and understanding between the organizations and parties - because this was necessary for the welfare of the country.²

The next day, November 14th, Parliament convened in the King's presence, as was customary on inaugural sessions. On that particular occasion, the Prime Minister, Hasan Sabry Pasha was required to make the speech from the throne and while he was making his speech he had a heart attack and died.³

As a consequence, a new ministry headed by the former Minister of Works and Communications, Husayn Sirry Pasha, was formed on November 15th.⁴ Husayn Sirry was also an Independent; he was the Queen's uncle. Haykal was one of the five Liberal Constitutional ministers chosen and he was once more appointed Minister of Education.⁵

¹"Khiṭāb Haykal Bāshā fī iḥtifāl al-hay'āt bi' 'Īd al-Jihad al-Waṭanī," in al-Ahrām, November 14, 1940.

²Ibid.

³al-Ahrām, November 15, 1940.

⁴al-Ahrām, November 16, 1940.

On November 18th, Dr. Ahmed Maher was reelected President of the Chamber of Deputies, in a victory over his Liberal Constitutional opponent.¹

The war situation in Egypt during the next months did not improve. Air raids became frequent in the main cities Cairo and Alexandria. Yet life went on as usual and Haykal went on with his duties as Minister, although his output during the war years was at a lower level. On January 25th, he spoke to the Institute of Arabic Language - and praised the efforts made by the institute.

He then commented that the principal purpose behind the foundation of the institute was to make the Arabic language suitable for the needs of life in our era, with the conservation of its purity. In order for the language to be suitable to the needs of life in any era, it was necessary for it to be an honest image of the dealings of life in that era, and it had to be easy for those who spoke and wrote it. In this way it was required to be a means of communication between all, an understanding that should take place without hardship or difficulty...." ²

He went on: "The Arab World has seen in all periods until our present era speakers whose eloquence moved the podium, and lawyers whose speeches for the defense were a great example of court eloquence, newspaper and magazine writers and novelists who were esteemed by the people of these nations very highly." "This eloquence and these speeches for the defense and these

¹ al-Ahrām, November 19, 1940.

² "Kalimat Wazīr al-Ma'ārif fī ijtīma' al-majma' al-yawm," in al-Balāgh, January 26, 1941.

writings, with their different varieties and epochs, illustrate the development of language - there is no point in denying this. These (speeches, books etc.) contain a great amount of shared meanings in language and its structures. They also contain the ways to be adopted which are suitable to the life of this period."¹

At the beginning of February 1941, the monthly digest al-Hilāl published an article by Haykal entitled "al- Īmān al-watanī fī'l-sha'b al-Inkilāzī" or 'The national faith of the of the British people', in which he wrote that: " The world in its various corners is at present looking to the British population with tremendous admiration. What is causing people's admiration to increase even more is the fact that, several months ago, they were looking at England as though the Fates had ordained that she should be annihilated as the centre of the greatest empire in the world. Indeed the Fates had done away with her as a proud and mighty nation among all nations on earth. Is it not true that many at the end of last July were communicating to each other what Hitler was supposed to have said - that he would be in London on August 15th, and they believed that talk and that there was no escape from it?"²

He proceeded: "What a miracle it was, this feat that had caused England to endure all those bombardments directed at her, and emerge from the position of defender of the lion's den to that of the aggressor, moving with victory in its wake, and in front of which are running teams of captives from the enemy who crave only to escape from death."³

¹ Ibid.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Imān al-watanī fī'l-sha'b al-Inkilāzī," in al-Hilāl, February 1941.

³ Ibid.

"What," he asked, "was the secret of this stance that England had taken? And was it possible for other states to do the same?" He answered, "That secret goes back to the nature of the English character - that character which was forged by a life on the British island in its insularity..." Haykal then described the characteristics of the English, their sense of humour, their solidarity with each other. He went on writing: "These matters which I am mentioning are not the fruit of thoughts reached by the Englishman; indeed they are the results of this environment, the environment of the island and for that reason they are innate in him. He could not imagine existence for himself except with the freedom of the island."¹

On February 1st, 1941, Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, President of the Liberal Constitutional Party and former Prime Minister died. He had been ailing for several years. He was given a state funeral. Eulogies were made by members of the government and by members of his party.

Haykal made a short statement that: "The government shares in announcing its sorrow over the death of the regretted Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha. His death leaves a gap among the ranks of those who are working in the service of this country and those struggling for its development, and for the resumption of the advance towards freedom and standing."²

Haykal, as we have seen, occasionally delivered speeches dealing with education. He gave such a speech about the mission of the university at Cairo University in March.

He spoke of the necessity for freedom of the mind and the liberation of thought and stated that this arouses in nations

¹ Ibid.

² "Kalimat Haykal Bāshā fī tā'bīn al-maghfūr lahu Moḥammed Maḥmūd Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, February 2, 1941.

a natural impulse, the origin of which is the rule to maintain life. This necessity did not blow over when everything was realized, but it became renewed whenever the motivation was renewed. This necessity was imperative and essential for the life of nations which were built on foundations of truth and perfection.

He went on to speak of the struggle to reach independence of the mind and freedom of thought saying that universities, in the accomplishment of their mission within the last era, had been of the greatest benefit in winning that victory and reaching these aims. When universities were founded as institutes, they gave those who presented themselves to them degrees allowing them to teach people. Then these institutes became refuges for the learned, protecting their welfare and freedom and preserving them from the violence of the violent.¹

The man who replaced Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha as President of the Liberal Constitutional Party was Abdel Aziz Fahmy Pasha, who was also one of the forerunners of the 1919 revolution, and who had formerly been President of the 'Cours de Cassation'. In April 1941, the party celebrated the success of Mahmoud Mohammed, son of the late Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, in the elections for the Chamber of Senators. Haykal gave a speech congratulating him, and also explained that the latter, who was member of the judicial corps, could not and would not belong to any political party.^{2*}

¹"Risālat al-jāmi' ah-muḥādarat Wazīr al-Ma' āriff fī qā' at al-'iḥtifālāt al-kubra bi'jāmi' at Fūā'd al-awal 'ams," in al-Balāgh, March 7, 1941.

²"Fī Hizb al-Ahrār al-Dustūriyīn - Kalimat Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, April 2, 1941.

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Article (79) of the Constitution stated that the Senators mandates were for (10) years. Half the Senators who were elected or nominated were replaced every five years. Senators who left the Senate could be re-elected or renominated. Article (162) further stated that the choice of Senators who were to leave the Senate at the completion of the first five years was to be done by drawing lots.[#]

[#]Marcel Colombe, L'Evolution de L'Egypte, Paris, 1951, p. 292 and p. 303.

The month of May marked the anniversary of Farouq's accession to the throne. In the May 6th issue of al-Dustūr, the Hay'ah Sa'diyah daily paper, Haykal wrote an article in commemoration of this event.

He recounted the conditions under which Farouq had become King of Egypt, and how he had been joyfully received by the people. He told the story of the signing of the 1936 Treaty, and of the Montreux convention. Then he praised Farouq's qualities and said that he was a lucky charm for Egypt:-

"Since that time the country has concentrated its energies in the shadow of his happy reign, following a national life of the highest aspirations... And Farouq has shared its activities and put his energies into guiding (it) safely in an atmosphere of freedom and organization..."¹

"It had been said," wrote Haykal, "that Egypt should have a strong army... The army has increased five-fold since Farouq was given the title of King of Egypt."²

It had been said that Egyptians should guide their energies to the exploitation of their industrial and mineral resources... "This activity has doubled and increased in stability and strength."³

It had also been said that Egypt had to become socially liberated and yet preserve the Oriental international Muslim character that is looked up to by Oriental and Muslim nations. "Egypt has advanced in its social aspect in an obvious way, in a way that was supported by Farouq and to which he gave all his affection and care..... "

¹ Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal, "Istibshar Miṣr bi'l-Farūq," in al-Dustūr, May 6, 1941.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

"The war," continued Haykal, "had not weakened this communal renaissance and the constructive activity in the public and private sectors of life."¹ And Egypt was keeping her pledge to her ally...

Haykal repeated his praise of the King on the anniversary of his assumption of constitutional authority to rule on July 29th. He also reminded the Egyptian people in the same speech of what their fathers and grandfathers before them built of works of civilization and glory, for the good of humanity, its progress and security. "And I mention today that you are called upon to do the same thing they did, and this cloud that exists and that is causing fire and destruction in many parts of the world will disappear one day..... so prepare yourselves to walk with your hand in that of your beloved King to perform your glorious human mission....."²

Near the end of July, Husayn Sirry Pasha formed his second ministry, which now included five Sa'dī party ministers.³

On November 14th, the parties once more celebrated the occasion of 'Īd al-Jihād'. Haykal made two speeches, one in Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha's house commemorating him on the occasion.

In the other speech, Haykal gave a resumé of the struggle for independence as exemplified by Zaghlūl Pasha, Sha'rawi Pasha and Abdel Azīz Fahmy Pasha, President of the Liberal Constitutional Party, in their visit to the British Agency - calling for the independence of Egypt in the name of the Egyptian nation.

¹ Ibid.

² "Kalimat Wazīr al-Ma'arif fī'īd tawālī al-mulayk sultānuhu al-dustūrī," in al-Ahrām, July 31, 1941.

³ al-Rāf'ī, op.cit., Vol.III, p. 98.

He also spoke of the 1936 Treaty and the declaration of friendship between Egypt and Great Britain.

He then spoke of the war, and how people were thinking what system would result from it.

He continued: "This thinking cannot prevent us from doing our sacred duty vis-a-vis those heroes who accomplished their duties towards their country in its case for independence since 1918."¹ He then spoke of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, who had been one of the first to join the Wafd of 1919, and of the work he did for Egypt's independence and for the strengthening of the relations of trust between Egypt and England.

He went on: "We have duties towards our homeland, and we must fulfill the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, honestly and sincerely, and in order for Egypt to have the chance to advance with her large burden, it is necessary for the cooperation of the government, Parliament and people - a frank sincere cooperation - to execute the policy agreed upon by Parliament and which the nation has agreed upon....."

Then he said that "the experience of the last twenty years has proved clearly that political independence alone is not everything and that the political freedom of the homeland and its people was largely affected by the nation's economic, scientific, social and ethical aspects."²

Haykal then gave examples of the industrial companies Egypt had established during the last war and after it claimed that "had she not built those industries she would have found difficulty in obtaining her needs." He mentioned that had Egypt taken

¹ "Ihtifāl Miṣr bi-'īd jihāduhā al-qawmī - Kalimat Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, November 14, 1941.

² Ibid.

the trouble to complete the Aswan hydroelectric project she would not have felt the need now for fertilizers and for iron. Indeed, she would have established many new industries which would have spared her to a large extent the need to import. One generation sufficed to change the situation from one of stagnancy to one of awareness.

As for the factors which caused nations to rise - these were clear...."they are faith, education, self-abnegation and the exertion of the maximum effort in the realization of what science has presented." Here Haykal gave the British as an example.

He returned to his reference to the Aswan project and said "..... but there was a difference of opinion over a very simple matter. One party said it is necessary to give it to a single company to execute and others said it is better to present the project to international tenderWas it not possible to agree on that subject instead of differing about it,.....?"¹

He concluded by saying that he was confident of the future, because this was the reign of Farouq, who was a lucky omen etc.²

Haykal's two last articles that year were elegies. The first was for a woman reporter 'al-'Anisa Ma'y', Miss May, whose political thought had not been confined to party politics. He also wrote on the absolute right of women to vote. He mentioned Joan of Arc and other women who had struggled in the fields of war and art.³

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Māy wa'l-siyāsah," in al-Ahrām, December 5, 1941.

The second article was to elegize the Speaker for the Parliamentary Opposition, Youssef al-Guindī. Haykal maintained that he was one of the youth who had participated in the struggle for independence up to 1936, when he was chosen as Parliamentary Representative for the Ministry of the Interior, together with membership in the Senate.

Haykal went on to affirm that politicians were of two sorts: "One sort that loses its enthusiasm and will if it is upset in any way; and there is a second sort contrary to the first, for which paradoxes and skirmishes stimulate the spirit, strengthen the intent and give an impetus to hidden strength..."¹ Youssef al-Guindī was of the second sort and, since 1937, his oratory had given him the leading position among the Wafd orators. Despite his opposition and glib tongue he gave facts their proper estimate; he was pure of tongue and he was always for the public welfare if it came in opposition with party welfare. Yet he did not desert the cause of his party nor its point of view. He concluded that the Wafd had lost in Youssef al-Guindī one of the most powerful members and a fighter of the most remarkable kind in opinion and principle.²

The first speech given by Haykal in 1942 was again an elegy. It was on the first anniversary of Mohammed Mahmoud's death on January 31st. In this speech Haykal said that he did not intend to narrate the life of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, as everyone knew of his strong sense of personal honour, his faith in God and in his compatriots, his loyalty to his friends, his kindness to the poor and compassion for the weak. These qualities were what had prompted the nation, with all its

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Yūsuf al-Guindī, al-khiṣm al-siyāsī, in al-Muṣawwar, December 26, 1941.

² Ibid.

classes, to join in his funeral. But, said Haykal, he wished to mention certain topics which had induced all classes to join in his funeral:-

"..... This man whose death the nation has felt the heavy loss of has been denied by the mass in more than one instance of his life."¹

"He used to believe that unity of opinion in great national aims was the best guarantee to the realization of what the nation wanted of these aims.....The people know that he was first among those who called for the unity of the nation's words around the Wafd in 1918 for the pursuit of freedom, and they knew that he worked to eliminate the party discords, and for the restoration of Parliamentary life. Thus a conference took place and brought together Sa'd Zaghlul, Adly Yakan, Abdel Khaliq Sarwat and the presidents of parties and political organizations, to restore parliamentary life, this was on February 19th, 1926, at Mohammed Mahmoud's house... Then they know that he worked for the formation of the national front in 1926, to conclude the treaty with England, and one of the effects of this was to enable Egypt, represented by all its political parties, to conclude the treaty of the 26th August 1936, and with this they finally believed that he had called for unity, and that he was honest in intent and faithful."²

Haykal concluded his speech by saying: "The nation has mourned the death of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha in this critical period of the life of the world, because it wished that he would have a hand in guiding its policy during the present war..."³

¹ "Khuṭbat Haykal Bāshā fī'l-ihtifāl bi'dhikrā Moḥammed Mahmūd Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, February 1, 1942.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

February 4th, 1942, commemorates an incident which had a far reaching impact on the history of that particular time. Two days before, on February 2nd, Husayn Sirry had handed in his resignation as Prime Minister - he was not at the moment very much in favour with the King.

The Egyptian Foreign Minister had handed in his resignation because the King had reprimanded him severely for breaking diplomatic relations with the French Government of Vichy. The minister, Ṣalīb Sāmī, had been "loyally complying with a request by His Majesty's Ally formulated for perfectly legitimate and sufficient war reasons."¹

The situation had culminated in the Prime Minister himself resigning from office. As a result, the British Ambassador went to see the King on February 2nd, and explained that "... as Allied representative in Egypt it was essential ... that no successor would be appointed who had not the requisite qualifications for the proper fulfilment of Treaty obligations."²

On February 4th, al-Ahrām reported that the King had held numerous consultations to determine who was to hold the position.

Haykal himself met with the King on February 3rd, and then consulted with the King's First Chamberlain for some time.³

The King wished to form another coalition cabinet, or a neutral cabinet, and he had even asked Nahhas if he was willing to head one. The latter had refused to form any cabinet other than a purely Wafdist one. The upshot was that the British Ambassador sent a message on February 4th which read: "Unless I

¹ Evans, T. (ed.), op.cit. p. 195.

² Ibid., p. 195.

³ al-Ahrām, February 4, 1942.

hear by 6 p.m. today that Nahhas^{*} has been asked to form a Government His Majesty King Farouq^{*} must accept the consequences."¹

Al-Ahrām of February 5th does not report what occurred. Yet, by 6 o'clock, British tanks had surrounded Abdīn Palace, and at eight o'clock the British Ambassador, accompanied by the British General Stone and an armed guard, went and presented the King with a prepared letter of abdication.²

The next day, al-Ahrām reported that the situation had called for the King's meeting with seventeen leaders and statesmen and that they met with the King all together. The King was forced to accept Nahhas as head of a purely Wafdist cabinet.³

* Spelt Nahas in the text.

* Spelt Farouk in the text.

¹ Evans, T. (ed.) op.cit., p. 207.

² Ibid. pp. 209-215.

³ al-Ahrām, February 5-6, 1942.

HAYKAL AND THE INCIDENTS FROM
FEBRUARY 1942 - JANUARY 1945

CHAPTER FIVE

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Haykal did not write many political articles between 1942 until after the military coup d'etat of 1952. However, he gave several interviews and made many speeches.

In July 1942 the weekly magazine, al-Muṣawwar, asked Egyptian politicians what they thought of Egypt's present position. Haykal answered: "Last year there was a state of war on the Egyptian border."¹ General Wavell (British Commander-in-chief of the M.E.) continued Haykal had explained the military situation to several ministers in the Premier's office, and he had given them information and data that had put their minds to rest.

"And when Tubruq fell this week I met with.... friends working in politics from the various parties and from the Independents, and we spoke of the situation and decided to meet with the head of government to speak to him. They delegated me to meet him..... and I told him what we had done last year and what we had told General Wavell." Nahhas had answered that he had paid a lot of attention to the situation, but he had refused to postpone the parliamentary questions presented by the opposition (to which Haykal belonged). Haykal meant... "to enable the government to work in a calm and quiet atmosphere because the present state was critical."²

Haykal acknowledged that the situation necessitated calm and stability and asked Egyptian youth to maintain self control.³

¹ "Miṣr fī'l-mawqif al-hāḍir," in al-Muṣawwar, July 3, 1942.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

The month after, Haykal was asked by an interviewer if he was writing anything at the time. He answered: "Yes."¹ He told the reporter that when he had written Moḥammed it had taken him five years because he was also working as a journalist then.

Then he was asked how he composed his works. He answered: "Foreign references are no less valuable than Arabic references I read what I can for a general idea of the subject. Then I build the plan of the book."²

He was asked if he had profited materially from his works. He said he had reprinted Moḥammed three times, and there were ten thousand copies for each printing. But Zaynab had brought the greatest profit.

He was asked what he liked about the newspapers and magazines and what he advocated for their improvement. He said among other things that he disapproved of the magazines exposing the private lives of people because this privacy was sacred and should not be within the reach of pens and tongues. He added that after the war there would be a great social and economic change "..... so it is the duty of newspapers and magazines to prepare for that change and to prepare minds for that new unity. I have noticed that our papers are careless about parliamentary business... and they are not interested in researching or studying the problems which are presented or discussed.... Newspapers would be helping to codify laws and guide deputies and senators if they researched and investigated problems while they were being presented to the specialized committees."³

¹ "al-Ṣaḥāfah ka'l-marā'h al-jamīlah taslib waqt wa 'aql man yuḥibuhā," in al-Musawwar, August 14, 1942.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

In December he was questioned as to which of the two Chambers of Parliament was the more useful and of greater value to the country. He answered that he admitted that the Chamber of Deputies performed a great many services but he saw that ".... the Senate had proved in the past sessions to be more active and have a greater vitality, and its effort at times surpassed efforts of the Chamber of Deputies."¹

He was also asked whether he dreamed of the return of an Islamic Empire (it seems he had just published his book al-'Imbirātūrriya al-Islāmiyah). He answered: "Islam is imperial in its essence, and the call for it was not restricted to Arabs."²

Another question directed to him was whether he considered Abū Bakr al-Siddīq's (the first caliph) rule democratic? He answered : Yes, because Abū BAKr had always called for consultation with those whose opinion counted.

In comparing Abū Bakr's rule to the Chambers of Parliament, Haykal said: "The nation has the highest say in this rule as for the modern parliamentary system, it is none other than one of the images of democratic rule, and that rule can exist in any shape as long as it is built on consultation and the observation of public opinion."³

Also in December, a daily paper al-Ayyām published a letter which it said had been written by Haykal to a Shaykh 'Abbās al-Gamal, who was a member of the Hay'ah Sa' diyah. The letter

¹"Majlis al-Shuyukh am Majlis al-Nuwwāb: Ayuhumā akthar khidmah wa fā'idah li'l-bilād," in al-Muṣawwar, December 4, 1942.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

ran as follows:-

Dear Shaykh Abbas,

You know that we share in opposing the Wafd. We are both perplexed with the question of the Wafd, because the Wafd has taken possession of all the people and it has left us neither heart nor liver. You are a Sa'dī, not a Liberal Constitutionalist, but I know you like them, because they cooperate with the Sa'di(s) in the opposition. I have looked among the Liberal Constitution-
alists Party members, and I have not found amongst them anyone whose opinion, experience or knowledge I can accept, nor who can look for the way by which we can beat the Wafd or score a victory against (it).....
..... the way to the seat of government is just like trying to reach Mars.....¹
.....

Why shouldn't I be a minister at least as I was, or why shouldn't I be a Prime Minister? Is it that the seat of government is too large for me to fill out...?"

"I know that you don't approve of this kind of talk because you want the seats of government for the Sa'dī Party ²....."

The letter becomes even more jocular and its writer compares ruling with eating pears; they are both appetizing.

¹"Min Haykal Bāshā ilā al-Shaykh 'Abbās al-Gamal," in al-Ayyam, December 12, 1942.

²Ibid.

The letter was answered on the same page, and the answer is almost as irreverent.¹

The next year, Haykal's first speech was on February 1st, 1943, again in commemoration of the second year since the death of Mohammed Mahmoud.

He spoke at length and mentioned the effect and influence of great men. He also told his audience how at the end of October 1918 he had been invited to "... attend the Council of the previous Egyptian University, and amongst the members meeting were Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha and Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha and when the meeting ended and we prepared to go our ways Mohammed Mahmoud stood up and placed his stick in front of us"and said it was time to work for the welfare of the country and for its independence." We consulted about planning a meeting to study the subject so he said (May God rest his soul): "We must meet now, to work for Egypt and her case,.... and we met the afternoon of that day in his house..... In that way Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha was the first to give the national call and the first who took a step for its sake."²

Later on, during February 1943, Haykal lectured in Ewart Hall at the American University in Cairo. His talk was about how political relations between states should be.

He said that it was necessary to think of political relations in the future world, and to ask for the reason why the politicians of yesterday, without wishing to, failed after the last war to strengthen peace and forget about war. He believed that that

¹ Ibid.

² "Khutbat Haykal Bāshā fī'l-iḥtifāl bi'dhikra Mohammed Mahmoud Bāshā, in al-Ahrām, February 1st, 1943.

failure was due to the fact that they failed to see the truth that presented itself, because they had not seen that the world had now become a unity which communicated with tremendous ease. All the currents of thought, art, commerce, industry, etc., ran through it now as they used to in the past in one nation, "... indeed run through (it) like the blood runs through the veins of the human being. Their failure to grasp this idea was what made them welcome the dawn of the new world with old hearts. They had not seen the smooth way which leads to the desired aim."¹

"I share President Roosevelt's call for the essential liberties for the life of man and these liberties include factors essential for man's life such as air, water, bread and salt. I share with him this call with knowledge and faith, and I believe with him that these liberties are necessary for world cooperation. Moreover, these points which President Roosevelt called for and which were clearly demonstrated by the Atlantic Charter, have results which must be realized in all nations, if it is wished that the Charter should bear fruit, and that there should be world cooperation on a sound basis. For that reason, it is necessary that the Peace Treaty should stipulate this."²

"There must be equality between all nations and their participation on the basis of this equality at the next Peace Conference and the performance of its duties by the Conference on the basis of principles agreed upon by all, foremost among which are the freedom of speech and opinion, freedom of sovereignty, freedom to be liberated of poverty and fear, and the freedom to be liberated from darkness and subjugation, and the

¹ Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal, "al-'Ilāqāt al-siyāsiyah kamā yanbaghī ān takūn bayn al-umam," in al-Balāgh, February 13, 1943.

² Ibid.

guarantee at the human level of the right of each individual who exists, wherever he exists, to choose the government that will manage his affairs, and the doing away with colonialism and the establishment of world cooperation in the shadow of these principles on the basis of freedom of the people... "¹

He also hoped that "the politicians in the Peace Conference would look with eyes which would try to pierce through to the future and to estimate what the development of the world will be, and to free their ideas from the bonds of the past so that development will not be much faster than their ideas."

"But it is possible," he went on, "for the politicians to reach what we wish for this world of peace and cooperation if their intentions are pure in the achievement of that goal."²

On February 24th, 1943 al-Ahram reported that Haykal Pasha had presented two questions to the Senate pertaining to two incidents which had occurred in the Azhar and at the elections in Girga province. In the Azhar, riots had been caused by the students of the University and the police had intervened, and after allowing the students to leave the campus, blocked their way and once again prevented them from leaving.* The cause for this riot is not clear, but it seems the police fired shots; as for the elections in Girga province, an army force had been sent there for no apparent reason during the elections of the deputies.

Haykal, on asking these two questions, was met by a long speech on parliamentary procedure, from the Minister of Justice.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

*See al-Ahram, February 17 & 19, 1943.

The man claimed that Haykal had used the same tactics himself in 1938, when he was spokesman for the Mohammed Mahmoud ministry, and said that the Prosecutor was still investigating both incidents. The Minister of Justice also said that the two episodes were more serious than they had seemed, and had necessitated the intervention of the Military Governor (in this case Nahhas) in order to prevent either of them from being repeated, or from becoming more serious. Both occurrences had been brought up in the Chamber of Deputies - but the Government had answered the questions put to it as evasively.¹

At the end of March, al-Ayyām again published a letter which it claimed had been written by Haykal, and in which the latter asked Noqrashi if he had heard of April Fool's Day, and that on this April Fool's Day he and his Liberal Constitutional colleagues were planning to spread strange news and rumours about the Wafd, and he asked Noqrashi to join them with the Sa' dī Party members because the Wafd had determined to destroy them all. He continued, "I will write to the others of the opposition to (ask them to) cooperate with us in this mission."² He told him he would gather all the members of the opposition in one room, and this was no problem, he said, because they were a small number. Thus he could tell them what rumours to spread.

The letter goes on to say that the writer had great hopes that this first of April they would succeed in putting "...obstacles in the path of the Wafd, because the success of the Wafd ministry is continuing and we are all worried that that success will destroy our few remaining parties..."³

¹ "Munāqashah dustūriyah fī Majlis al-Shuyukh ḥawlā istijwābiyah 'an ḥawādith al-Azhar wa' intikhābāt Girga," in al-Ahrām, February 24, 1943.

² "Min Haykal ilā al-Nuqrāshī wa bi'l-ʿaks," in al-Ayyām, March 30, 1943.

³ Ibid.

The answer from Noqrashi to that letter, again on the same page, said that the last time they had spread false rumours no one had believed them. Then he told Haykal that the rumours which had been spread by the Liberal Constitutionlists were what had tempted the Sa'dists to leave the Wafd.

He also said that Makram Ebeid Pasha had made the same mistake of leaving the Wafd and that he was now in just a desperate position as were the Sa'dists and that therefore lies would not work anymore.

He closed his letter by saying that they would meet in the Mohammed Ali club, and that Sidqi Pasha, and Sirry Pasha would be with them " and you understand (know what) I mean...."¹

(Makram Ebeid Pasha, who had been Finance Minister and one of Nahhas' close advisers, had been expelled from the Wafd in July 1942,² as a result of intrigues within the party).

The next two letters published by al-Ayyām were from Hilmī 'Īssa Pasha, President of the Ittihad Party, to Haykal and the latter's answer.

'Īssa Pasha's letter told Haykal that 'Uṣṭā Hasan al-Makwagūī- the laundry man (who's letter is included) had written to him 'Īssa Pasha, to tell him, that the country had stopped talking of the opposition because it was disgusted with its members.³

¹ Ibid.

² al-Ahrām, July 7, 1942.

³ "Min Hilmī Bāshā ilā Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ayyām, April 13, 1943.

Haykal was supposed to have asked 'Issa Pasha not to broach the subject with Abdel Aziz Fahmy Pasha and not to publicize the contents of this letter. He told 'Issa that he personally had taken, on receipt of the letter, (20) aspirins and aspro and drank these with water and ether.¹

Another newspaper which may not have been very serious as well was al-Tilighrāf. This paper announced in August that there had been a violent quarrel between Haykal and Noqrashī. According to this paper, an organization had been formed bearing the name of Hay'at Ittiḥād al-Mu'āradah, or the Union for the Organization of the Opposition. It counted among its members Sidqi Pasha, Ahmed Māher Pasha and Haykal, and had chosen Maher Pasha as its president.

The publicizing of this choice had brought about a violent quarrel between Haykal and Noqrashi in the resort of Rā's al-Barr. The reason for this quarrel was that Haykal had not agreed that Ahmed Maher should be the President, and he was therefore of the opinion that this organization should be without a president.

Haykal had invited Noqrashi and Makram to his 'ishah - or hut in Rā's al-Barr, and had suggested to them that the hay'ah publish an announcement he had prepared. He took the announcement out of his pocket and read it to them. The summary of its contents was that the hay'ah did not have a president, and it did not think of having one, but thought only of the work it did.

Makram did not react but Noqrashi said that it was required that this hay'ah have a President to speak in its name, because

¹"Min Haykal Bāshā ilā Hilmī Bāshā," in al-Ayyam, April 13, 1943.

organizations required that. Haykal said this was not necessary since all four could sign any decisions taken, but Noqrashī was adamant. Haykal then said that if the organization had to have a president, Maher was not suited because he was a nice man (rāgīl ṭayyib) who preferred safety to taking responsibilities. Then the quarrel broke out because Noqrashī lost his temper. Makram later tried to restore the peace between them, but he was unsuccessful.¹

According to Abdel Rahman el-Rāf'ī this Hay'at Ittiḥād al-Mu'āradaḥ had actually been formed and included numbers from each party including al-Raf'ī's own party, the Ḥizb al-Waṭanī² (which refused to negotiate with Britain for independence).

al-Raf'ī mentions that this party had prepared a memorandum on Egypt's rights to independence in November, to present to the Pyramids Conference - a conference where the American President Franklin Roosevelt, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and the President of Nationalist China Chiang Kai Check were meeting at the Mena House Hotel.³

Nahas had prevented the publishing or even the mentioning of this memorandum in newspapers.⁴

In October, Haykal was interviewed by al-Muṣawwar and he was asked what his party planned for the next political season (which usually started in November).

¹ "Mushādah 'anīfah bayn Haykal wa'l-Nuqrāshī," in al-Tili-ghraf, August 11, 1943.

² al-Rāf'ī, op.cit., Vol.III, p. 135.

³ Ibid., p. 135.

⁴ Ibid., p. 137.

Haykal answered he had just returned from Rā's al-Barr and he was planning to call the party to meet soon "... to look into the present critical political situation in the light of the latest incidents We are about to start a new Parliamentary season, and the government will give the new speech for the throne and will deal with the questions that came up during the absence of Parliament."¹

"It will also take into hand certain new projects which are important to Egypt and important to the parties for investigation and discussion..... and to give its opinion concerning them."

He also spoke of the Liberal Constitutional Party programme and said: "When his Excellency Abdel Aziz Fahmy Pasha took over the presidency of the Liberal Constitutionalists lately, he reviewed, in 1941, the programme for the Party.... and certain items in this programme were examined one by one, and some were altered or cancelled."²

He was asked if 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (the second Caliph) existed nowadays, how would he have ruled? He answered: "Each era has its circumstances and principles and traditions. 'Umar's rule was built on consultation but it was a consultation of men of opinions (mashwarah dhū rā'y) ... 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's mentality distinguished him because he was like all politicians; he knew what he wanted and he moved..... to guide incidents to whatever path he wished. He placed in front of him the public welfare of the nation before any other consideration - even religious - because religion was not in contradiction with general human welfare, indeed it came to establish (realize) it amongst humans."³

¹"Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dusturiyīn wa mādhā a'ad li'l-mawsim al-siyasī al-qādim," in al-Muṣawwar, October 8, 1943.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

In April 1944, Nahhas went on a tour of Upper Egypt. Meanwhile the King asked to meet the British Ambassador. The latter attended and after the usual civilities, the King said he "... could not stand Nahhas^{*} any longer...", and "... he hoped (that the Ambassador) would agree to what he would now propose, namely the appointment of an interim government under a good friend of the British."¹ The King meant Ahmed Hasaneim Pasha, his Chief Chamberlain.²

The British Ambassador answered: "I could not imagine a worse chosen moment to suggest a change of regime in Egypt. All the world knows that we are on the eve of great events, and that the fate of the world, including Egypt, hangs in the balance." He added, "I must of course consult my government."³

The result was that the King was not allowed to change the cabinet. In the telegram addressed to him by Churchill - the latter said, "Considering that Egypt has through our exertions, been spared the horrors of invasion and of becoming a battlefield and remains an unravaged peaceful and prosperous land, we have a right to address you on this subject."⁴

In August, al-Muṣawwar interviewed various political leaders and party heads and one of them had said he wished to invite Nahhas Pasha to sit with him at the same table and put aside their differences and disputes, in order to reach agreement on one idea and one purpose - which was to obtain the maximum possible gaining of rights for Egypt and to face the next delicate situation with one opinion and as one mass.

* Spelt Nahas in the text.

¹ Evans, T. (ed.) op.cit., p. 286 - 287.

² Ibid. p. 287.

³ Ibid. p. 287 - 288.

⁴ Ibid. p. 292.

Haykal when asked what he thought of this opinion said:
"I support this opinion and I believe that questions of national importance should rise far above differences - and over government as well - and I also welcome the idea that we all meet with our different parties to try to realize Egypt's national hopes, since Egypt is neither the property of Nahhas, nor of Maher, nor of Haykal. Our differences today, no matter what their reasons are, should not make us forget our duties vis-a-vis our homeland, our children and grandchildren.... But is Nahhas Pasha ready to sit with the opposition at one table to discuss and agree and to write in demanding the rights of Egypt and her sovereignty? I do not believe personally that a patriot who is sincerely loyal to his country would refuse to sit with his most bitter foe to discuss such a serious national subject."¹

"Furthermore, our agreement regarding major national affairs absolutely does not contradict that each team keep its opinion regarding government. The circle of talks will be restricted to national demands and nothing else, meaning that my opposition to the present government and my opinion of its actions and of its methods of rule remains as it is. It is (likewise) Nahhas Pasha's right to keep his opinion regarding the opposition's position."²

"We therefore direct our sincere invitation, for the sake of Egypt, to agree and to unite ranks in the demand of our rights to win them all completely, and for our sovereignty to be a fact not merely imaginary or empty (phrases)....."

He went on, "We do not ask each one to give up his opinion of the other, and each will continue to act with his own means

¹ "Ra'īs al-Ahrār al-Dustūriyīn yad'ū al-Naḥḥās Bāshā li'l-ijtimā' 'alā mā'idah wāḥidah," in al-Muṣawwar, August 11, 1944.

² Ibid.

until the country is satisfied with good rightly guided rule."¹

This was by no means Haykal's first call for solidarity. On January 14th, 1943, al-Ahrām published a statement Haykal had made on his nomination as President of the Liberal Constitutionalists (on January 10th, 1943),² in which he mentioned the party disputes and said ".... Forgetfulness of national welfare is what led us in the past, and what is leading us now to stand in groups in feuding positions, it led in the past and is leading now to the tendency to quarrel which sometimes reaches the point of violent unruliness. It is normal that opportunists should benefit in the atmosphere which results from this state and that this should provoke the people's suffering and their complaints of lack of equality between them..."³

"For that reason, the Liberal Constitutional Party since its foundation has called, as it calls today, for the precedence of national politics over party politics, until rule becomes stable and people's minds are at rest concerning it. The giving of precedence to national politics and solidarity for its sake, is also what simplifies the facing of the present delicate situation and prepares for the confrontation of what in the future may be an even more delicate situation....."⁴

Haykal concluded, "I am full of hope that I will be able to convince my fellow patriots that the agreement will have its essential influence over what we wish for our homeland in terms of calm, progress and glory."⁵

¹ Ibid.

² al-Ahrām, January 11, 1943.

³ "Taṣrīḥ li'Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, January 14, 1943.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

In September 1944, Haykal wrote an article entitled "Ahdāf Miṣr fī rā'y al-Ahrār al-Dustūriyīn in which he spoke of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and how his party had said in Parliament that this Treaty did not fulfill Egypt's needs, and how since the present (conflict) had started Egypt gave more than it had been bound to by the Treaty, and offered to the united nations (here Haykal probably meant the Allies) what the British government had stipulated and was the subject of its gratitude. "... And also what America had mentioned after her joining the war and for which she gave her honest appreciation."¹

"Now that the war is almost ended in Europe it is natural that the Egyptians take advantage of its example and that they adjust their situation in the future in the light of what occurred in the past to achieve for their country its right and to fulfill its dues to the world, and the duty for its security."

"And (Egyptians) they are careful to continue to help and aid the united nations (the Allies) until the war is over in the Far East and the Pacific."

"With the continuation of this cooperation... (and) the shifting of the war from Europe to the Far East and Pacific.... Egypt's importance will be completely secure from all offensives and the course of life in Egypt will be normal (and this will) increase her desire to exert all the efforts she can give the ... (Allies) in the east."²

¹ "Ahdāf Miṣr fī rā'y al-Ahrār al-Dusturiyīn," in al-Ahrām, September 8, 1944.

² Ibid.

He continued: "The Liberal Constitutionalists chose that name for their party in 1922 adhering to the principles of freedom and equality which are included in all the democratic constitutions. There is no way to realize these principles in a nation unless it is independent in its directing of international relations, completely sovereign within its boundaries and there is no rule except by its sons. When the Atlantic Charter was declared the Liberal Constitutionalists were the first who called (to) Egypt to join it. That was because the principles of the Charter were in agreement with those of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party. And because of the party's confidence that world peace depended on the right of the people of all nations to enjoy the four liberties stated in the Charter. The party is, because of that, careful that (her) government guarantees to all Egyptians, and all those living on Egyptian land, freedom of opinion and its expression, and the freedom of religious beliefs and worship and the liberties stated in the Egyptian Constitution. They (the Liberal Constitutionalists) do not accept any aggression against these liberties no matter its source."¹

"These are Egypt's principle demands and her first aims in the opinion of the Liberal Constitutionalists and this is the spirit with which they wish to face the future. Egypt will participate, imbued by this spirit. We believe that England and America will welcome this spirit and Egypt will be esteemed for the aid she has given during the war and her help to fulfill the aims which she wishes to realize. In these aims will be seen the proof of Egypt's keeping to her role, and rising to do her duty for world peace, as in her maintaining the principles of democracy and the defense of these."²

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

On October 8th, 1944, the King finally deposed the Nahhas Cabinet. Ahmed Maher Pasha, President of the Hay'ah Sa'diyah, was asked to form a coalition ministry.

The British Ambassador was in South Africa when the cabinet was deposed and he expressed his views in writing, "(It) Might have been worse.... If it had to happen (and I long ago decided in my own mind that sooner or later it must) I am really relieved that it has been during my absence."¹

The new ministry was named on October 9th, 1944 and it included Sa'dī elements as well as Liberal Constitutionalist, Kutlah Wafdiyah (Makram Ebeid's party) and Waṭanī elements. Haykal this time was in charge of Education and Social Affairs. Ahmed Maher announced that he supported the policy of understanding with the British and he would execute the clauses of the 1936 Treaty.²

al-Muṣawwar interviewed Haykal in November. He was asked what he planned for the Ministry of Social Affairs.

He answered: "A great many employees of the Ministry of Social Affairs have worked in party publicity. For that reason, I think that the first thing to do is to let things get back to what they should (be), and that each employee should have his own particular task and that he should bear its responsibility. The Ministry's permanent undersecretary and his assistant and the directors are all writing down their suggestions for that arrangement to present (it) in a few days. Then we can work in an atmosphere of organization and responsibility."³

¹ T. Evans (ed.) op.cit., p. 314.

² al-Ahrām, October 9, 1944.

³ "al-Duktūr Mohammed Ḥusayn Haykal yaqūl: Man la yuṣaddiq 'amalahu qawluhu rajūl la yawṭhaq bihi," in al-Muṣawwar, November 10, 1944.

"What," he was asked, "do you think of the project to fight illiteracy, and what will your position regarding it be?"

He replied: "Its execution will be subject to research by specialists from the Ministry of Education and Social Affairs. We are moving towards that execution with unworried steps. To bring into existence projects is easy, but to execute these on a productive scale is the delicate factor which requires care and thought."¹

"What is your opinion," he was asked, regarding the establishment of free education?"

He answered: " The idea of publicizing primary education is sound as regards principle. But in order to execute this we have to start by opening schools and finding the required teachers and laying our hands on what is required as regards books and material. That is what we lack at present, and this is the reason for the crisis we are going through...."²

When he was asked whether he believed the University should be free, he said the University should be free and the most important thing for him to do would be to safeguard the independence of the university and that it should be separate and the spirit of the true university life should mature in it.

As for missions abroad when he was asked about these. Haykal said that they would be resumed after the war after having been stopped for five years.

Haykal concluded the interview by saying that he wished to say that he wanted "..... Work in the Ministry of Education (is to be) for today and for the morrow, from now until after

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

war. Ant I will start first - and as soon as possible - to lay the foundations for organizing work and to distribute special tasks, and after that we shall start our projects in the light of experience. Our main concern will be work and execution, not merely words which have no way of being executed or plans realized - because the politician who does not believe in his work is a man who cannot be trusted."¹

On November 13th, the nation celebrated the 'Īd al-Jihād', commemorating 1918. Haykal along with the other political leaders, made a speech on the occasion.

He mentioned Mohammed Mahmoud as one of the four Egyptians who were exiled by the British after 1919. Then he spoke of the coalition of parties on February 19th, 1926. He also spoke of all the notable personalities among the Liberal Constitutionalists namely Adly Yakan Pasha, and Abdel Aziz Khāliq Sarwat, both of whose influence had helped form the coalition.

He also spoke of the World War and said "... Egypt was at the outset of this war far from the battlefields, and there was nothing to push her to change from the policy she had followed before the war. But when the end of 1941 came, the German and Italian forces were able to come close to Egypt's west, coming from Barqa. At the beginning of 1942, matters became more critical, and the cabinet of Husayn Sirry resigned leaving matters to the King's wisdom. That day the King saw with his regal wisdom that the opportunity had come to unite the nation's goals and to unify its front, so he called the party leaders, and among them Moustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, and he asked them to form a national ministry to face the delicate situation that the country was going through, and for Nahhas Pasha to be the

¹ Ibid.

Prime Minister in this cabinet. Yet despite the generous offer which was full of wisdom and far-sightedness, Nahhas refused and held on to the intention of forming the ministry from his party alone. Despite the incidents that followed twenty-four hours after the King's generous offer, and which made the formation of a national ministry more imperative, Nahhas was determined to refuse what the King offered him unless he was placed in sole charge - and conditions on that day allowed him to obtain what he wished, and so he remained in complete charge for (32) months, until His Majesty made him resign on October 8th last...."¹

Then, continued Haykal, Nahhas had said he had come into office to save (the King's) rule.

Haykal also accused Nahhas' ministry of having used the government to collect L.E. 150,000 which was supposed to help those who had suffered disasters from the two provinces of Qinah and Aswan. "Nahhas laid his hands on this (money) for his private account or for the account of his party." He went on, "You have read in the newspapers such examples of extraordinary folly with the permits of export and import which were given.... to the in-laws of Nahhas Pasha and his allies, and to the relatives of the ministers and their proteges... You have heard how the provisions of the people from food and clothing was the subject of commerce on the black market..... You haven't forgotten how these scandals were hidden by closing mouths and strict censorship on the newspapers, and with false advertisements which they spread in what they called 'celebration parties' and on journeys to the various towns in the country."² Haykal also mentioned that the previous ministry had used the authority of martial law, which was imposed on Egypt because of the war, for no other reason except to stifle the truth.

¹"Khuṭab zu'amā' al-aḥzāb fī 'Īd al-Jihād-Khitāb Ra'īs al-Ahrār al-Dusturiyin," in al-Ahrām, November 14, 1944.

²Ibid.

He continued: "And it is not my aim today to list for you in detail the incidents which you know and don't know, as there is a committee for examination and investigation which was appointed by the Council of Ministers which is making this examination."¹

Haykal also said that the irregularities were not the only thing with which the previous ministry had caused an upheaval in the system of government. It had actually cancelled out the existing system and replaced it with a new one. It had found new locations for these new situations and appointed employees for these and invented for all this new items to put in the budget.

He also spoke of the new government and said: "The present ministry is sincere in its intent to purify the air from the clouds of darkness and to restore to all people their freedom within the limits of order....."² He also said that they weren't going to buy the satisfaction of the people with the money of the state, nor "buy consciences.... but by carrying out what we were entrusted to of the affairs of the state with fairness and right, and the public welfare will be placed above all. We do not pretend to be perfect, and we may be mistaken. But we can guarantee to you and to the whole nation that we will stick by the truth as much as we can."³

He also told the people that unity between them should be above all disputes and all inclinations, and that Egypt's good elements were the people. He also blessed the King for directing and guiding the country and thinking of its benefits. He said that he was very optimistic of the future.⁴

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

On January 17th, 1945, Mohammed Husayn Haykal was named President of the Senate.¹ The Parliament convened the next day in the presence of the King, with Haykal as President of the Senate. Ahmed Maher,² as the new Prime Minister, made the speech from the throne.²

Almost a week earlier, while he was still Minister of Education, a statement he had made relating to the Arabic Language Academy was published and his spirited and enthusiastic defence of the Academy and the idea behind its foundation and the importance of its continuation was reported.³

The article was published on the same page as an interview with Haykal who was asked whether he would leave his party now that he was President of the Senate.

His answer was that, "In certain democratic countries such as England the President of the Assembly gets rid of his party allegiance and resigns from his party according to the established tradition. In other countries such as France the President of the Assembly does not resign from his party but goes on presiding over it without his party playing any role or being of any consequence in his duties or work. Although it should be noticed that in England the President of either Assembly (House) remains President of it all his life - so that his resignation from his party does not affect him adversely, this is not the case however, in other countries... The important thing," concluded Haykal, "is not the President's independence or his party affiliation but his integrity, sound action and fairness to all."⁴

¹ al-Ahrām, January 17, 1945.

² al-Ahrām, January 19, 1945.

³ "Wazīr al-Ma'arif yudāfi' 'an al-Majma' al-Lughawī," in al-Muṣawwar, January 19, 1945.

⁴ "Riyāsat al-Majlisa' min al-Mustaqillīn wa'l-Ḥizbiyyīn: al-Duktūr Mohammed Husayn Haykal," in al-Muṣawwar, January 19, 1945.

HAYKAL AND THE CHURCH FROM
FEBRUARY 1945 - DECEMBER 1946

C H A P T E R S I X

HAYKAL AND THE INCIDENTS FROM
FEBRUARY 1945 - DECEMBER 1946

HAYKAL AND THE EVENTS FROM
FEBRUARY 1945 - DECEMBER 1946

At the beginning of February 1945, the Liberal Constitutional party celebrated the fourth anniversary of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha's death in the Cairo Opera House. Haykal gave his usual speech in which he said he regretted the absence of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha. He also mentioned what had happened in the last four years of war and how Mohammed Mahmoud had believed in democracy. He spoke of what had occurred with some deputies during his last ministry concerning reforms and the speed with which these were implemented in Turkey and other countries. He recalled how Mohammed Mahmoud had answered that democracy necessitated the freedom of research and of give and take (of answers) and that it was closer to perfection. Haykal said that the late Prime Minister had believed that until his death. He recalled also that he used to say that party differences should not in any way destroy the national unity in regard to problems the party had agreed upon.¹

Egypt that year was commemorating the fifth anniversary of the death of the Khedive Ismail on March 2nd, 1895. This was celebrated in the Cairo Opera House, and the King was present. Almost all the notables and ministers who attended made speeches which were related to the field of interest of each, as it had existed in Ismail's time. Haykal spoke about the life of the Deputy. He made references to Mohammed Ali and how he had established the Assembly of Notables because he believed in consultation; and how Ismail, when he became ruler of Egypt, had wanted

¹"al-Iḥtifāl bi'dhikrā Mohammed Mahmoud Bāshā fī Dār al-
'Ūberā - kalimat Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, February 1, 1945.

to improve and reform its affairs according to the latest European systems.

The Deputy had been introduced as a basis of government - and this had been one of the first decisions taken.

On October 22nd, 1866, The Khedive "had ordered Rāgheb Pasha to found the Consultative Assembly of Notables and he stated in that generous order that the benefits and uses of the consultative assembly could be observed in the advanced kingdoms. He intended that consultation and discussion take place... and (he) had these orders posted by inspectors in all regions in order for elections to take place. The elections took place and the first Assembly convened on November 25th, 1866, and Ismail himself gave a speech which later became the tradition behind the speech from the throne."¹ Haykal himself read the speech Ismail had made.

Haykal continued to tell the story of the life of a Deputy in Egypt under the reign of Ismail, and of how that ruler had insisted that the notables of Sudan should be among the Egyptians, since Sudan was part of Egypt at the time. Ismail's aims were to improve Egyptian life in the direction of real liberty, and (establish) a system to overcome ignorance and illiteracy in the country, since those who presented themselves for elections had to be literate.

Haykal said that this spirit which Ismail had encouraged had not been known to Egyptians before and it made them feel proud of themselves.

¹"Khitām isbū 'Ismā'il fī Dār al-'Überā al-Malakīyah - kalimat al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, March 9, 1945.

He closed his address by telling the King that this had been "... a resumé of the life of a Deputy in the reign of your magnificent grandfather Ismail, and I was careful in it to be a narrator of ... incidents and to stay within the confines of history and its documents... to satisfy your Majesty's demands... leaving incidents and documents to speak for themselves."¹

Now World War II was coming to an end, and the Egyptian government was thinking that if it joined the United Nations it stood a far better chance to ask for its complete independence from England. But Egypt could only join the United Nations if it declared war on Germany and Japan.

On Saturday February 24th, 1945, the Parliament convened to discuss its decision to declare war on Germany and Japan, and the ministry had prepared the statement it was going to make. While Ahmed Maher was making his statement he was shot and killed by a youth who claimed he had killed the Prime Minister because the latter had declared war on Germany.²

Mahmoud Fahmy al-Noqrashi, on the very night of the day Ahmed Maher was assassinated, formed a new cabinet. Two days later, on February 26th, during a secret session the two Chambers of Parliament met and took the decision to declare a defensive war on the two nations.³

On March 7th, Dr. Abdel Hamid Badawi Pasha, the principal expert on International Law in Egypt, was appointed Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs,⁴ as he was to preside over the

¹ Ibid.

² al-Ahrām, February 25, 1945.

³ al-Ahrām, February 27, 1945; al-Raf'ī, op.cit., Vol.III, p.153.

⁴ al-Ahrām, March 8, 1945.

Egyptian delegation for the San Francisco Conference, which was to lay down the charter for the United Nations.¹

On April 6th, Egyptian statesmen and politicians commemorated the fortieth day since the assassination of Ahmed Maher and speeches were made. Haykal made allusion to his relationship with Ahmed Maher and how they had both been members of a committee formed to establish the freedom of the press; and how Maher's articles were scrupulously within the boundaries of what was permitted:-

"Dr. Maher was one of the people who maintained for himself the strictest confines of duty when he wrote, because he was very learned, polite, broadminded and very appreciative of duty..... (he) did not wish to destroy by criticism but to reform as much as possible and for that reason never accused people of bad intentions, but (only) held their actions against them."²

Haykal's final summing up was that Ahmed Maher had been a journalist and orator and had always been very careful to present all the sides to an issue - and not just his view.

The public placed a lot of hope on the San Francisco Conference, and accordingly al-Muṣawwar asked Haykal "as the President of the largest legislative organization" in the country what he thought of this conference. Haykal answered by writing an article where he said: "I cannot judge, nor can anyone from any other country in the world judge the results of the new charter in the future. The thought of the advancement of peace in the corners of the world is an old one - what was known to historians as "La Paix Romaine"^{*}, went back as far as 1000 years... The last of these charters was the Charter of the League of Nations. Yet despite these, human appetites have dominated over

¹ al-Ahrām, March 15, 1945.

² "al-Khuṭab alati ulqiyat fī tā'bīn al-marḥūm Māher Bāshā - kalimat Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, April 6, 1945.

^{*} In French in the text.

the minds of politicians and they could not prevent war. Do you think they will be able to do tomorrow what they are unable to do today? This is what is hoped for by all lovers of peace."¹ He also said that mankind soon forgot the ravages of war, yet he hoped the Conference would successfully end the situation.²

The San Francisco Conference was to last from April 25th to June 26th. In May, Haykal wrote an article entitled "Where are our rights now that we know our duties?" In this Haykal stated that there were differences in opinion and obstacles in the way of the Conference. He mentioned the Dumbarton-Oakes suggestions (which had resulted from a meeting of the delegates of the United States of America, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the Republic of China in October 1944, as a means to establish a world organization to maintain peace and international security). Haykal wrote that these suggestions had not solved the problem of voting in the Security Council and did not tackle the problem of international trusteeship.

Haykal also said in his article that although mention had been made of costs which the nations would incur "... there was no statement as to what was going to be given in exchange for this expenditure as regards the natural rights of nations. Included in this deliberate disregard for rights is the provocation of the fear of the small nations which were not at any time the direct reason for disrupting world peace. Moreover, despite the great authority that was given to the Security Council, the establishment of which was suggested, it has not been met with international legislation which can be applied by all.... "³

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Mū'tamar Sān Frānsiskō," in al-Muṣawwar, April 13, 1945.

² Ibid.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "‘Irifnā al-ḥuqūq āīn al-wājibāt," in Akhbār al-Yawm, May 19, 1945.

"... For that reason a great many people hope that the Security Council will not be formed actually before the formulation of the rules of international law..... just as many hope that the San Francisco Conference will end on the natural rights of nations and on the guarantee that these rights be included among the natural aims of the security organization which they want to form."¹

The conference ended on June 26th, and (53) nations participated in signing the United Nation's Charter.²

In July, Akhbār al-Yawm asked Haykal what Egypt had gained from 1919 until the present.

He replied: "Those who did not know the real state of affairs in Egypt before 1919 (i.e.) before the revolution... believe that we have not gained anything within the last quarter of a century..." "In reality the country has taken a great step (forward)... but if we were to compare between Egypt and America, or Egypt and Russia we would find that in comparison with either nation we have not advanced in any discernible way."³

He then spoke of the differences in number between graduates since 1919, and those who had completed their studies abroad. He said that a great many industries had been established. He continued: "We have also advanced as regards to parliamentary representation in Egypt."

"As for foreign intervention in our affairs, before 1919 it was complete and now it is limited and restricted."

¹ Ibid.

² al-Ahrām, June 27, 1945.

³ "Mādhā afādnā min sanat 1919 ilā al-'ān," in Akhbar-al-Yawm, July 7, 1945.

"Yet," he continued, "we need a great deal of organization in governmental affairs and a fixed policy should be planned and applied." He went on: "And I hope that the press believes that these are the true problems it should cover rather than exchange insults."¹

That September, a celebration in honour of Haykal was given by his party in Alexandria and in the speech he gave at that occasion Haykal reiterated his fears concerning the effect the end of the war would have on Egypt. He said: "Our aims and purpose are known; they were not born today, or yesterday, but they go back tens of years."

Then he spoke of the duties of Egyptians in the current circumstances. "All the just nations see that we have paid a high price in this war and that because of that we should break the remaining bonds."

"The Egyptian Air Force was amongst the strongest factors in Egypt's defense. As was also the sending and provision of supplies to the Middle East - this was to a large extent dependant on Egypt. We Egyptians suffered various deprivations because of the war and we suffered these quietly and proudly, because we believed that this war had been declared in the name of freedom; we could not turn against freedom - and I continue to believe that there will be freedom, although there are clouds and the atmosphere is not clear. But if we wish for freedom for Egypt it is up to Egyptians to fight to realize their aims...."²

"There are two main targets that each Egyptian aims at - namely the complete evacuation of all the British forces and the respect for the will and desire of the people of the Nile Valley in the unity of Egypt and the Sudan."³

¹ Ibid.

² "Khitāb siyāsī li'Haykal Bāshā fī'l-iḥtīfāl bi'takrīmuhi fī'l-'Askandariyah," in al-Ahrām, September 25, 1945.

³ Ibid.

He said that at the last meeting of the political organization (al-hay'ah al-siyāsiyah) no one had differed in opinion as to the above aims. "But the thinking of the organization was directed to searching and finding what we were required to do to attain our aims."

He also spoke of the Arab League and how it was fighting to free Arab nations and to ensure that these would live in decent conditions.

(The Arab League had been formed in March 1945, and the Charter of the League had been signed on March 22nd, 1945).

Haykal also referred to Egyptian efforts regarding the 1936 Treaty and added that the treaty could have been signed earlier had feelings and desires not interfered with this. He added, "Remember this example and do not forget that today we are in a better prouder position, although it is more delicate. The position is more favourable although more dangerous than our position in 1919."¹

He concluded that he was not worried and that he was optimistic, and that if the atmosphere did have clouds covering the noble aims and sentiments..... these clouds were bound to be removed.²

On September 23rd, the Council of Ministers met and approved the statement issued by the political organization (al-hay'ah al-siyāsiyah, which was composed of the heads of parties and independents), that the rights of the Egyptian nation and the

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

people of the Nile Valley had to be looked into and negotiations were to be carried out for the evacuation of British forces from Egypt.¹

In October 1945, martial law was abolished all over Egypt and the post of Military Governor was also cancelled.² Censorship on the Press had been removed in June 1945.³

On October 31st, the Liberal Constitutionalists celebrated the twenty-third anniversary of the foundation of their party. Haykal as president of the party addressed the reunion.

He started by talking of the foundation of the party in 1923 and of Adly Yakan Pasha and the principles which he had announced then. Foremost among these was the continuation of work to complete the independence of the country, and the ending of the British occupation of Egypt and the preventing of the deannexation of Sudan, the recognition of the constitutional system and the preservation of the nation and of the rights of the throne "... And since that time the Liberal Constitutional party has been concentrating its energies to focusing the will of the nation on these principles."⁴

He mentioned the members of the party who had called for these aims, and named Abdel Aziz Fahmy Pasha.

"But," he reminded his listeners, "this meeting is not merely in commemoration of the party's history ... but also to look at the present and future; the position of Egypt at the end of World War II, and its participation in the conference of

¹ al-Ahrām, September 24, 1945.

² al-Ahrām, October 7, 1945.

³ al-Ahrām, June 12, 1945.

⁴ "Ḥizb al-Ahrār al-Dustūriyīn-al-iḥtifāl bi'murūr 23 'āmā 'alā ta'sisuhu," in al-Ahrām, October 31, 1945.

San Francisco and the decision of our Parliament.....
and our attendance in the preparatory committee for the United Nations General Assembly."

Haykal then mentioned the statement of the political organization. "The rights of the Egyptian nation as expressed by the Egyptian nation and declared the Egyptian government are the evacuation of British forces and the realization of the will of the people of the Nile Valley in the unity of Egypt and Sudan. It was decided that the present time was the most appropriate to work for the realization of the country's national aims, and the undertaking of the means of negotiation that go with these aims."¹

Then he spoke of Egypt's help to Britain during the six years war. He was certain England would not (wilfully) lose Egypt's friendship: "We want friendship on the basis of respect of our rights and realization of our aims." He said Egypt would accept no alternative.

He also spoke of Egypt's readiness to assume its responsibility regarding the United Nations Charter and of the defense of world peace: "And when the war was over it became absolutely necessary for us to review our need for varied weapons; and the way it should be built on the basis of our needs in the defense of our country and our loyalty to our responsibilities which are agreed upon with the Security Council...."²

"Egypt cannot be accused when it puts forward such a programme that it is encouraging the war mongering spirit-after it worked with the United Nations to destroy the war spirit. Egypt is foremost among the peace loving nations-out of loyalty and out of belief."

He also said that all programmes in Egypt required planning including industry and the economy. "Indeed the flanks of our

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

social scientific and cultural life are no less important than the economic and require reviewing...."¹

He said that the members of the Liberal Constitutional Party believed that self abnegation was the first duty of those who wished to serve their country truly and loyally. He also said that solidarity and the need for national unity in Egypt were absolutely essential.²

Haykal was to write of mismanagement and lack of solidarity again that year. He wrote an article entitled "Our governmental means requires stability." In an article published in al-Muṣawwar, Haykal wrote that had economic building and attention to social projects been carried out "we would be rid of our social problems." He said that the situation was stagnant in the public utilities. This opinion had developed from the necessity that "our governmental means require stability and grafting (of new growth)."³

He said that all cabinets came up with projects but party feuds and publicity fought these and when each cabinet fell the new one would avoid continuing the projects of the old cabinet - so as to get credit for the new projects. Thousands of projects had not been carried out, such as the drinking water project. He claimed that there were abundant examples of vital projects which were destroyed by this 'strange spirit' pervading all the cabinets: "Despite the fact that we all agree of 90% of our economic and social problems, since there is not one Egyptian who does not want independence and there is not one Egyptian who believes that teaching the public can affect the nation badly... so why do we not move to execute the projects which have obtained the agreement of all parties?! Why do we not draw for ourselves a high policy including large scale building and economic and social projects that the following government would execute because they

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, " Adātunā al-hukūmiyah ya'ūzuhā al-istiqrār," in al-Muṣawwar, November 16, 1945.

are vital projects relating to public welfare....."¹ He stressed the need to plan reforms without being influenced by changes of ministry and cabinets. Projects had to be executed without looking at party colours, aspirations, or positions:-

"The welfare of the country necessitates that the rudder of reform move the country forward without being influenced by changes of ministry in our plans and our public projects, and that governments carry out the execution of useful projects without looking at the colour of the political planner..... and the national unity that every one hopes for will be realized is indicated to me by two situations. The first situation occurs when the country is faced with a dangerous threat and all the parties rise as one to overcome it, with each party keeping its political belief; the second situation is shown to me in a nation which is elevated beyond party politics in all that touches public welfare and guided by its politicians to encourage projects bringing lavishness to the country...."²

On December 20th, 1945, the Egyptian Ambassador to Great Britain handed a memorandum from his government to the British Foreign Office. This memorandum requested the start of negotiations with the British government for the revision of the 1936 Treaty.³

Sometime after that the London Times wrote an article concerning this memorandum - unfortunately this article is unavailable to me, but on January 4th, 1946 al-Ahrām published an editorial by Haykal which referred to this article and spoke of Egypt's national demands "Miṣr wa maṭālibuhā al-qawmiyah."⁴

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ al-Ahrām, December 20, 1945.

⁴ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Li'munāsabat maqāl al-Taīms: Miṣr wa maṭālibuhā al-qawmiyah," in al-Ahrām, January 1, 1946.

Haykal mentioned Egypt's help to Great Britain during the war and the relationship of affection between the two nations and how these seemed to prepare the situation for "the removal of the bonds that existed in the treaty of 1936 over her independence and her sovereignty."¹ Then Haykal mentioned that all the Egyptian parties had agreed that the evacuation of British forces from the whole of Egypt was the necessary prologue to the removal of these bonds. He went on: "The late Dr. Ahmed Maher mentioned on the day of his assassination that Egypt was declaring war on the two Axis nations to demonstrate her actual position internationally in order to participate in the international conferences which would take place after the war and in order to realize with that participation her complete independence and sovereignty."²

The death of Ahmed Maher had convinced the government to follow his decision to declare the war on the Axis in order to become a United Nation's member, and governments had supported this motion.³

Noqrashi had seen fit to follow a policy of "... amiability with the British Foreign Office in view of England's present delicate situation."⁴ This policy was seen by some to be excessive and therefore harmful to Egypt's case.

It was expected that the English newspapers and the English politicians take note of this path taken by the Egyptian Prime Minister and answer in a similar way. But according to Haykal the article written by The Times, which was renowned for its fairness, rather dampened the atmosphere since it criticized Egypt's demands. He was wondering whether The Times was really reflecting the British government's attitude, or whether it was just expressing an unclear policy.⁵

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

Haykal was also indignant because The Times had mentioned Egypt's inability to defend herself or the Suez Canal. He said that this was a fairy tale which the politicians had toyed with during the war and when the war was over it became part of the legendary lore:-

"Egyptians do not understand matters in this way. They are aware that antique politics no longer have a place in existence, and that tomorrow is not yesterday. They think that the Labour government takes into consideration what they do. As for The Times article and whatever resembles it, it can not be the prologue to a stable peace and cannot possibly encourage the building of a world dominated by peace."¹

al-Muṣawwar, the same week, asked Egyptian politicians how ranks could be brought together. Haykal said this could only be done "By treatment of the present situation alone." Then he explained how Egypt was in the strongest need for the unity of speech and closing of ranks to face the present national position and "all equally feel the obligation of judicious work in taking steps until our goals are realized."²

Then he spoke of Egypt and the Sudan within the boundaries of the United Nations Charter and said: "When we call for unity we call for it for the benefit of the homeland and for the realization of its high aims..... and for unity to be possible and productive, it is necessary for the goal to be the treatment of the present political situation and not to go beyond this goal, so that views do not differ and excuses result and it becomes difficult to get opinions to meet and ranks to unite."³

¹ Ibid.

² "Ba'd bayān al-Noqrashī - kayfa yataḥaqq tawḥīd al-ṣufūf," in al-Muṣawwar, January 10, 1946.

³ Ibid.

The British government answered the Egyptian memorandum on January 26th,¹ 1946. It said, in brief, ".... we declare ourselves willing to undertake a review of the Treaty arrangements in the light of mutual experience and with due regard to the new Charter of the United Nations."² Instructions to the British Ambassador would follow to hold preliminary conversations to that end.

As a result of the memorandum and the British response to it, Egyptian public opinion became stirred. Riots broke out all over the country at the beginning of February and university students were among those rioting and they were beaten by the police.³

Noqrashi consequently handed in the resignation of his cabinet on February 15th. And on February 17th, Ismail Sidqi Pasha, the "Strong Man of Egypt," as the British called him, formed a new cabinet.⁴

Sidqi did not forbid strikes, because he had seen that Noqrashi's attempt to prevent them had produced a very violent response. He therefore allowed these on condition that they were peaceful demonstrations, i.e. that they remained controlled and that no violence broke out. Yet violence did break out on February 21st, which came to be known as Evacuation Day,⁵ and there were (23) dead and (121) wounded. In Alexandria, on March 4th, rioters became incensed on seeing a British flag on a hotel and tried to tear it down. Further bloodshed resulted and two British soldiers were killed. March 4th came to be known as Martyrs' Day.⁶

¹ al-Ahrām, January 28, 1946.

² al-Ahrām, January 28, 1946.

³ al-Ahrām, February 10, 11, 1946.

⁴ al-Ahrām, February 17, 1946.

⁵ al-Ahrām, February 22, 1946.

⁶ al-Ahrām, March 5, 1946.

Lampson, the British Ambassador received news that he was to be transferred from Egypt to South East Asia on February 4th.¹

At the end of April 1946, Haykal wrote an article entitled "al-ʿĀlam bayn al-ghad wa siyāsāt al-salam," or the world between tomorrow and the policy of peace, in which he said that the war had ended the previous September (1945), and that the foreign ministers of those five states which had been distinguished by the United Nations Charter over other nations had met, after which the Security Council had met in London, and it was currently meeting in America. All these preparations, Haykal explained, aimed at finding a new system for the world after the destruction that had taken place.

He then mentioned that the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Russia wished for France and China to have the same privileges as had their three states and on these basis, there had been difficulty in interpreting the Treaty of Potsdam between the three great states.

Then Haykal mentioned other conflicts - the U.S. and the United Kingdom vis-a-vis Russia and Iran, and the Polish accusations to the Security Council and the differences of opinion in the Security Council. He wrote that the following week Foreign Ministers would be meeting in Paris to discuss the Peace Treaty with Italy.

"What is the meaning of all this," he asks "and what are the causes for it?" "Does it mean that the states which emerged victorious from the war are today fighting over the division of the spoils; and that these differences may lead to a new war? This (thought) is occurring to some people."²

¹Trefor Evans (ed.), op.cit., p. 372.

²Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-ʿĀlam bayn siyāsāt al-ghad wa siyāsāt al-salām," in al-Siyāsah al-Usbūʿiyah, April 27, 1946.

He then stated that those who held opinions saw that this was not so, because people did not rush into a war (blindly) and they were now very careful not to be led into another war which would once more bring destruction.

"But how," he goes on, "do these differences arise, then? How does this revolt reach the point where the pessimists fear the loss of human sanity once more?" "The reason," he answers, "in my opinion is clear. Many continue to think today as they used to in 1938 and in 1939 and they, despite the United Nations Charter and the establishment of the International Court of Justice, still do not estimate human superiority in the same way as Roosevelt did, and was joined (in this) by Churchill and Stalin. This means that the confidence of politicians in regard to the possibilities of the nations attaining to world peace is still weak. For that reason, the politicians do not want to be liberated from this outdated way of thinking in order to face the new system with the abundant courage and intrepidity required in any person honestly wishing to build the foundations for that new system."¹

"But nevertheless the politicians who are treating the situations in the world today are excusable. They are the politicians of yesterday; the politicians of that world that dashed into the furnace of war for six years which left it in the chasms of destruction and which became exposed to the most tangible calamities..... But the world today is moving on its way to solidarity for the good of all its sons. So if these politicians continue to think in this outdated way they will not be joined by those people who are thirsty for the meaning of justice, fraternity and peace, and they will look for politicians whose faith in the new system will be a guarantee of success."

¹ Ibid.

"For that reason I will not fly off with those who are flying off. All I wish is that people do not fly off and that they be patient with those politicians because soon these politicians will see that the world has changed in essence and they will see themselves forced to flow with change..... and they will work to precede others in order to be leaders in the world of peace, just as they had been leaders in the world of war."¹

On May 7th, 1946, the British Embassy issued a statement declaring that the British government wished to strengthen its relations with Egypt on a basis of equality. On these basis, the negotiations started in a very relaxed atmosphere.²

The next day, the Senate swore in new members and Haykal as its President welcomed these, and thanked those who had terminated their period of office. He also spoke of the great duty of the Senate in the pursuit of democracy.³

The beginning of May was also the time when Egypt celebrated Farouq's accession to the throne and, accordingly, newspapers and magazines were full of congratulations and laudatory articles. Haykal himself wrote an article for al-Muṣawwar entitled "Malik sa'īd al-ṭāli'" or a King with a happy rising star. In it he described his first meeting with the King on July 29th, 1937, when the King having attained his majority became constitutional King of Egypt. The members of Parliament had gone to 'Abdīn Palace, in their formal "tashrīfah" to congratulate him. Haykal then recounted how, on the morrow of the day he first became minister in December 1937, and he with the members of Mohammed Mahmoud's ministry, had gone to pray with the King.

¹ Ibid.

² al-Ahrām, May 8, 1946.

³ "Fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh: kalimat Ra'is al-majlis fī iftitāh al-majlis," in al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, May 9, 1946.

Haykal then wrote that ever since Farouq had become King in 1936, he had brought Egypt luck, because in 1936 the treaty with England had been signed, and then in June 1937 the Montreux Convention had been signed, and how Egypt had managed to remain unscathed throughout the war.

Haykal concluded that a lot had been accomplished in the ten years of Farouq's reign. "God grant him longevity and make him happy with Egypt and make Egypt happy with him!"¹

On July 4th, 1946, the British flag was hauled down from its pole in the Cairo citadel, where it had flown since 1882. The event was given its due note and the King himself hoisted the Egyptian flag.² Meanwhile the negotiations were continuing and Haykal was interviewed by Akhbār al-Yawm on the subject of the Sudan.

He responded by saying that he was a member of the committee in the negotiations and that it was not up to him to make statements or declarations:-

"We will discuss the evacuation and the unity of the Nile Valley."³ He added he was strongly confident that the question of the Sudan would be solved.⁴

Yet despite the negotiations, Egypt's internal situation as regards government lacked cohesion. Sidqi was not really a party leader and the other party men tended to disagree. As a result at the end of September, Sidqi handed in his resignation because attempts had been made throughout the month to establish a coalition ministry-but these were unsuccessful.⁵

¹ Mohamed Husayn Haykal "Malik sa'īd al-ṭāli'," in al-Muṣawwar, May 10, 1946.

² al-Ahrām, July 5, 1946.

³ "al-Sūdān fī'l-ufāwāḍāt," in Akhbār al-Yawm, July 6, 1946.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ al-Ahrām, September - October 1946.

The King thereupon ordered his uncle Sherif Sabri Pasha to form a coalition ministry and see if he could get the parties to agree¹; but again attempts failed and Sidqi had to withdraw his resignation until a substitute for him could be found.²

At the end of October, Haykal made a speech at the United Nations Organization, where he objected strongly to the domination of countries by foreign forces against their will. This was at a conference in the U.S. at Flushing Meadows.

He asked that the organization refuse to agree to the position maintained by countries which kept their armed forces in independent nations against the will of their peoples.

He said that the United Nations could not do its duty unless there was understanding and agreement between the great powers. The U.N. should at least arbitrate between the large and small nations - not only for the sake of peace, but in the interests of international justice. He added that the United Nations Charter had inaugurated a new era.

Haykal also maintained that the U.N. was the first step towards a world government and an international parliament, the idea of which had started to take shape and he pointed out that the compliance to the convention and to international law had to prevent any state from placing itself above the law, either by the right of veto or by any other similar means. Thereupon Haykal asked that from that day the right to veto be gradually reduced.

He also commented on the necessity for the presence of international forces belonging to the United Nations and said:

¹ al-Ahrām, October 1, 1946.

² al-Ahrām, October 2, 1946.

"The absence of international forces belonging to the United Nations is considered by Egypt and small nations a sorry matter, because it is taken as the pretence of a vacuum requiring to be filled, either by way of alliances or by way of military occupation-which contradicts the spirit of the United Nations. This vacuum allows the chance for old antagonisms to reappear..."¹ Haykal also expressed the hope that the Trustee Council be formed as soon as possible.

Then he mentioned the refugee problem and said that these should be allowed to return to the countries they had fled from, and that their presence should not be imposed on sovereign states, nor should they be forced on an unwilling people. Haykal after this passing reference to the Palestine issue, concluded his statement by saying: "Has the time not come for the General Assembly to call on the Security Council to appoint a fixed time for the committee of military heads to present practical suggestions aiming at quickly establishing armed forces responsible to the United Nations Organization."²

Haykal had written a letter to Akhbār al-Yawn more than a week before he made the above speech and in this he had declared that the Arab states had agreed as to who would represent them in the Security Council, the Economic Council, when Lebanon showed her intent to remain in it and had asked the Egyptian government.... "We agreed that our principle aim should be the unity of the Arab League states and the strength of her front and her agreement on all questions. For that reason we agreed on presenting the candidacy of Syria for the Security Council, that of Lebanon for the Economic Council and that of Iraq for the Trustee

¹"Haykal Bāshā yaḥtaj fī Hay'at al-'Umam al-Muttaḥidah," in al-Miṣrī, October 29, 1946.

²Ibid.

Council and the other delegations for the Arab states were told of this." He went on: "Let the Allies of the Arab League and her supporters put their minds at rest because this league knows her position and strength on the international scene and she will not do anything to weaken this strength nor will anything be worth giving up this position for."¹

On November 15th, Egypt again celebrated yawn al-jihād, and each party leader including Haykal, made speeches.

He apologized for not making a long speech and said: "At the beginning of my speech I wish to deny to your excellencies what was reported in certain newspapers - the allegation that I have come for one purpose or another."² He added that the question of Premiership was a question to be left to the Supreme Head of state, God preserve him.

He went on to say: "Experience has taught me throughout the years that when a man intends to serve his country he finds the field for this service very spacious and large. Those who think that serving one's country is restricted to official service are making a vast and ghastly mistake - although I am not saying this out of resentment or annoyance - but I am saying it to deny what has been attributed to me."

He then spoke of the jihād and the cause for celebration ... "Struggle is one of the signs of life and any living thing which does not struggle is condemned to annihilation. To be free one has to struggle for freedom."³ He pointed out man's right to determine his own future and particularly Egypt after World War I. He also mentioned how the politicians of Arab states got

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Arḍ al-qāḍiyah 'alā'l-'Umam al-Muttaḥidah," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, October 19, 1946.

² "Kalimat Haykal Bāshā fī iḥṭafāl al-aḥzāb bi'īd al-jihād," in al-Ahrām, November 15, 1946.

³ Ibid.

together when there was a problem facing their homelands. He then reminded his listeners how Churchill, as a Prime Minister, had shared all his decisions with Attlee - particularly on the question of the war. He went on to describe how, when the Labour Party had won the elections, Attlee then as Prime Minister consulted with Churchill, and Churchill had refused, and that this was one of Churchill's mistakes.... "For that reason," he went on, "I wished that we should differ and argue over issues dealing with our internal affairs, so that if whoever was given the order by the King should ask his foes to cooperate over a national problem it would be their duty to, or else they are in error."¹ He then said that after World War I when Egypt had demanded her freedom the Egyptians were able to unite their ranks, and to forget their differences.

World War II had left a troubled atmosphere which lingered, continued Haykal, but he had in the few days he had stayed in America become highly optimistic with this newly born Charter of the United Nations. He said that Haiti, which had been a French dominion, was represented by a man honoured and respected. He was a negro "and you know that the whites consider coloured people lower in standing to them..."²

He spoke of the influence of Great Britain in winning the maximum amount of votes and said that this was not true, because similarly many nations to Russia and yet had objected to certain of Russia's stances that they had disapproved.

"For that reason," he goes on, "I say that war finally brought forth a new image of world cooperation and it is not strange after what mankind witnessed of catastrophes, calamities and

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

destruction inconceivable to the mind, and what it anticipates of destructive inventions over and above the atomic bomb...."¹ Haykal then referred to bacterial bombs, poisonous gases, etc.....

He continued, "I am telling you this is what Abdel Aziz Fahmy said 'give them whatever strength you can' - and the strength of this era is learning, and if I say learning do not think it is mechanical learning. No! It is the study of the human mind and the way to rise from the position and the domains of deficiency to those of superiority.... "²

"As for these principles, they are calling for equality between nations, and the absence of discrimination between races. If they are merely words meant to bluff the small nations, I am foretelling to those who are fooling (them) that they shall be caught in a worse war than the war they are in the process of forgetting."³ Haykal concluded by saying that he was optimistic since hearts were united around the bearer of the throne of this country and all knew how he loved this country....⁴

Two weeks later, seven of the members of the delegation for the negotiations made a statement regarding their position concerning the new project for the treaty - declaring that they did not accept it. The next day the delegation was dissolved by royal decree.⁵

In December, Haykal made a very long speech on the Liberal Constitutionalists national aims at the Liberal Constitutional Party club. In his address, he said that at the United Nations conference, Egypt had been a member of the Security Council and

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ al-Ahrām, November 26 - 27, 1946.

Egypt's membership in the Arab League and her cooperation with its members should help determine and design Egypt's political future.

He went to say that if the new situation was unstable, and international relations as well were unpredictable, the future would show more stability. The United States, he continued, had decided to come out of its isolation regularizing its relations with other nations. Nations which had been subject to others were working on ridding themselves of domination. England also had cast away the old colonial idea and had started to work in a way she believed would be more suited to her welfare. As for nations that had been subject to others, these were working on ridding themselves of all that affected their independence and sovereignty. That was what Egypt was doing now to bring about the evacuation and the unity of the Nile Valley, ridding herself of the bonds which had been imposed by the recent past on her international relations, and trying to replace the 1936 Treaty by another.

Then he spoke of present attempts to agree on a new treaty and said he was sure that it was sometimes said that this Egyptian or that wished to accept or reject a treaty for a reason not related to the welfare of the country, "but was received with loathing and contempt because a true patriot cared for nothing other than the elevation of his country and its freedom."¹

Haykal then returned to the treaty of 1936 and described how he had been of those opposed to it in Parliament when it had been presented that November.

¹"Khitab al-Duktur Husayn Haykal Bāshā fī'l-ahdāf al-qawmiyah wa'ittigāhāt al-Dustūriyīn," in al-Ahrām, December 6, 1946.

He went on to review the circumstances of World War II, followed by Egypt's admission to the United Nations.

Then Haykal spoke of the evacuation and the unity of the Nile Valley and how the negotiations had started last April and had crossed many levels ending in the departure of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs for London and their return with the Bevin - Sidqi Plan.

Haykal said that his party had examined the plan and had agreed to the project after the addition of a clause or two. He said that the party had agreed to the treaty after lengthy deliberations on the world situation and the present circumstances and with a careful appreciation of Egypt's political future and what it should be.¹

After a long description and evaluation of the present position Haykal said he was confident that soon the unity of Egypt and the Sudan would be realized and that Egypt would be happy to prepare the means to this as speedily as possible and for that reason she was ready to help the people of Sudan in cultural, economic and social affairs in all possible ways. This aid was the best means to enable the Sudanese to reach self government, and Egypt wanted to help because the sooner the Sudanese achieved self government the surer and more attainable was real unity between the two countries.

Haykal concluded: "I hope you see from what I have presented, my extreme caution... and for that reason I saw it necessary to add the clauses I mentioned to you, and of which I had previously informed the Egyptian government. That, in my opinion, is the best illustration of our political future...."²

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

He went on: "The treaty which it is desired to be concluded between Egypt and England, in the way I have presented to you, contains some of these questions. This treaty, which was signed by both governments, will be presented to Parliament to express its opinion about it"¹

Abdel al-Rahman al-Rafi'ī answered Haykal's speech two days later, saying that the speech had preceeded the presentation of the treaty in the Senate and was premature.²

Two days after Haykal's speech Sidqi tendered his resignation and the King again started his consultations on the formation of a new ministry. Mahmoud Fahmy al-Noqrashi once again became Prime Minister and assumed his responsibilities on December 9th, 1946.

¹"Mulāḥazāt 'alā khutbat al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, December 7, 1946.

- (b) Haykal and the Presidency of the Senate
December 1946 - December 28, 1948.

A week later, on December 14th, Haykal again analysed the situation in an article published in al-Siyāsah al-Usb'iyah, and wrote that he had not read Makram Ebeid's views concerning the Bevin - Sidqi talks. Haykal had heard that Makram had read and prepared the objections to the treaty without suggesting an alternative solution.

"If that is true," wrote Haykal, "and Makram Pasha has not presented himself with any new suggestions - except for example breaking off the negotiations - this is an extremely sorry state of affairs. It is not enough that a person says that that which is presented does not appeal to him; indeed it is the duty of the politician who truly wants good that he should describe that good as he sees it, and to show the way to reach it."¹

Further on in his article he states:...."I do hope that if Makram Pasha has suggested a practical solution for the present situation that we hear that suggestion in the statement that the government will make ... we are in need of operative solutions at the present time. As for the expression of words and phrases they are not sufficient nor will they get us any place."²

During the last week of January 1947, one of the reporters in al-Muṣawwar, who called herself 'the beautiful spy' (al-jāsūṣah al-ḥasnā') reported that Haykal had succeeded in forming a national front inside the Chamber over which he presided, and that his relations with the Wafd leaders who were in the Senate

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Mawqif al-siyāsī al-ḥādīr wa ḥāḡat al-bilād fīhā ilā al-juhūd al-'amaliyah," in al-Siyāsah al-Usbū'iyah, December 14, 1946.

² Ibid.

were excellent. Furthermore, that it was said that he was the point of junction if a change from the present system to a new system was desired, or if the formation of a national front was necessary to face England in the United Nations Organization - because of Haykal's good relations and his reservations.¹

In March, Haykal gave a lecture at the invitation of the French University Graduates Association on 'Freedom of opinion and collective Freedom'.

He told his audience, how (48) years earlier (in 1899), al-Mū'ayyad - the boldest, as well as the strongest and most widely read newspaper - started to publish the series which was later to be Qassem Amin's Tahrir al-Mar'āh. This was a small book but full of ideas which were considered near heretical. People considered it the message of a revolutionary aiming to disrupt society etc., and Qassem Amin was treated as an outcast. The fact was that the French considered Muslim women as backward and Qassem Amin had really written the book to defend Islam. Now, Amin's book had become accepted.

Haykal explained that he had "presented this example to illustrate the fact that an opinion which we regard as current may at other times have been fought very intensely. If that opinion does finally become accepted people may believe that it came about without struggle or sacrifices...." ²

He mentioned scientists who had to fight (to establish) that the earth was round, and also prophets and reformers, who had fought people by the use of reason, not by the use of force

¹"Ala mas'ūliyat al-jāsūrah al-ḥasnā'," in al-Muṣawwar, January 24, 1947.

²Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Hurriyat al-rā'y wa hurriyat al-jamā'ah," in al-Siyārah al-Uṣbū'iyah, March 15, 1947.

and fanaticism, and that was why life had developed. War came and weakened man's will. "Man's strength lies in his faith in an opinion; if people see a man imprisoned or tortured for his faith they will more likely believe in him than if he is shaky in his beliefs."¹

Further on, Haykal mentioned Quraysh and said that the tribe had only fought Mohammed because he represented a threat to them. Therefore, it was not truth which caused.... wars but human interests and desires.....

"I do not wish to talk of the present time but you know that each power is fighting the other out of fear of the other's growing power."²

"Presently we may find ourselves in the Atomic Age and God only knows what may occur from then on. That implies expansion and we are also moving in our lives from one level to another and this sort of life must breed differences in opinion and tolerance when differences in opinion occur....."

"... Tribes in the past used to keep together and form a unity within themselves. Then life became city oriented then nation oriented and we are crossing this stage - the stage of the life of a nation in its narrow range - to a life larger in scope. We are in a world which is tied to itself at every moment....."³

"If we can let tolerance be the basis of communal life we will doubtless reach the highest levels of humanity, just as each nation can move fast to the highest level of civilisation which it can reach although we still need to make an effort to enable our civilization to rise and we need to

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

imprint it with our own mark. It is unfortunate that we still need to borrow and imitate both in our sciences and our arts....."

"But if the people of this nation cooperate to render what they have borrowed pure and they exchange opinions between themselves they will be able to form a strong unity that will affect the world."¹

In the third week of March, Egypt celebrated the hoisting of the Egyptian flag on the military barracks of Qasr al-Nil. This meant the end of the British occupation of areas around Cairo in accordance with the plan for a gradual evacuation of troops from Egypt.²

On April 6th, Haykal as President of the Egyptian Parliamentary Group wrote a paper on the occasion of the Conference of the International Union of Parliaments which was to start in Cairo the next day. This paper was to be distributed in three languages - Arabic, French and English.

Haykal's opening statement dealt with Egypt's geographic position which was strategic and was the point of contact of all the world's continents, in the past and in the present. This position had also enabled Egypt to borrow from cultures all over the world and to stamp what she borrowed with her own individual leanings - towards liberty - in all fields of life, economic, political etc.

He then recalled to the minds of his readers Egypt's past as part of the Ottoman empire and the impact of the French revolution. Then he referred to the university missions of the

¹ Ibid.

² al Raf'i, A., op.cit., Vol.III, p. 219.

nineteenth century and the foundation of the Egyptian Universities. He also spoke about the history of Alexandria.

He said that ultimately Egypt's private stamp had its influence on the leanings of the Egyptian people and the direction these took. The Egyptian people were democratic by nature and loved freedom because of their religious beliefs - whether these were Christian or Muslim.

Haykal went on to say that he had to correct what was said to the effect that the Egyptian people were divided into classes - the Pasha class and the class to which belonged the poor fellahin. He said that this illustration was far from true since it gave the impression that the Pasha class was an excellent class and that they passed their titles and prestige to their sons and that the eldest received the family fortune. In reality it was an honorific title bestowed by the King of Egypt on ministers and famous writers and those who rendered a great public service, or who gave their wealth for the common welfare.

It was true that the labouring classes were poor and that their level of existence had to be improved. For that reason, the government was presently working to raise that level - but this poverty was not caused by the Pasha class, but by Egypt's recent history and because the government had been for a long time in hands other than Egyptian. This had prevented Egypt from giving industry sufficient importance and had made Egypt before and during World War I a field for opportunists.

Haykal added that another obstacle which had stood in Egypt's way was the Capitulations, which had prevented the Egyptian government from imposing the necessary taxes to improve general utilities.

Egypt had gone from colony to protectorate and then it had successively freed itself and was now a member of the United Nations. Yet it was still struggling to ensure the complete evacuation of British forces.

Haykal also recounted how Egypt had participated in the second session of the United Nations General Assembly as a member of its Security Council on the first year of its convening, and as a defender of its principles and aims. These were declared in the United Nations Charter and they stated that peace and stability had to exist in the world and these could only be realized if people of different races, colour and language got together and made world peace the aim of this cooperation.

In his conclusion Haykal stated that the conference would end after research and discussion on the means of improving of living conditions in the world.

His closing statement was that Egypt's motto had always been "Democracy and Freedom and Peace."¹

The following day saw the inauguration of the Parliamentary Conference and Haykal made a long speech which dealt with the United Nations and the use of Parliamentary Unions. Haykal also spoke of world War II and said: "The last world war was none other than the rise of dictatorship which had destroyed basic parliamentary rights But parliaments have duties just as they have rights. The first absolute requirement is that they rid themselves of ambitious aims, and rise with the spirit of justice..... if we wish for the world a lasting peace and guaranteed good living conditions, it is up to us to become determined and to examine our consciences and our actions....

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Miṣr al-yawm," in al-Ahrām, April 6, 1947.

paving the way with this exam of stability, truth, justice and the law."

"Let us be determined that we will not run away from responsibilities in the most critical hours, and let us always keep in mind that we are not merely "the actors" for our people only - indeed we are the responsible leaders."

Further on Haykal said:-.....

"And I also see that it is necessary that economic relations occupy an important centre of our schedule. World resources are sufficient if they are equally distributed among the people and if we do not look during their distribution in the same way as does the merchant and the economist. Indeed (we should have) the attitude of partners - if we cannot regard them with the look of brotherhood. People have suffered greatly - during the last war and after it - from hunger, bitterness and deprivation. It is up to us in this situation not to allow the burning of crops in the furnaces of trains for no other reason than that their prices have gone down....."¹

Egypt's case was presented before the United Nations Security Council during August and September of that year. Haykal himself did not make any speeches, nor did he write any articles before October when he went to the United Nations. He spoke there on the freedom of the press and the Egyptian Constitution and the struggle between nations.

Haykal also spoke of the Russian proposal to prevent war propaganda. He said that all means should be undertaken to prevent a new outbreak of war. The United Nations had been created with these intentions.

¹"Khiṭāb Haykal Bāshā fī'l-Mū'tamar al-Barlamānī," in al-Ahrām, April 8, 1947.

He also explained that public opinion in Egypt could not agree to controlling the news or keeping up a censorship on newspapers, and for that reason it was impossible to alter the Egyptian Constitution to make this possible; so our agreement to fight a propaganda war cannot be considered an agreement to establish a supervision over the press.

He goes on: "..... Is the press, the radio or the cinema really to blame? No! I do not believe that; this question like other questions.... is only an illustration of the various irregularities in the principles of the Charter, just as they appear clearly in the discussion of this committee and in the General Assembly of this Organization."¹

"The great powers with their contradictory policies have brought us to this position, which will not be resolved by agreeing to a suggestion presented to this committee or to the General Assembly of the Organization."²

Haykal also said that although a great many suggestions had been made concerning weapons control and the atomic bomb, there had been talks in the context of the peace treaty with Germany and that the Soviet Union had refused to participate in them. Moreover, that there were still foreign forces which were intent on staying in peace loving states, states which were members of this Organization - despite the fact that their presence there was a threat to international peace and security.

"So what," he asked, "is the meaning of all this? It means that the spirit which dominated during the war, the spirit of friendship and cooperation has completely disappeared these days. We should all know that without this spirit, this United

¹"Haykal Bāshā yatahaḍath fī Hay'at al-Umam 'an ḥurriyat al-ṣaḥāfah wa'l-dustūr al-Miṣrī wa'l ṣirā' bayn al-duwal," in al-Asās, October 27, 1947.

²Ibid.

Nations Organization will have neither reason nor duration..."¹

"So if we have to fight against war propaganda, and overcome all these obstacles which are obstructing our way, we have to first treat this spirit of opposition and enmity which is presently dominating existing relations between opposing blocks....."²

In November the weekly magazine Ākhir Sā'ah in a column entitled "Jawlah hawlah al-dawlah" mentioned that Noqrashi was nearing retirement age because he was approaching (60). The question was who was to take his place as head of the Hay'ah al-Sa'diyah, 'Abdel Meguid Badr Pasha or Haykal Pasha. Then the column mentioned the Palestine question, and quoted Haykal as saying that despair had won over hope in the successful outcome of the case.³

On November 19th, a very long speech of Haykal's, which he had made at the United Nations Conference at Lake Success, was published in al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn.

His speech mentioned that proposals had been made by various members of the U.N. to cancel the right to appeal a case. He wanted to know, on behalf of the Egyptian delegation, if it was possible to undertake such a step. He reminded the delegates that any ratification required the agreement of all permanent members to the United Nations.

After a long diatribe in which he talked about the right to appeal, and the United Nations Charter and its by-laws,

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ "Jawlah hawlah al-dawlah," in Ākhir Sā'ah, November 12, 1947.

Haykal then said "..... the Security Council will remain unable to show its power; and if the right to appeal is cancelled that goes to show that the questions that often call for the use of that right, those for which one does not try to use it, prove to us the ineffectiveness of the Security Council. Among these is the maintenance of foreign forces in a friendly country during peace time - that alone is proof that the U.N. Charter is not acted upon and that our organization has not legally worked on performing its duties in real terms."¹

He also said that during the first year of its existence the Security Council had problems involving Iran, Syria, Greece, Lebanon, Indonesia and Spain. The only problem which had not been caused by the presence of foreign forces in their territories was the Spanish question.

"..... And we see before thinking of altering the Charter," he said further on, " that it is up to us to undertake the necessary steps to ensure it is being executed in its present form.... If all the members do not cooperate in forming the international force..... the existence of the Security Council will only start to exist (in reality) the day this force is established, whether the right to appeal continues to exist or is cancelled....."

"For these reasons, the Egyptian delegation considers that any attempt to alter the Charter is premature....."

"The Egyptian delegation sees it as its duty to refrain from (any) propositions and considers that the present time is

¹"Qaḍiyat Wādī'1-Nīl wa'1-taḥakkum al-dawlī, Khuṭbah khatīrah li'1-Duktūr Husayn Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, November 19, 1947.

inappropriate and it is ridiculous to discuss questions which it is impossible to find a solution for."¹

On December 9th, al- Asās gave an account of an interview with Haykal in which he spoke of the Arab struggle and the cases of Egypt and Palestine. He told the reporters that the session had lasted from September 16th until November 29th and that there was no way to solve this division of Palestine. He said that this was because the two major purposes of the major powers, the Soviet and the United States, differed in ideology. America was for individual freedom and saw a threat and saw in the communist system an enemy which was to be removed.

The journalists asked Haykal to tell them about the Egyptian question, and his answer was "The Egyptian question is a question in the hands of the government and it was the government which presented it to the Security Council." He went on: "I did not have the fortune to meet the head of the government after it was presented before the Assembly, as I left (travelled) before he arrived, and the question remained suspended in the Security Council and its mention is not possible by rule of the Charter. I saw it was preferable to leave the question in the hands of those who carried its responsibility from the first moment."¹

Then Haykal commented on the question of Palestine saying: "It is actually a very complex story. England announced the Balfour Declaration to form what is known as a communal homeland in Palestine for the Jews. The Jews moved on to make demands and America came into the picture and supported them..."

¹"al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā yataḥaddath ‘an jihād al-‘Arab fī Laīk Sāksis," in al- Asās, December 8, 1947.

"Until last Friday 26th November there were no more than one third of the votes required to enforce the decision to divide Palestine."¹

He went on to say that by December 9th, a decision was expected.²

Haykal made a speech to the Liberal Constitutional Youth that same day, and told them that Egypt and the Arab lands were facing an impending danger in the present. He said: ".... The division of Palestine does not mean the undergoing of a small operation to a member of the Arab countries. It means the injecting into the body of all the Arab countries all the poisons..... and all the degenerating killing diseases..."³

"For the sake of the unity of the Arab lands and for the sake of their remaining Arab to the end, we will not cease (our) efforts and we will not hesitate to exert everything for that purpose."⁴

A week after he made the above speech Haykal spoke again in the Liberal Constitutional Club and again emphasized the differences that had arisen between both blocks Western and Eastern. He also reminded his listeners that America had accepted the division of Palestine.

He also predicted that the result of what the politicians did concerning the Palestine issue was going to last for several generations.⁵

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ "Khiṭāb li' Sa'ādat Haykal Bāshā fī ijtimā' shubān al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyīn," in al-Asās, December 8, 1947.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Khiṭāb siyāsī li'l-Duktūr Haykal fī Nādī al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyīn," in al-Ahrām, December 15, 1947.

Ākhir Sā'ah on January 7th, 1948, mentioned that there was an attempt of rapprochement between the parties. It reported that Noqrashi had asked to meet the King, and that there were rumour that the ministry would fall and that a new ministry would take its place. As a result, some Liberal Constitutionalists believed this and said that it was trying to compromise with the Wafd. Thereupon, one of them, 'Abdel Galīl Abū Samrā Pāshā, a former Minister of Social Affairs, contacted Nahhas and told him that he and sixty deputies from the Liberal Constitutional Party were with him to try to persuade Nahhas that Haykal become Prime Minister instead of Noqrashi, and that if that happened, it would bring the deputies closer together in which case it would be easy to form a national front on the lines of that of 1936. This front would be able to contract a new treaty. But if that was not possible, Abū Samrā and the sixty deputies would place themselves at the disposal of any one who would change the present system - whoever that person may be.¹

About a week later, the Liberal Constitutional Party members celebrated the five year anniversary of Haykal's presidency of the party. Haykal thanked them and said he was delighted that some of those present went back as far as 1922, "..... and we promised God and the nation to work for truth and liberty. We struggled for that aim for a long time. And those who passed away did so... and our wills have not weakened in intent. We were together since 1922 until the present always faithful that mankind with the totality of individuals had rights which were undeniable and could not be overlooked..."²

"Gentlemen, the Liberal Constitutional Party was formed in 1922, and the editors of al-Siyāsah were arraigned several

¹"al-Taqrīb bayn al-aḥzāb," in Ākhir Sā'ah, January 7, 1948.

²"al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyīn yukarrimūn ra'īsahum li'munāsabat murūr khams sanawāt 'alā riyāsatihi," in al-Asās, January 12, 1948.

times, eight times or more, in front of justice because they defended freedom and fought tyranny and among those sitting here are men who stood side by side with the al-Siyāṣah editors, and apart from those there are others who passed away and others who represented us in far away lands; they all stood in defense of freedom and justice...."

"That was the belief upon which the Liberal Constitutional party was formed and it is the belief which all the organizations would struggle for, and for that reason we hold on to it. And if we closed our eyes to it we would close our eyes to our existence."¹

During that time the judicial authorities were investigating the case of the assassination of a former Wafd minister who had been in cahoots with the British and who had played a role in the events of February 4th, 1942; that minister was Amīn Osmān. Haykal was one of the witnesses who was called upon to testify.

Haykal was asked if he remembered anything concerning the assassination of Amīn Osmān.

He answered that during the latter's funeral, mob pressure on him had been great and that had forced him and Sirry Pasha to step out of the funeral procession and by coincidence the British Ambassador as well had gone out at the same time and he had told Sirry and Haykal that it was a shame that friends of Britain such as Amīn Osmān Pasha should be killed so murderously.

Haykal was asked about Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha's meeting with the British Ambassador just before the former had resigned his Premiership. Haykal answered: "Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha told me

¹ Ibid.

before he died that the English had had a lot of demands, and he had said that the Egyptian government was the possessor of the right (ṣāhibat al-rā'y) in its (her) position according to the 1936 Treaty."¹

Then Haykal was questioned about the events of February 4th, 1942. He answered that he had been in the Palace that day. He was then asked if he could mention the reasons for the incidents of that day, and he answered: "When the ministry of Sirry Pasha, resigned, His Majesty's intent (itijāh) was to form a national ministry presided by Nahhas Pasha, and His Majesty offered this to Nahhas on February 3rd, 1942, and Nahhas excused himself and asked for a ministry made of his party alone, and I learnt of this when I was honoured to meet the King that same day after Nahhas Pasha and the late Ahmed Maher Pasha. And in the evening it reached me that the English were determined to give the ministry to Nahhas Pasha, and on February 4th I learnt of their sending a warning to that effect. We were invited to go to Abdīn Palace at three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, and the late lamented Ahmed Hasanayn Pasha read to us a royal message in the presence of His Majesty the King in which there was the text of the warning and it said: " Unless I hear by 6 p.m. today that Nahhas* Pasha has been asked to form a government, His Majesty King Farouq* must accept the consequences." We were asked by His Majesty to look at that order and we discussed it until 6 o'clock and we agreed that it was not the right of the British Ambassador nor that of the British state to direct such an order, and that directing it was contradictory to Egypt's independence and we withdrew. At about 9 o'clock we were again invited to the Palace which was surrounded by British tanks and this news was spread around in Cairo. His Majesty came and told us to forget what had happened and asked Nahhas to form the ministry,

¹ "Samā' shahādat Haykal Bāshā - fī qaḍiyat al-ighṭiyālāt," in al-Asās, January 15, 1948.

* Spelt Nahas in the text.

* Spelt Farouk in the text.

and asked him to go to the Ambassador and tell him this."¹

Haykal was asked if the Ambassador had asked before that Nahhas form a ministry...? Upon the resignation of Ali Maher, had the British Ambassador intervened and asked that the ministry be given to Nahhas?

"What I know is that the Palace and more clearly 'Abdel Wahāb Tal'at Pasha (Deputy Head of the Royal Cabinet) summoned the leaders and travelled to Kafr 'Ashema and spoke with Nahhas Pasha executing His Majesty the King's wishes. As for the interference of the British Embassy it was involved in the removal from office of Ali Maher Pasha."²

Then Haykal was asked if any one of the Palace men had anything to do with what the British had plotted. Haykal answered that he had been with the late Hasanayn Pasha when the British Ambassador had called to say that he had heard that Sirry was resigning from office and he asked that the Embassy be consulted with on the formation of a new ministry. Hasanayn Pasha assured him that the new ministry would not be in opposition of the British. The Ambassador repeated his phrase three times that they should agree with him on the formation of the ministry: "As for one of the Palace men being involved with the plotting of February 4th that is something I cannot imagine."³

He answered most of the questions he was asked after that by saying he did not remember-except when he answered that Sirry had resigned because at that time there occurred the break in relations between Egypt and the government of Vichy,

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

and an outbreak of riots resulted on Rommel's advance (in the Western Desert) and at that time the position of the Egyptian Foreign Minister Ṣalīb Sāmī was delicate to a certain degree; he had cut relations with the Vichy government without the King's consent.¹ Sirry was unable to protect him, and on January 31st, 1942..... at the end of the (Mohammed Mahmoud's) commemoration a riot started against Sirry Pasha's ministry..."²

Haykal was also asked at what time Nahhas had come to Abdīn on February 4th, 1942 and he answered at 9:30 p.m., and that the leaders (who had been there since 9:00 p.m.) had waited for him. Haykal also said that Hasan Sabry Pasha had been chosen on the agreement of the leaders as the man ".... who could save the country from the crisis which had occurred with the interference of the English....."³ (since Ali Maher had been deposed at their order).⁴

A few days after he testified at the trial, Haykal delivered a lecture on the occasion of the inauguration of the cultural season of the young Liberal Constitutionalists. In his opening statement Haykal said that he wished to make it clear that he wanted to elevate the word culture to make it one of the necessities of daily life. He therefore exhorted his listeners to read, and particularly to acquire general culture since "..... the faqīh can be as skilled in his art as the doctor when he speaks of medicine, but if he goes out of this field which he is specialized in - you find him closer to the commonest of people, because he is light of luggage in general cultural (qalīl al-bidā 'ah min al-thaqāfah al-'āmmah)....."⁵ He emphasized that the

¹Trefor Evans (ed.), op.cit., p. 195.

²"Samā' shahadat Haykal Bāshā..... op.cit.

³Ibid.

⁴Trefor Evans (ed.), op.cit., pp. 120 - 124.

⁵"al-Dimūqrāṭīyah wa'l-ṣirā' al-'ālamī," in al-Asās, January 18, 1948.

youth in particular should pay attention to culture and not restrict themselves to their studies only, in order to become good citizens (rijālā ṣāliḥīn wa nisā' ṣāliḥāt).

He spoke to them of democracy and defined it as the rule of the people by the people for the people. Then he spoke of its development, and how in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rule had been absolute monarchical rule and how the nobles had accepted this. Then how the system had changed from absolute monarchy to the rule of the nobility and then ultimately to the rule of the people on the basis of absolute independence of the individual, and democracy became equivalent to individual freedom.

Haykal then referred to Soviet democracy and American democracy and how each said that theirs was the true democracy, and how the economic development of the world had caused this.

Haykal's lecture also defined individual freedom, the establishment of unions as a result of the industrial revolution, the individual's belief in freedom and sacrifice. He emphasized that the Parliamentary system was one of the best examples of democracy, because it supervised the execution of the programme which had been placed by the people.¹

On January 31st, 1948, the Liberal Constitutional Party celebrated the seventh anniversary of the death of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, and on February 1st, 1948 al-Asās published the speeches made. Haykal in his speech said that they were celebrating the occasion ".... in an atmosphere dominated by political and economic anxiety from every direction..."² Some even saw this as a forewarning for a third world war, and how

¹ "al-Dimuqrāṭīyah wa'l-ṣirā' al-'ālamī," in al-Asās, January 18, 1948.

² "Dkikrā Mohammed Mahmoud Bāshā: al-Ahrār al Dustūriyūn yaḥtafilūn 'ams bi'dkikrāh al-sāb'ah," in al-Asās, February 1, 1948.

the various European nations were suffering internal turmoil due to the crash of different and opposing economic and political systems. Then how this anxiety was being communicated to the east.

Haykal also brought up the subject of Mohammed Mahmoud's last ministry in 1937. He asked his listeners to draw with their senses a map such as the one which had been drawn in the mind of Mohammed Mahmoud and which included Egypt and Barqā' and half of Tripoli and the Sudan in one unity.... A unity based on the equality between the sections comprising this unity and on the rights of her sons and their duties.

Then Haykal spoke at length about the efforts of Mohammed Mahmoud to bring security and peace in Palestine, then of what an example he had been, and how virtuous and great.¹

On March 6th, Haykal gave a lecture at the American University on "Political and Social Trends," and he started by mentioning a lecture he had given at the American University five years before, in which he had dealt with political relations and how these should be and that there would be no peace in the world if the four liberties stated by the Atlantic Charter were not realized.²

Then Haykal spoke of the differences between the charter of the League of Nations and that of the United Nation Organization, and on the reasons for doing away with the League of Nations - and this could be summarized in the impossibility of preventing wars.

¹ Ibid.

² See above - Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-'Ilāqāt al-siyāsiyah kamā yanbaghī an takūn bayn al-duwal," in al-Balāgh, February 13, 1943.

He then pointed out another difference between them, namely the differentiation between nations - some were large with a permanent seat on the Security Council while others did not have this permanent position. Also the large nations had the right of veto and in this way the new charter transferred the majority rule to these nations only and deprived others.

He also pointed to the trends which had resulted from the political and social tendencies and the confrontation between Eastern and Western blocks which had resulted from the war, and from the San Francisco Conference. He said, "... the United States feels the importance of revitalizing Europe economically to enable it to stand in front of Bolshevism."¹

It was absolutely essential he said to discover "..... the way to avoid a catastrophe which would befall the world and would annihilate it should a new war start.... And in my view Churchill's call, and those who take after him, to establish a United States of Europe is a call that is not lacking in wisdom and far sightedness. I do not support this idea in Europe alone, indeed, I see it as a crying necessity in all parts of the world. This was as soon as the politicians, during the war, had uncovered this tangible fact, which is that small nations do not have any chance to survive in this world, the different parts of which have grown closer...."

Haykal also spoke of the United Nations and how it had become a fact after it had only been imaginary and spoke of the mission of that organization.

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Ittijāhāt al-siyāsiyah wa'l-ijtimā'iyah," in al-Miṣrī, March 6, 1948.

He went on: "One of you may ask 'But how is one to find the way to this world government in our present world, after it has split into two blocks, Eastern and Western, each of which is directed in the economic field and in the social field on a path opposing each other... But I also ask in my turn, did one of you think it possible that Bolshevik Russia, and England and America, the two democracies, should become allies in the last war? It is true that Mr. Churchill answered when he was asked such a question: I am ready to make a part with the devil should this win me the war....'"

Haykal concluded his lecture by saying that the illusion of strength was a sorry thing and God bless the world and humanity....¹

About two weeks later, Haykal spoke on the occasion of Constitution Day. This was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Constitution. In this speech he said, "Our Constitution like other Constitutions exists to guarantee human rights and the respect of them, and the systematization of the means by which these rights will be protected from any aggression. It does this by introducing laws to indicate the way by which the basic liberties of individuals and groups are protected, in their private and public activities. That is why these laws are introduced and if the King signs these and they are promulgated, Parliament supervises their proper supervision."²

Further on he said: "And our Egyptian Constitution, like other Parliamentary Constitutions sees the guarantee of human rights in that it establishes the principle of the division of authority (mabdā' faṣl al-sulṭāt)....."

¹ Ibid.

² "Hal sami' tuhum yaqūlūn? Faṣl al-sulṭāt," in al-Idhā' ah al-Miṣriyah, March 27, 1948.

Here he explained the function of all three-the legislative, the judicial and the executive. He maintained that in this way cooperation between the authorities continued without either trespassing on the authority of the other; and in this way people, both individuals and groups, would have their minds at rest that their rights and liberties, that are guaranteed by the Constitution, are protected. If any aggression occurs each of the three authorities has a different duty to perform in the repelling of this aggression.

Haykal concluded that the constitutional governments are responsible in front of the Parliament, and Parliament owes its reference and its future to the people. He went on: "And representative governments are more frequently from the essence of the people (min ṣamīm al-sha'b) and it suffers when there is pain and works fast to make it (the people) happy.... And it takes from the rich (person) a fraction of his income which is greater than the ratio it takes from the poor and it spends the excess of the rich for the needs of the poor - and this is social justice."¹

The April issue of al-Hilāl also interviewed prominent statesmen and politicians on the subject of the Constitution. Haykal talked again about the mission of the Constitution. He said that the Constitution had been drafted and promulgated in 1923, and this was forty years too late. And that in 1919 the country had been one unit aiming for one target, but this unity had been broken up in 1921, when the leaders disagreed on who was to undertake the negotiations with the British. Parliamentary life was restricted to arguments, and then the people moved towards demanding a Constitution, hoping that this would put an end to violent differences.

¹ Ibid.

"For that reason I do not see that England granted Egypt the Constitution of 1923, but she left her to chose for herself the system of government that suited her state, so Egypt realized her wish in accordance with the committee which had been composed for that purpose."¹

A little later the discussion turned to whether the Constitution required alteration, and Haykal said that for his part he did not believe in written rules and therefore he believed that if the Constitution and laws and systems were not the subject of faith from the people, altering these would not change their application in any way.

In the concluding question Haykal, as defender of the Constitution, was asked by one of the politicians whether he agreed on the alteration of the Constitution in a general manner, or at least in the law of elections. Haykal thereupon responded with a verse which said 'we always blamed the times and the fault was in us and our times had no faults but us', and he said he had learned that verse at school, and that now after scores of years it was still applicable. He did not in any way see the necessity to alter the Constitution, and particularly to occupy public opinion with a matter that could be postponed for a long time without harm to the country. As for the law of elections he said it was an easier matter than the Constitution, and he for one believed that decentralization in rule was the best training for the votes in the provinces and for those in the regional councils. But although the past years had brought a lot of suggestions of alteration Haykal, (as President of the largest legislative body in the country), did not see that any of these would suitably replace the existing law. But if there was a new plan for elections for both Chambers of Parliament, and he was convinced that this would give a better result, he

¹"al-Dustūr al-Miṣrī ba'd 25 sanah," in al-Hilāl, April, 1948.

and he had no objections to agreeing to it. But where was this plan?¹

In April, Haykal attended the International Parliamentary Conference which took place in Nice, France. He gave a speech there which was published in al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah. He said first of all that the agenda of the meeting included two main topics - the first dealt with the setting or codification (tadwīn) of international law, and its means and subject matter (ṭarīqatahu wa mawḍū'uhu), while the second dealt with the re-examination of Treaties that were unfair. The second topic could be investigated separately from the first.

Haykal then pointed out that the important thing was to decide the modus operandum with which to reach the main objectives.

"So what are our objectives?" he asks "I believe we all agree that our objectives are directed first of all to participation.... by parliamentary means to prevent the outbreak of a new war and by eliminating the reasons which lead to the outbreak of war...., (and) by calling for the preservation of peace in the world."²

To do so, Haykal maintained, it was necessary to move in the direction of the current development, and then escalate from an era in which international relations had no designed basis to an era in which international ethics alone guaranteed the establishment of a universal system, the foundation of which was justice and truth.

¹ Ibid.

² "Tadwīn al-qānūn al-dawlī," in al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah. April 10, 1948.

"And I admit," he went on, ".... that these words carry with them great matters, but present circumstances necessitate the doing of great deeds....."¹

"We therefore are required in these circumstances, to act, not as followers of a creed (aṣḥāb madhāhib) or as jurists, but as representatives of people, carrying the opinions of our fellow citizens, this great responsibility being to avoid for the human community a third world war....."

Haykal then said that he had suggested at another conference the establishment of a parliamentary committee responsible for the formulation of the clauses of the large principles of international ethics (al-akhlāq al-dawliyah), and these included a decision previously taken by the Conference in 1938, which involved the four liberties and the Atlantic Charter and several other international charters.

Further on in his address Haykal said that, "Yesterday my idea of international ethics had no existence. The right was on the side of strength, and victory was for the strongest, and the law of the victor (sharī'at al-ghālib) dominated..... But today witnesses the awakening of international popular awareness..."²

Haykal also said that the Machiavellan mentality had to be destroyed . He brought to the attention of his listeners what someone had said in another conference about "the distinction between the principles of ethics which were applicable to individuals, and those which were applicable to states". There was a distinction-since a great many ethical principles were not applicable between states....

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

Haykal summed up his speech by reiterating that the situation did not necessitate the creation of new principles in the fields of international ethics and international law, ".... indeed it requires that we declare once again what is truth and justice. And these are two matters which are constant....."¹

The Liberal Constitutional Party celebrated that year the twenty-fifth anniversary of the promulgation of the Constitution. Haykal made a speech on the occasion in which he recalled how Egypt had been declared an independent and sovereign state on March 15th, 1923, and how on April 19th, 1923 this sovereignty had been declared by the promulgation of the Constitution, and how Farouq, on ascending the throne had not touched the Constitution as had been done before his time.

Haykal also spoke of the troubled atmosphere in the world and how people asked themselves if there would be a third world war, and that the war would only start if either of the two great powers, east or west, wanted it.

He also made a reference to the Afro-Asian group which included North Africa from the Atlantic Ocean, to Pakistan and China in Asia, and he said that this group which exceeded (300) million had undergone similar experiences of rise and fall, of strength and weakness, and that (100) million of this group spoke the same language, Arabic, and had the same religion, Islam. He also mentioned that although a small part of this group composed the Arab League of States, it had a voice which was heard in the United Nations and it had used that voice when the decision had been taken to divide Palestine. That voice had made the politicians and statesmen revise their decision to divide Palestine.

¹ Ibid.

Haykal then dealt with Egypt's internal situation and said that if war did not break out ".... The first thing which is required by sound thought.... is that we work to strengthen the factors of production that we have in various examples and these factors of production are numerous. Foremost among them are education and the adequacy of controllers over the factors of that production, and the ability of those working in it - whether these workers are the producers of raw materials or their manufacturers. The best guarantee for the strengthening of the factors of production is the feeling of everyone about the stability of justice and the absence of anxiety in the country. And the government is the guarantor of the stability of this justice and this absence of anxiety. Just as it has a great responsibility to strengthen the factors of production themselves."¹

Haykal also mentioned party differences and the personal factors involved in party feuds. He was sure that all Egyptians wanted the good of their country and its elevation, but they differed in that some liked dominating in the name of resoluteness, and others moved towards sanctifying freedom of opinion, and some tried to conform with the public, while others were determined to be frank on their opinions with the public, even if the public differed with them. He said here that the difference in personal disposition (*al-mazāg al-shakhṣī*) had moved from the realm of differences of opinion between parties to personal disputes, and that if an inventory was made of public problems among the parties, there would be agreement over ninety percent of the questions involved.

Haykal also mentioned the absence of stability that had been caused by the numerous changes in ministry. He then went on to speak of the decentralization of each part of the country as it was endorsed by the Constitution and how, despite that decentralization there were almost no village councils in existence.

¹ "Dhikrā i 'lān al-dustūr-khitāb Haykal Bāshā, in *al-Ahrām*, April 23, 1948.

finally Haykal spoke of national solidarity and how it had become a tangible fact among all individuals in the nation, and he pointed out his efforts and those of previous Liberal Constitutional Party leaders which had led to this. He also mentioned the separation of authorities (*faṣl al-sulṭāt*) and how this did not mean the opposition of these authorities, but cooperation for prosperity.¹

On April 29th, Haykal wrote an article commemorating King Fouad's death. This was published in *al-Asās*, and in it Haykal wrote that twelve years had passed since the death of the late King Fouad the First, and the passing years took with them everything which remained of people's lives and left behind only the great and glorious works which lasted. He said that in the case of King Fouad people had forgotten the efforts he had made and Egypt had made "..... when he, God rest his soul, took the throne of Egypt between the years 1917 and 1936; nineteen years..... which changed everything, despite the tangible obstacles which stood in the way of each change which was desired....."²

Then Haykal went on to enumerate the political history of the period since the first world war and Egypt's position as a protectorate, and how the late King had encouraged the establishment of the Egyptian University, although the Egyptian government, which was subject to the protectorate of England, did not wish that education should have any special emphasis in the country. "And when the people of Egypt wanted to found the first Egyptian University as the nucleus of university education, Prince Fouad headed this University.

¹ Ibid.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Āthār al-bāqiyah min 'aḥd Fū'ād al-ʿazīm," in *al-Asās*, April 29, 1948.

Haykal said that side by side with the University, Fouad patronized various scientific societies which had the greatest influence in directing the country and still did so. He also mentioned the effect that these scientific societies had and how they had produced superior men who had made their impact on society.

Lastly, he spoke of Fouad's emphasis on history, since he had believed that the past and future were related, and how he had charged European historians to write down the history of Egypt in their own languages, as he was certain that this history would be translated into Arabic and how this would serve to teach ".... sons of this valley the continuation of the march to the future to raise their homeland to progress and glory."¹

In May, al-Muṣawwar published a letter written by Haykal in response to Sidqī Pasha and Nash'āt Pasha - who had been in King Fouad's retinue until he became Egyptian Ambassador to the Court of St. James. In answer to Sidqī, Haykal wrote: "he says that the Constitution of 1923, and this is the Constitution which establishes the government in the country was not related to the system of the Legislative Council (al-jāmi'ah al-tashrī'iyah), nor was it related to the Consultative Assembly on laws (majlis shurah al-qawānīn). His Excellency failed to mention the fact that the Constitution of 1923 was closely related with the Constitution of 1882, and that the system of the Consultative Assembly and that of the Legislative Council were both systems that had been imposed on Egypt as a result of the British occupation, so if it is up to anyone to speak of a Constitution related to the system of the Legislative Council or Consultative Assembly, and the system that the British established for Egypt, then that person should be Lord Dufferin or Lord Cromer, not His Excellency

¹ Ibid.

Ismail Sidqi Pasha. We all know of his rare intelligence and excellence.....!"¹

"These incidents I mention are intended for the service of history. I wish we would all record incidents in a way acceptable to fact, and that later historians represent this period in its true image."²

As for Haykal's answer to Nash'āt it was to deny that Abdel Khaliq Sarwat Pasha and his ministry had resigned because of the declaration of February 28th, 1922 (when Great Britain ended the protectorate on Egypt,³ and Fouad took the title of King of Egypt). Haykal corrected Nash'āt and said that the ministry had resigned on November 30th, 1922, while it had been formed on March 1st, 1922. Moreover, Sarwat had resigned in November, after the British had objected to Fouad's title of King of Egypt and the Sudan, although the Liberal Constitutionalists were determined to use this title. (Sarwat Pasha was a member of the Liberal Constitutional Party).

In August, Akhbār al-Yawm reported that Haykal had issued a violent statement attacking the choice of another Liberal Constitutional member Khashabah Pasha, who was also Minister of Foreign Affairs, to preside over Egypt's delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations which would confer in Paris that September.⁴

¹"..... Wa Haykal Bāshā yarudd 'alā Sidqī Bāshā wa Nash'at Bāshā," in al-Muṣawwar, May 14, 1948.

²Ibid.

³al-Qaḍiyah al-Miṣriyah 1882-1954, Cairo, 1955. p. 213.

⁴"al-Khilāf bayn Khashabah Bāshā wa Haykal Bāshā," in Akhbār al-Yawm, August 28, 1948.

In the same issue, in a column entitled "Anwār Kāshifah," the columnist said that the difference in opinion between Khashabah and Haykal was "..... superficial, or more correctly, a party difference not related to the system itself.... however, this sort of difference of opinion weakened the Party... and this party had a share in the ministry," and the columnist said that the party had split into two teams.¹

That month (August), Haykal gave an interview which was published in his paper al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah in which he spoke of the aims of the Arab Parliamentary Conference. Haykal said that world circumstances precluded states living completely separately from others and that the tendency was to form unions between states. It was the same case for the League of the Arab States, but unfortunately these had to meet in secrecy, due to the nature of the league's activities and its formation.

He said, "Men in governmental positions in the Arab governments.. generally have personal circumstances which enable them to express all they want...."²

"For that reason we have thought of forming the Arab Parliamentary Union, an idea present in the minds of all members of Arab Parliaments."

He went on to say that the Union had met for the first time in 1947. He explained that the aims of the Parliamentary Conference were first to seek a legislative rapprochement in these countries. Then, he said, Arab countries could help each other economically.

¹ "Anwār Kāshifah," in Akhbār al-Yawm, August 28, 1948.

² "Ahdāf al-mū'tamar al-barlamānī al-'Arabī: ḥadīth al-Ra'īs al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā," in al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah, August 28, 1948.

Further on he stated that if Arab nations were united..... they would have a strong impact and when we can prove in the United Nations that we are united, we can attract and attach to us other nations - even if they do not have the same interests...

"What pleases me particularly is that all the zones participating in the meeting so far are producing works and opinions based on one feeling - that we Arabs have shared problems and interests, shared pain and hopes, and that these (shared feelings) go back in history, a long way back."
He said that the next meeting in Europe would clearly show how effective this Arab Parliamentary Union was.¹

Haykal's next speech was at that very Parliamentary Conference he had spoken of earlier, and which took place in Rome. In it, Haykal said that the basis of international strain was the arms race. He said that the United Nations had temporarily suspended its preparations for a disarmament treaty.

Haykal went on to say that this experience despite its short duration proved that the difference between the principles of the Charter and its application were enormous. He also said that the General Secretary had summarised the situation when he had said that our era had lost respect for those who displayed physical force as a basis for argument.

Haykal then talked of the question of Palestine and said that again the General Secretary had been correct when he had said that the division of a small state like Palestine with its history and geographical position would not pass by without serious criticism, and that many people saw that there was a difference between guaranteeing the system of a state with the inhabitants leaving the door open for peacemaking, and between the division of this state into two.

¹ Ibid.

Then he went on to speak of the disappearance of international ethics and said that the incident of Palestine was a true image of the loss of respect for law, and for the open display of this absence of international ethics which is so clear in our times.

The Arab states had not been aware, he said, that some states would transgress the boundaries of the Charter, and take into themselves rights that were not supported by the law. These Arab states, he said, were victims of a loss of conscience, and it was feared that if the two great nations did agree between themselves, was that agreement sufficient to guarantee the continuation of peace? Or was it a further indication that the large states would not be tied ('adam al-taqīd) to international ethics, or to the principles they frequently called for?

He went on: "For this reason we see that fear of the future dominates the people at the present time in the world, and governments do not take into consideration anything except their own personal welfare (maṣāliḥihā al-dhātīyah), and there is no scope except for the use of the policy of strength which will render the nations once again a bait for fire (ṭu'm li'l-nār)."¹

The daily al-Misrī, two days later published the same speech but completely unedited. This issue also reported that the Conference had refused a suggestion made by Egypt to forbid the occupation of a state by foreign forces and that, although the British delegation had previously opposed this, the subject should be reopened for discussion. When the vote was taken, however, (194) votes opposed Egypt's suggestion against (143) votes in favour, with (20) abstentions.²

¹"Khiṭāb Haykal Bāshā fī'l-mū'tamar al-barlamānī al-dawlī," in al-Wadī, September 10, 1948.

²"al-Mū'tamar yarfuḍ iqtirāḥā li'Miṣr," in al-Miṣri, September 12, 1948.

The beginning of November marked the Islamic new year and Haykal spoke on the occasion, but he did not say anything political except to state that if the word of the Muslims united then the world could look forward to eternal peace, and that neighbouring Arab nations had a total population of (400) million, and that if "..... their faith stood true, God will recompense them..... and they will come between the world and what threatens it today of destruction and ruin."¹

Further on he asked: "How can the unity of word of Muslims not lead to the light which will disperse what has become customary in the atmosphere of the world - of clouds of anxiety and forewarnings of disaster. Their religion and the teachings of their Prophet.... are a guarantee to send into the minds of all peoples, even if their creeds and religions differ, tranquillity and true faith towards truth, justice, brotherhood and freedom! Does not Islam call for forgiveness and mercy, and des-
pise aggression of all sorts...."²

On December 28th, 1948 Mahmoud Fahmy al-Noqrashi, who had been Prime Minister until then, was assassinated inside the building of the Ministry of the Interior by a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. This was in revenge for Noqrashi having, in his official capacity as military governor, ordered the disbanding of the Brotherhood,³ because several assassinations of prominent men had been executed that year.

¹ "Taḥiyat al-Hijrā wa'l 'ām al-Hijrī al-jadīd - Kalimat Haykal Bāshā, in al-Ahrām, November 3, 1948.

² Ibid.

³ al-Ahrām, December 29, 1948.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HAYKAL AND THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SENATE JANUARY 1949 - JUNE 1950

HAYKAL AND THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SENATE
JANUARY 1949 - JUNE 1950

Ibrahim 'Abdel Hādī Pasha another member of the Sa' di Party was appointed Prime Minister in place of Noqrashi the very same day he had been assassinated.¹

On January 10th, 1949, the Senate warmly applauded Haykal for his reappointment as President of the Chamber. That day Haykal addressed the Chamber with an eulogy of the late Noqrashi who had died performing the duty dictated to him by his conscience, and who was the victim of a crime which had horrified everyone in Egypt and outside it.

Then Haykal said: "For the third time His Majesty the King has honoured me by appointing me President of this venerable council."² #

He then went on to thank the King for his confidence in him and said it was an honour for him to continue to cooperate with the Senators in the accomplishment of their duty, and to respect the Constitution and the laws of the country, and to cooperate with the government in supervising the welfare of the State. He was confident, he said, as he had been in the last four years, that they would all cooperate in elevating the country.³

¹ al-Ahrām, December 29, 1948.

² "Fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh: al-Majlis yurrahib bi'ra'īsihi Haykal Bāshā," in al-Miṣrī, January 11, 1949.

#Article (80) of the Constitution stated that President and Vice-Presidents of the Senate were designated for two years, and they were then re-eligible.*

* M. Colombe, op.cit., p. 292.

³ Ibid.

The Liberal Constitutional Party celebrated once more the anniversary of the death of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha. Haykal's speech as usual was lengthy. He thanked those who had come to commemorate the death of Mohammed Mahmoud on January 31st, 1941.

He asked those who had been contemporary with Mohammed Mahmoud to look back to the time when he had been full of energy and directing the policy of his country. Then he went on to speak of the efforts the country should make, and the cooperation that should exist, and the jump forward that should occur in all fields, to strengthen it internationally; to make it determined to learn how to take advantage of opportunities.....

He also spoke of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha's first ministry and how he had resigned when the negotiations of 1930 had failed and how in 1935 the political atmosphere was very troubled, and the Constitution of 1923 had been cancelled and replaced by that of 1930, so that Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha saw that there was no way for the country to avoid the resulting danger. He also stated that there was no point in reinstituting the Constitution until there was a closing of ranks and meeting of opinions in the nation to solve the unsolved problems between Egypt and England. "On that point his voice was raised strongly.... free of any intention or inclination, pure of all meanings in regard to party manoeuvres intent on the benefit of the homeland.... only."¹ He mentioned that during the negotiations of 1936 Mohammed Mahmoud was several times on the verge of resigning, because he feared the outcome of these negotiations.

Then on mentioning Mohammed Mahmoud's second ministry, he said that the situation in 1938 was different from what it had been in 1936, because a few problems had been solved by the 1936

¹ "Iḥtifāl Hizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyīn bi'l-dhikrā al-thāminah li'wafāt al-gaghfūr lahu Mohammed Mahmoud Bāshā - Kalimat Haykal Bāshā," in al-Asās, February 2, 1949.

Treaty; ".... and it was normal that Egypt should carry the burden of its own defense completely, and that she should call on England to cooperate with her in view of the fact that she was an ally of hers, if her forces were insufficient for her defense. For that reason the army was the subject of particular attention from Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha in that ministry; its number was increased and its weapons were increased."¹ Moreover Mohammed Mahmoud wished to have small arms factories built in order for Egypt to supply her army whenever necessary. His ministry also deemed it necessary to add military training in schools and to add civics as a subject. Public works were also the subject of attention.

Haykal recalled that the ministry had lasted twenty months, and during them it had met with a great deal of opposition, and that the cabinet had to resign as a result of the illness of its head. During the last days of his life Mahmoud's thoughts had been with his country, etc.²

On February 9th, the newspapers published the speeches that had been made lamenting Noqrashi. Haykal spoke of the man's patriotism and his integrity, and he talked of Egypt's loss.³

Haykal lectured at the American University that year at the end of February. He said that a quarter of a century had passed since the inauguration of Parliament on March 15th, 1924, after almost a year before, - on April 19th, 1923 the Constitution was passed. He spoke of how the country had struggled for its rights since 1880, and of the 'Urābī revolt and its demands - that the native be represented in a representative assembly, and

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ "Miṣr tu'bin shahīduhā al-aẓim al-maghfūr lahu Mahmūd Fahmī al-Noqrashī," in al-Asās, February 9, 1949.

of the incidents that ensued until the Constitution was passed in 1882. Then he mentioned the Consultative Assembly, followed later by the Legislative Council in 1913.

Haykal then narrated the sequence of events culminating in the San Francisco Conference and said: "Some of you may wonder today as to the value of that participation which took place in the San Francisco Conference, and the world which split itself (after the war), although we knew that the world would remain, after the war, suspended in the palm of Destiny for consecutive years, and no peace treaty was signed after a year, nor after two years, nor after three years.... and we are now close to May 9th, 1949, and the war has ended with Germany's surrender on May 9th, 1945. None of us, and I do not think others, expected that the world should remain four years in which no peace treaties were made, indeed, that within them the treaties that were contracted - among these the Peace Treaty with Italy - should be the subject of new discussions, and the question is to be presented to the United Nations Organization."¹

Haykal admitted that he had looked forward to and been enthusiastic for that international organization. "But this organization, unfortunately, is undertaking up to now what it is convinced is its duty to undertake....."

Further on Haykal said that the British evacuation was a natural right. He commented: "... Indeed England saw that the presence of her forces in Egypt did not conform with the principles of the United Nations Charter. I do not say that this is Egypt's view - indeed it is England's view, when she declared at the start of the negotiations between her and Egypt that her forces would withdraw from Cairo, Alexandria and the Delta on March 1st, 1947, and that she would withdraw completely

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Qālū an al-ḥarb Sa'taqā 'ām 1947, in al-Asās, February 28, 1949.

from Egypt on September 1st, 1947. She added to that her statement: 'when a treaty is contracted between her and Egypt'."

In his concluding remarks Haykal said: "I hope that our politicians both official and unofficial, and those of our youth who present themselves for a political career - I hope that they will be in constant communication with what occurs in (other) parts of the world. For the world, whose parts have become closer today, is in need that each human being knows his position in it exactly, in order to be able to achieve for his country, not for himself...."¹

Haykal sent a letter to the International Parliamentary Council on April 23rd, 1949 telling it that the Executive Committee had done well to suggest discussing the teaching of history and its influence on the range of international cultural relations.

"..... Because it is beneficial for civilization and for world peace, that our children should be reared in the awareness that existence is not confined to the village or to the city which they were born in, but that existence deals with all villages and cities and nations and continents and races and languages and beliefs."²

Haykal said that he supported the efforts made to improve school textbooks of history which had been, and still were narrating about war heroes and glorifying acts of strength, while the histories of the philosophy of science and of civilization were studied in universities (only).

¹ Ibid.

² "Ta'lim al-tābrīkh fī nitāq al-'ilaqāt al-dawliyah-li' Sa'adat al-Duktūr Moḥammed Ḥusayn Haykal Bāshā," in al-Asās, April 24, 1949.

Haykal emphasized that history had been and still was written to show that mankind existed in nations which differed from each other. These competed with each other and worked to subdue, enslave and make use of the other, and excuses and explanations were given for this. It would have been preferable if history had sought to pick out the honest and faithful efforts for the welfare of all mankind, and how these efforts had led mankind from tribal life to civil life to the life of the nation and state.

In his concluding comments Haykal wrote: "I do not think that this project need include a description of the way to teach history and what should be avoided and what should be kept....., but I agree to the suggestions made in the memorandum..... which can be summarised in a short concise statement - that history should not be written for the service of the politics of a particular state at a particular time; indeed it must be written to serve the truth and all of mankind, in its unity of time and space. It is a fact that history, as the youth of today know, is written to fit the policy of the state to which the youth belong." Haykal gave as an example the Aryan race "which claims the right to rule the world...." He said that there were many such examples and that history had often been falsified, and this had given a result far from the truth. Had historians avoided this and instead thought of the unity of history, and taken care to make clear and whole human civilization, history would have been free of this faking and would serve humanity "... in the way we wish it today with all our hearts and feelings.... He went on to explain, "I mean the unit of mankind in its most complete meaning, a service that would push humanity forward with wise and large steps."¹

In May of that year Haykal gave a lecture at the Journalists Union. He talked about "Egypt in International life." He spoke of the journalist and journalism and briefly of his own career.

¹ Ibid.

He also recalled how a year ago he had spoken to them in the old hall of the Union, and how he was now speaking to them from the new luxurious hall of the new building.

He commented that the Union had always demonstrated the solidarity of journalists, and how in 1924 the Liberal Constitutionalists and their newspaper al-Siyāṣah had violently opposed Sa'd Zaghlul's government, and how as a consequence al-Siyāṣah had not been invited to attend the inauguration of Parliament in March 1924.

He went on: "And today I have called upon our journalist colleagues from the Wafd and said to them: "We are one family and it is not permissible that one (of us) should withhold his help from other members and they agreed with me and approved of this view."¹ He expressed the hope that this solidarity would be as evident in the whole of the country.

Then he spoke of the conflict between the Eastern block and the Western block and how the conflict continued although the foreign ministers were meeting.

This thinking had led him to think of Egypt's position and to that of the countries surrounding her, and what he had sometimes heard and read regarding the fact that existed "... international organizations today did not actualize justice, nor did they remove injustice, nor did they champion the weak. (This being so) it was preferable for us to withdraw from them, since we do not see in them the strength to establish justice.... and I am amongst those who have said and who still say that the present international system, as represented by the United Nations, did not produce until today any fruit worth mentioning, and that if the dark international atmosphere which surrounds the world still has in it these clouds, then the United Nations establishment

¹ "Miṣr fī 'l-hayāh al-dawliyah-muḥāḍarah li' l-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā fi niqābat al-saḥāfiyīn," in al-Asās, May 20, 1949.

cannot do much to disperse these clouds....."¹

He had asked the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to tell him which international organizations Egypt belonged to and was a member of, and had a noted position in. He also said that Egypt, despite the unfairness of these organizations towards the countries of the Middle East, badly needed to belong to them.

Haykal then took the Egyptian question as an example and pointed out how it had, due to international pressure, remained suspended in the Security Council. He maintained that it was possible to bring up the Egyptian question, and to use method to strengthen the arguments enabling Egypt to make its point.

Haykal went on to mention the Palestinian question and said that if an international organization had issued a recommendation for the establishment of a Jewish state, he was afraid to say that ".... we in the East have helped to establish the State of Israel. I do not wish to say more."

But Haykal, at the end, remained optimistic: "Although it may become dark at times....., we remain participants in international life working at cooperation....in the world..., and it is a civilization based on respect for the human individual and respect for peace in (all) quarters of the world."²

On July 25th, Ibrahim Abdel Hadi Pasha resigned as Prime Minister. He had tried unsuccessfully to form a coalition, but the Wafd had been intransigent. Husayn Sirry succeeded him and formed another coalition cabinet.³

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ al-Ahrām, July 26, 1949.

On October 2nd, al-Muṣawwar announced that Haykal and Makram Ebeid had agreed on the absolute necessity to abolish martial law. It was giving the opinions of the President of a party which was sharing in government, (Haykal) and another President (Makram was head of the Kutla, which was not included in the government).

Haykal said that he always championed freedom, and had opposed all bonds restricting general liberties and said that he had given his views on the necessity of abolishing martial law to the Prime Minister Ibrahim Abdel Hadi Pasha and he still maintained that opinion.....

".... Because the maintenance of security does require a particular excuse without any other conditions - and even this excuse no longer had any place since security in the country has been restored, and in the law there is the guarantee of its protection."¹

On November 13th, Egypt commemorated Yawm al-Jihad. All the political parties and organizations celebrated it and speeches were made; Haykal made an extremely long speech. He spoke of November 13th, 1918 when Egypt had first risen to ask for its independence from England, and he said that today Egypt was facing almost the same problems that it had faced then - namely the evacuation of Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian crown. He then talked about the period between the two wars, then of Egypt's deeds after the war, and how she had joined international organizations, and how the Arab League had been formed to try to solve the various problems of the member nations. He spoke of Egypt's increasing population and how its agricultural produce was no longer sufficient, and how

¹ Haykal Bāshā wa Makram Bāshā yattaḥiqan 'alā ḍarūrat 'ilghā' al-aḥkām al-'urfiyah....!" in al-Muṣawwar, October 21, 1949.

it was necessary to strengthen industry to enable Egypt to stand on her feet and to compete with the world. He also mentioned the Aswan hydroelectric Dam, and the need to take advantage of oil wells. He said that Egypt had educational problems, health problems and social problems and that existing policies were unfortunately based on improvisation. This policy of improvisation had increased the governing body without organizing it, and taxes had been raised to meet this increase. He said that he was presenting a summarized account of the problems faced today and they could be solved if efforts were concentrated, and if the politicians forgot their differences and worked in concert to solve them.

He also maintained that Palestine should serve as an example and continued, "On this same day last year our brave soldiers were fighting in the land of the Dome of the Rock..... and we felt that after the interference of the United Nations and putting a stop to the fighting..... that we must, if we do not wish to be exposed after this to a similar example of what we were exposed to then, that we must strengthen our army, and we must provide it with the latest and most complete weapons. Parliament had granted several millions of pounds for that purpose, in order to prevent any reckless action from a reckless person against us..... But we have to realize that the increase in number of the army, and the granting of millions to buy weapons from abroad, is itself not sufficient in this era to turn aside any danger from the soil of the homeland, if a war should flare out or if it was exposed to any aggression. In this era all the nations and all the units of their armies should reach standards of proper preparedness. All the population and all its efforts, and all its factories, plantations, universities, hospitals, and all its utilities (will be) exposed to destruction, which will fall on it when the war comes from every side. It will be necessary that all become soldiers to guarantee

the safety of the population and its freedom..... until peace comes and people enjoy its well-being."¹

(al-Asās, which had published the speech, continued it the next day, because of its length, but it was all in the same vein, and dealt with the need for reform, for solidarity, for constructive effort, etc...)²

A few days after Haykal made this speech, al-Muṣawwar's gossip column "Rā'īnā wa Sāmi'nā", reported that a member of the Liberal Constitutional Party had told Haykal that it was said that he had arrived late because that was the habit of leaders, but that Haykal had defended himself, saying that he was late because he wanted the social gathering to finish drinking tea, since he himself was a coffee drinker.

The same column also mentioned that the Liberal Constitutional Party had asked Haykal to investigate the best means for the party to ensure it would win the maximum number of votes in the elections that were to take place on January 3rd, 1950. Haykal answered that anyone who was caught during the elections with two voting cards should be made to pay a severe penalty, and that this would prevent at least 50% of the playing around that occurred during elections.³

The elections for the Chambers of Parliament were over by January 12th, 1950, and the Wafd had won. On January 12th, Husayn Sirry handed in his resignation as Prime Minister, and on the same day the King charged Moustafa al-Nahhās with the formation of a new ministry.

¹ "Iḥtifaḷ al-Ahrār al-Dustūriyīn bi'Īd al-Jihād - Kalimat Sa'ādat al-Duktur Haykal Bāshā," in al-Asās, November 14, 1949.

² "Khitaḇ Sa'ādat Haykal Bāshā fī 'Īd al-Jihād," in al-Asās, November 15, 1949.

³ "Rā'īnā wa Sāmi'nā - Haykal Bāshā wa'l-talā'ub fī'l-intikhābāt," in al-Muṣawwar, November 18, 1949.

On February 1st, al-Asās published the speeches that had been made commemorating the ninth anniversary of the death of Mohammed Mahmoud. Among these was Haykal's speech in which he said he had been close to Mohammed Mahmoud for a long time, and he had often shared his thoughts with him and vice versa, and that.... "his personality uncovered itself clearly before me..."¹ Haykal then recounted anecdotes demonstrating Mohammed Mahmoud's quirks of character.

He spoke at length of Mohammed Mahmoud's first ministry and how he had tried to remedy defects and corruption. "He saw that the health of the workers and the fellahin required care, so he founded hospitals in the districts and villages. He also ran the drinking water to points where he could run it on to the villages in the countryside which needed it and he had swamps drained..... and he established healthy living quarters for the workers...."

Haykal also told of how "..... when the negotiations of 1936 started in Cairo and then continued in Alexandria, Mohammed Mahmoud saw that the military conditions included were very hard on Egypt, which made him hesitate whether to remain in the Egyptian Committee of Negotiations or to withdraw from it. It would be easy to withdraw and to announce the reason for his withdrawal and to find supporters on this issue.... but he thought of the matter for a long time" He called a meeting of several leading members of the Liberal Constitutionalists, including Haykal, and told them of his hesitation to agree to the treaty. After lengthy discussions, Mohammed Mahmoud weighed the opinions he was given to gain in the bilateral relations with England. For this reason in 1938, he thought of getting Egypt to join into the Pact of Sa'dabad which included Turkey, Greece,

¹ "al-Ihtifāl bi'l-dhikrā al-tāsi'ah li'wafāt al-maghfūr lahu Mohammed Mahmud Bāshā," in al-Asās, February 1, 1950.

Iran and Afghanistan. However when the idea was discussed seriously in the cabinet, it had split into two groups - one that believed that Egypt would benefit and the other that saw no benefit from Egypt's joining the Pact. Thereupon Mohammed Mahmoud decided to postpone the matter.

Then Haykal told of Mohammed Mahmoud's position regarding the Palestinian question, since he had hastened back after the London Round Table meeting to solve this question. He had written to the British Prime Minister (Mr. Chamberlain) to praise his efforts to prevent the war by going to Munich in the summer of 1936, and to ask him to make a similar effort to solve the Palestinian question. Later, he had again written to Chamberlain to thank him, and to express his sorrow that international incidents had developed so far as to make the Palestine question secondary.

Haykal's closing remarks dealt with Mohammed Mahmoud's qualities as a man and as a Parliamentary leader.¹

On February 21st, al-Miṣrī reported that Haykal had presented a memorandum to the senate related to fixing the election centres. He explained this by stating that "The two articles (76) and (84) of the Constitution declare that each province or governorate can be considered an election centre (dā'irah) which is entitled to vote for a member of Parliament, and the same applied to every section of a province or governorate - they have the right."²

He said that in 1923, the cabinet of Yehya Ibrahim Pasha had divided the provinces and governorates of the state into

¹ Ibid.

² "Mudhakkirat Haykal Bāshā li'tathbīt al-dawā'ir - tafsīr al-Dustūr yaghni 'an ta'diluh," in al-Miṣrī, February 21, 1950.

(214) centres for the Chamber of Deputies, and (73) for the Senate. For some people that number was believed to be too large for the requirements of the Egyptian Parliament. That was why when the 1923 Constitution was composed and then the Constitution of 1930 was promulgated, the election centres for Parliament were limited to an unalterable (150) centres. Those of the Senate were also fixed to (40) centres.

The Constitution was revised in 1935 and the number of inhabitants had increased. Ali Maher's cabinet stated that the number of circles be limited according to and in pace with the increase of inhabitants. The number of centres for the Chamber of Deputies was increased to (232) while those for the Senate were raised to (79). In fourteen years the centres had been altered every (4) years. In 1938 Mohammed Mahmoud had raised the number of centres for the Senate to (88), in conjunction with the increase of inhabitants which had been recorded by the 1937 census. Since then they had been altered three times - in 1942 by Nahhas, in 1944 by Ahmed Maher, and lastly by Husayn Sirry in 1949. Ibrahim Abdel Hadi also had formed a project to alter the number of centres which he had presented to Parliament, but nothing had come out of it.

Haykal then went on to say that party considerations always governed the limits and considerations (in this matter). He said that every time the centres had been defined or altered, objections arose from the parties and from the candidates for elections. He added that the committees which had been put in charge of the alterations listened to these objections, then agreed with some and refused others.

Haykal also stated that the alteration of centres had made the votes change centres completely from those that had been voted in

previously, and this had not allowed for stability, since these votes were no longer a matter of evaluation of the candidate for either Chamber.

Moreover, he continued, the regular increase in the number of centres had raised these to (319) centres for the Chamber of Deputies, and that for the Senate there would be an increase of approximately a hundred centres, and that some people had seen that these numbers were a great deal more than was required by the Parliament. This was worthy of thought - as to whether this increase was necessary within the clauses in the Constitution, and was it in agreement with public or general welfare?

This increase had attracted the attention of the late Ahmed Maher since 1941, continued Haykal, and he had submitted a memorandum suggesting that certain clauses in the Constitution be altered, in order that the number of circles remain fixed as had been the case at first - to (214) centres for the deputies and (73) for the senators - apart from the appointed senators.

The Senate Committee which had met on December 17th, 1949, had come to the conclusion that the fixing of the circles was required by the country's welfare, and had asked Haykal to investigate the question, and that he suggest what he regarded to be in agreement with the dictates of the Constitution. Haykal had decided that the correct interpretation of the Constitution required fixing the circles in the way he had mentioned above, without looking into whether there had been an increase or decrease of inhabitants after the passing of the law, within the limits defined by the Constitution. He maintained that to be natural, because the law restricting the centres was a law supplementary to the Constitution, and therefore derived its constancy from the Constitution.

This left no room for re-evaluation of the question except for the large capitals such as Cairo and Alexandria, where new districts had been established which had not existed in 1924, and which had increased in size to become cities or villages appended to these capitals. (For them) new circles could be formed which had not existed before. But aside from these capitals the interpretation Haykal put was correct. Other changes which had occurred were harmful to both the voters and to the candidates since they increased the distance between these in a way which did not allow the voters to appreciate the work of their deputy on their behalf, if he did present himself to them once again after fragments of one centre had been added to other centres.

Haykal closed his address by saying that he did not, however, see any need for the correction or for the revision of the Constitution. There was no persistent necessity for this, and he feared that should corrections or revisions occur, it would be very difficult to obtain a correct interpretation of the Constitution.¹

The following month, March, Haykal spoke on Constitution Day, was on the fifteenth of that month. Once more he recounted how twenty-six years before, King Fouad had inaugurated the first Parliamentary meeting, and that two years before, on March 15th, 1922 he had announced that Egypt was an independent and sovereign state, in a grand celebration attended by Parliament. The King had taken his oath of office as guardian of the Constitution and Sa'd Zaghlul became Prime Minister of the first Constitutional cabinet.

Haykal then spoke of the many stages through which the Egyptian Constitution had passed, and said that this was natural that it should have done so because it was a very young Constitution. These stages had included the Consultative Assembly and the

¹ Ibid.

General Assembly of 1882 to 1913, and these had been succeeded by the Legislative Assembly of 1913 up to the beginning of the first World War. These had had no influence at all on the rise of the ministries nor in their resignations, because the state had not at that time been the source of authority.

Haykal also mentioned the close relation in time between the cessation and resumption of Egyptian Parliamentary life and the stages between the British Egyptian negotiations up to 1936. The first Parliament had been inaugurated on March 15th, 1924, and that summer Sa'd Zaghlul and Ramsay McDonald had gone into negotiations which had ended without any results. Then the first Chamber of Deputies had been dissolved as a result of the assassination of the Sirdar of the Egyptian army, Sir Lee Stack, in November 1924, and Parliamentary life remained suspended until 1926, when it was resumed. In the early half of 1928, when the negotiations with Abdel Khaliq Sarwat Pasha failed, Parliament stopped functioning in July of that year, after friction between Egypt and England over a law on meetings. Parliamentary life was restored in 1930, and once again stopped that same year, when the talks between Moustafa al-Nahhas and the British Premier were unsuccessful. Subsequently the Constitution of 1923 was replaced by that of 1930. The Constitution of 1923 was brought back into operation in 1936, and in August of that year the negotiations were successfully concluded on the treaty.

Haykal did not consider the time relation between the stages of representative life in Egypt and the phases through which the British - Egyptian negotiations passed to be coincidental. As he said: "They were, anyway, a powerful witness of the strength of the reaction between the remnants of the past and the care taken to speedily obliterate these remnants...."¹

¹ "Īd al-Dustūr yudhakkirunā bi'an intiqlālunā fi hājah ilā al-istikmāl-li'Sa'adat al-Duktūr Husayn Haykal Bāshā," in al-Miṣrī, March 16, 1950.

Haykal summed up his address by pointing out that although March 15th was the Day of Independence and the Day of Constitution: "..... this celebration opens our eyes every year to a fact which has not been forgotten by the sons of yesterday, and which is not forgotten by the sons of today - that is, that our independence is still in need of completion and our Constitution requires the legislation of new laws to guarantee its completeness in the execution of its laws. Also our 'deputy life' needs energetic efforts before becoming innocent of a great many colours of criticism directed towards it....."¹

Haykal devotes a whole section in his Memoirs to the incidents surrounding his removal from the Senate Presidency in June 1950. At the end of May 1950, al-Ahrām reported that one of the senators had asked in Parliament for a clarification of the reason for the resignation from office of the head of the Government Office of Accountancy (diwān al-muḥāsabah). The question had been asked of the government and the senator also added that Nahhas after receiving resignation, had said: "It doesn't matter Mahmoud Bey, go on working!"² Most of the story came out after two hours of questions.

A cheque for L.E. 5,000 had been made out by the manager of al-Muwāssah Hospital on January 14th, 1948 to Karīm Thābit, the King's Press Attache - "for publicity reasons said to involve a lottery." This behaviour was highly irregular because the manager had written a cheque from a charity institute, belonging to the government, and it was cashed in the bank in favour of a particular person. Moreover, "the amount should have been duly recorded and there is no documentary evidence for it. Karīm Thābit has claimed that the money was needed to contribute to the

¹ Ibid.

² "Fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh - asbāb istiḳālat ra'is diwān al-muḥāsabah al-sābiq, in al-Ahrām, May 31, 1950.

expense of the Palestine war."¹

The incident took place during the Wafd government - although the cheque was dated January 1948, the actual occurrence had taken place on January 16th, 1950 - just when the Wafd had taken over the government.

The session had been faithfully covered by al-Ahrām which declared that it had been a most violent session, which had been disrupted by disputes and the exchange of harsh words, and that the government had asked to postpone the publication of the questioner's statements in order to be able to answer them.²

The Minister of Interior had made a statement in response to the incidents, in the Senate, and he declared that the session was uncontrolled: "Those who were opposed misbehaved, those who interrupted misbehaved, those who clapped misbehaved. But there was one thing I felt while I was seated in my place, and that was that that Chair (meaning that occupied by Haykal) had been shaken violently by the exaggerated infringement of the traditions of this assembly and its internal code; what happened in this questioning has never happened in any other questioning similar to it, or anything as serious as this"³

On May 6th, al-Asās wrote that public opinion and the newspapers had been occupied with the story for a week, and that the question had taken two sessions. After the two sessions a series of statements and declarations had been made, among these was

¹ Ibid.

² "Fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh - al-istijwāb al-khāṣṣ bi'istiḳālat ra'is al-dīwān - a'naf jalsah takhalalatuhā al-mushādāt wa tabādul al-'ibārāt al-qāsiyah," in al-Ahrām, May 30, 1950.

³ "Fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh asbāb istiḳālat ra'is dīwān al-muḥāsabah al-sābiq," in al-Ahrām, January 31, 1950.

the statement made by the Minister of Interior attacking Haykal. The newspaper then said that the day before the Chamber had had a session which was expected to be as heated as the preceeding ones, but it seemed that the government had considered the affair, and estimated that it was not to its advantage to fight a war against Haykal now, because with Haykal were a great many of the Senate members, a lot of whom were Wafdists. They had enforced him to allow freedom of speech in the questioning, but he had limited this freedom to the same extent as he had with the Wafd government when it had been in the opposition. Consequently, it would be wise for the Wafd not to resort to battle in the Senate. But, the newspaper continued, the Minister of Interior had the day before visited Haykal in his office in the Senate, and he had tried to excuse his attack on Haykal and to explain his position. The meeting had been a long one which had ended in an agreement that Haykal should talk in the Chamber and that the minister keep silent.

Consequently, Haykal had made the following speech in the Senate:-

"Your Excellencies the senators, in my capacity as head of this respectable council, the largest legislative body in the country, I (wish to) put matters in their place..... I am mindful of the Constitution, and the internal code of regulations and freedom of speech in this assembly, which brings together a selection of statesmen and her purest sons. They know their constitutional rights and duties and the right they have to give their opinion in absolute freedom."¹

¹"Ba'd istijwāb Mustafā Mar'ī Bek - al-majlis yakhdhīl al-hukūmah bi'aghlabiyat (56) ṣawtā did (38) ṣawtā al-naṣr al-khātif wa'l-hazīmah al-khātifah: Kalimat Haykal Bāshā," in al-Asās, June 6, 1950.

"..... It is not the business of the person seated in this chair that he should undertake to answer what is published in newspapers..... and I assure Your Excellencies that this Chair which I am honoured to sit on for the sixth year, is as stable as a mountain, because the person seated in it is doing his duty in all circumstances, within the limits of the Constitution, and the internal code of regulations and the good traditions which were followed in your respected council....."¹

¹Ibid.

HAYKAL AND THE INCIDENTS FROM

JULY 1950 TO JULY 1952

CHAPTER EIGHT

HAYKAL AND THE INCIDENTS FROM
JULY 1950 TO JULY 1952

He said that they talked in their conference of the 'war' and the 'cold war' which had dominated the world since 1945, although the United Nations General Assembly had in 1948, with regard to the Palestine question, decided to refer the matter to the Security Council. He said that the decision was not to refer the matter to the Security Council but to refer it to the United Nations.

Further on, Haykal said that the old policy of preparing for war was not an easy policy and that there were many considerations which had to be taken into account and one of these was the relationship between the Arab and Jewish peoples. He said that the Arab people were not prepared to accept the Jewish people as a separate nation and that the Jewish people were not prepared to accept the Arab people as a separate nation. He said that the Arab people were not prepared to accept the Jewish people as a separate nation and that the Jewish people were not prepared to accept the Arab people as a separate nation.

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HAYKAL AND THE INCIDENTS FROM
JULY 1950 TO JULY 1952

In July of 1950, Sidqi Pasha the former Prime Minister, and Haykal's foe of the early 30's passed away. Haykal wrote a short elegy on him which was published in al-Asās, on July 10th.

That September, al-Asās quoted a speech made by Haykal in Ireland, probably made at a parliamentary conference there, although the paper does not mention this. In this speech Haykal said that the General Secretary's report was a masterly exposition of the world situation and that the dominating feature in that report was anxiety over the future of mankind, because of the feuding between the two blocks, eastern and western. He said that this anxiety had influenced him (Haykal) not to speak of any of the subjects presented for investigation by the conference. He was therefore, due to the seriousness of the situation, called upon to say that they had to get together to cooperate, although he knew that to avoid a catastrophe was not an easy thing.

He said that they talked in their conference of the 'war of nerves', and 'the cold war' which had dominated the world since 1943, although the United Nations General Assembly had in 1947 taken a decision regarding war propaganda * - but that decision since being issued had not gone beyond the stage of ink on paper.

Further on, Haykal said that the old policy of preparing for war was not an easy policy and that there were many considerations that had to be taken into account and one of these was dictatorship. Dictatorship, by its very nature, inclined towards war because each time it wished to make people forget hardships, it pushed them to war. As for democracy, it gave each person the right to speak.

* See Haykal's speech on war propaganda above, p.

Haykal then spoke of how the nations of the North Atlantic Treaty had allowed Italy to enter it in order to face the danger of communism: " And we believe that the states which had contracted it would declare that it was open to any democratic nation which wished to join it. The membership of Italy in that treaty - and it is a Mediterranean state - was what encouraged us to that belief..... but nothing of this happened..."¹

Haykal again stressed the need for unified action and spoke of a 'unified block', truly united, and making the other behind the iron curtain think twice before pushing the world over the precipice and then think a third time to find a solution to remove the anxiety dominating the world.

He went on: "But this unity between democratic nations would be a reality if the principles of the United Nations Charter were applied equally on all nations, guaranteeing the equality of nations in sovereignty, a true equality. Then the small nations and the weak nations will feel they are truly equal to the strong nations and the big nations, sure that their freedom and independence will be respected in international life....."²

He concluded that if the democracies united on this basis, this would change the international situation from what it was today completely. "Because the democratic nations which were kept away from the Atlantic Treaty are ready from today to present all they have in their power, of effort and capability and sufficiency, to join with the western states in facing the present international crisis and to save peace and civilization."³

¹"al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā yaqūl: Kānat al-ḥarb fī Kūryā ḥarb barazat fīhi khuṣūmat al-shuyū'iyah wa'l dimūqrāṭiyah sāfirah," in al-Asās, September 11, 1950.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

The Liberal Constitutional Party celebrated the twenty-eighth anniversary of its foundation on October 31st, and Haykal gave a short speech saying that the occasion held for him a memory, "of a long struggle on the way to establish freedom of opinion and the true parliamentary democratic idea..."¹ and that at that time two main ideas had dominated which still existed. The first involved one man one-party leadership, and the second the rule of the parliamentary majority, composed of several parties, which had agreed to a common aim.

Haykal also said: "The ruler to whom the people give their confidence should conform to an ideal in his government, because he is the man of everyone, and it is distressing that in Egypt most of us still think 'whoever is my ally, I have to favour him at the expense of others and if he is my opponent I have to be unfair to him at the expense of others!'"²

Haykal also alluded to a petition³ presented by the heads of parties in the opposition to the King before the meeting of Parliament, and he mentioned that the most important question it dealt with was the army investigations pertaining to the Palestine war. Haykal then talked about the men surrounding the King, and then of the unilateral cancellation of the (Anglo - Egyptian) Treaty.

Haykal was asked about his opinion regarding the Muslim Brotherhood and he answered that their association was disbanded by martial law. It was normal that the day this law was removed that all its traces be removed. He stated that he had asked the Minister of the Interior what had been done about the Brotherhood and the latter had answered that they were a political problem.

¹ "Fī'l dhikrā al-thāminah wa'l-'ashrīn li'tā'sīs hizb al-aḥrār-khitāb siyāsī li'l-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, November 1, 1950.

² Ibid.

³ Haykal, M. Mudhakkirāt, op.cit., Vol.II, p.302 - 304.

He saw it preferable to maintain the order (of disbonding the brotherhood) one more year, then the association would return to its activity next May. Haykal said that unless the association broke the law it should be allowed to return to its activities.

Less than a week later, on November 7th, Haykal again spoke at a reception given by the Liberal Constitutional Party. He recounted that on the same day in 1935, Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha had spoken in the Lutfallah Palace in Gezirah and that that was during Nessim Pasha's cabinet. On that day Mohammed Mahmoud had promised to restore the Constitution of 1923, to replace that of 1930. Haykal added that everyone had been ready to answer Mohammed Mahmoud's call and the ministry had negotiated the restoration of the Constitution.

Now, Haykal said, the seriousness of the situation in the country resembled the situation in 1935, although the situation today was many times more serious than it had been in 1935, because as he said: "in 1935 there had been no investigations like the ones going on today concerning the army transactions, and those pertaining to the smuggling of provisions to Israel - it having been said that those who participated in those crimes are tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands. The government then in (1935) was not built on a basis of terrorism organized by gangs rioting in the streets and public thoroughfares, for the benefit of the party which is ruling, bringing back memories of the Blue Shirts era. The press was not (then) under military censorship.....and high prices had not brought people down so that the poor and middle class employees and others were unable to find their food or to feed others dependent on them. There was nothing of the sort fifteen years ago. But the government then used to object to the preference for the allies of the Wafd over their opponents...."¹

¹ "Iḥtifāl al-Ahrār al-Dusturiyīn bi'takrīm Sa'ādat al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā - Khitāb watanī jāmī' li'ra'īs ḥizb al-Ahrār," in al-Asās, November 8, 1950.

"They believed the Wafd had benefited from the lessons of the past, and that it would no longer use terrorism and show favouritism to a group of its allies over the whole nation. And now there they are.... today they see that the lessons of the past have been forgotten, and that the Wafd has gone back to what the people complained of regarding tyranny and favouritism and nepotism and opportunism."

Haykal defined the theory of Wafd rule as being autocratic despotism par excellence. "And if it were possible for it to use the people and to use deputy life to buttress its despotism it would None of you have forgotten, and the nation has not forgotten how it depended on British bayonets and on martial law during the last world war, and how it made them, after February 4th, 1942, supporters of its arbitrariness and dictatorship."

Haykal went on attacking the Wafd and further on mentioned how that party could brook no criticism, and how it had behaved towards the senators in the opposition when some had objected that free secondary education would devastate the technical schools, and lower the levels of secondary and university education. The motion was passed however, but the Wafd newspapers reacted as though the opposition had no right to give its opinion.

Haykal also said, "When the Wafd came into government, it was wondering desperately who to rely on. It was not assured then that the support of the people would be useful, and therefore it decided to pretend weakness..... and it was greedy enough to want the opposition's help in the execution of this policy."¹ He said that it had not feared the opposition among the deputies, since they were a minority, but that they had feared them in the Senate. Yet the Senate had not, in the first months of Wafd rule, placed any obstacles in its way.

¹ Ibid.

Haykal went on: "How could the majority of the assembly allow itself to think that all this could be the subject of an investigation? What kind of blasphemy and unscrupulousness was that? Except that those senators were firmly adhering to the rules of the Constitution which stated that a member of Parliament could not be held responsible for things he had said in the assembly, and if they see that that rule allows them to use irreverent language and profanity they are sadly mistaken, because Karīm Thābit Pasha and people like him..... are above the Constitution and the laws of the country, and those who speak about him or about the army must be punished, so that they do not repeat this again." He continued, "..... It is for that reason that the ministry committed a howling aggression on the rules of the Constitution, and with the orders of last June 17th expelled the important politicians with a long history of service to their country from the Senate. And they imagined that by that act they had knocked out the whole country....."

Haykal also attacked the cabinet's foreign policy. He said that it had been unable to resume negotiations with the British government to develop a new treaty. He also referred to Egypt's position in the various committees of the United Nations, and in the Arab League, and said that it had weakened. He said that Egypt had lost the confidence of many states because of the strange foreign policy adopted - sometimes siding with the Western blocks and sometimes with the Eastern block.

Haykal said that to improve the situation it would be necessary to recognize the mistakes made which had lead to the imposition of laws restricting freedom - most important among these was allowing the investigations into the army transactions to remain secret. It was very bad, he said, to restrict the freedom of the press, and very wrong that European papers should know more about the truth of the matter than did the Egyptian press.

Haykal also demanded the rectification of the unconstitutional situation - not merely rescinding the protocol of last June 17th....., but that constitutional life in Egypt should be run on the same lines as in England and other parliamentary countries. He said that in parliamentary countries ministers were not allowed to buy things sold by the government, even if these were offered in public auction - because this could imply wrong use of influence. He also said that ministers had to be forbidden to promote relatives.

Haykal also remarked that the Prime Minister and ministers were required to protect the King's position; he said that Prime Ministers in parliamentary nations were permitted to call on the King at any hour of the day or night - and that the King had to give his opinion, and his signature was an order, and that there should be no intermediaries between the King and the Prime Minister.

"If we wish to protect ministers who weaken in front of their desires," he went on, ".... we should pass laws which would bring peace of mind to the nation as regards to the honesty of rulers, and that it (rule) be for the welfare of those ruled, not for the welfare of the rulers."¹

Haykal's speech lasted for one and a half hours, and the newspaperman who covered it asked the opinions of several highly placed Independents, and most of these were in favour of the speech and expressed their hope that the government would take heed of it. One said that Haykal had left nothing unsaid, and that the situation required strong handling.²

On November 16th, another reception was given for Haykal, and again he described the different kinds of corruption which had become common in the country, so that it had penetrated all

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

the levels in the country. He also commented on Nahhas' speech from the throne, particularly regarding the cancellation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Haykal said that the statements made by the responsible parties, before the meeting of Parliament, were all to the effect that the government would announce the abrogation of this treaty, and the consequences this cancellation would have on the country. But these declarations, Haykal said, had evaporated and had only been made for local consumption, and after this the head of government had rudely declared that the treaty had lost its effectiveness, and that there would be therefore no harm in cancelling it after working on a new treaty.

Haykal then asked: "Does any one not know that the first clause in a new treaty which follows another..... states that the first treaty is abrogated - then what new factor did the head of government bring (or add) in order for him to say there was no harm in cancelling the treaty.... and what kind of farce is this?" ¹

He also asked why Nahhas had not told them instead the steps he would take if he cancelled the treaty before he found a solution with the English. Then Haykal once again spoke of the actions of the ministry and how it had lately savagely attacked the newspapers of the opposition in an attempt to stop their denunciation.

In December, Haykal attended a reception which included several rising young journalists - among whom were 'Alī Amīn, Moustafa Amīn and Ihsān Abdel Qudūs. He said he had not forgotten that he was first and foremost a journalist fifteen years ago.

¹ "Ḥukūmat 'lā manāṣ' aw ḥukūmat Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās-fī ḥaflat al-Aḥrār al-Dusturiyīn," in al-Asās, November 17, 1950.

"These journalists are giving the country what it needs - courage and toughness. They have to rise against the tyrannical ruler and tell him he is a tyrant - tell him in one voice "we do not accept tyranny. The tyrant is only tyrannical because he is weak."¹

"Brothers," he continued, "allow me to tell you that in our celebration today we are undertaking a job not done in any other nation - because what are these journalists doing? They are doing the duty their conscience is dictating, and the ruler is fighting them..... I am asking since when was a difference of opinion the cause of contention or enmity....? Everywhere people of different beliefs and religions meet, and despite this difference it is possible that there should be friendship and goodwill - and for the sake of a difference in opinion there arises this riotous dispute (khuṣūmah hawgā').... In my opinion the question is not a difference of opinion, (Haykal was referring here to the Nahhas cabinet) but there is a difference of private interests and personal welfare, and on the day people disagree over interests and welfare, the person most afraid is the one most careful about his interests..... until that person wins the spoils."

Haykal then recounted how last March the government had bought slightly less than three million pounds of maize (dhurah) and that the previous ministry had purchased these. This grain had been bought with the idea of storing it in the cooperative banks to sell at fixed prices for the agriculturalists. That ministry had been replaced by that of Nahhas, and the maize had been divided between the deputies and the Senate and certain cooperative agencies. As a result, there had not been enough grain,

¹ "Yawm Khālīd fī 'l-difā' 'an hurriyat al-rā'y: khuṭbat Haykal Bāshā," in al-Asās, December 11, 1950.

and people had to buy it at thirty or forty piasters the kilo, while the black market sold it at forty-three piasters. Nahhas had "saved" the situation in a typical way by allowing certain cotton dealers to import a million, three hundred thousand bushels (ardab) of rotten maize from Russia, and half of this was like pebbles. The price for this new maize was fifteen piasters the kilo, but the people preferred the other forty-three piasters kind, on the principle that better the dhurah you could eat than that which you could not. Here Haykal's audience shouted: "And you could not feed it to the chicken!"¹

Haykal mentioned that he knew someone who had received a thousand ardab of the first maize and who had made a profit of not less than eighteen thousand pounds.

He also referred to the arms transaction scandal, and he said that the Prosecutor-general had declared it to be the most critical case Egypt had known, and if it did go to court, and if permission were given to the victims (of the Palestine debacle) to say what was on their minds everything would be uncovered.

"But," he went on, "the question is not the change of ministry - we want justice, we want rule which is based equity - we want to be all equal in front of the law."

The high ranking members of the Wafd had claimed that their rule was socialist, and Haykal answered: "This is boldness and what boldness! Do you see any socialism, gentlemen, in what you see now - one group deals in cotton and is making millions while another buys rings and brooches and all kinds of jewelry."²

At the end of that year Haykal answered a letter written to him by Nashā't Pasha, who had formerly been in King Fouad's

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

retinue. Haykal had already asked him to stop arguing with him until the Memoirs Haykal was writing were published between January and February 1951. But Nashā't went on writing about incidents in the way he wished.

Haykal's answer to Nashā't dealt first with Haykal's review of the book by Alī Abdel Raziq's book al-Islām wa uṣūl al-ḥukm, and whether he meant that King Fouad had wanted to be Caliph of the Muslims. Nashā't had volunteered his testimony that Sa'd Pasha (Zaghlūl) had suggested to the King to become Caliph and the King had refused. The King had then asked Nashā't his opinion, and the latter had answered that it was not right for Egypt to carry a heavier burden in these critical times than she already was.

"Then," asked Haykal, "what is Nashā't out to prove by this innuendo?"¹ If he thought that this would lead to anything then this was proof that he had as little judgement today as he had had in the past. If it was true King Fouad had wanted to be Caliph, of what importance was it to Nashā't, or to the Liberal Constitutional Party? Was Nashā't not aware that at present such a topic was inappropriate as a basis for intrigue?

Haykal also accused Nashā't of using books written by the British as testimonials about the Egyptians. Nashā't had been "exiled" (or rather sent away from Egypt because of his friendliness with the British - a fact that had been mentioned in Lord Lloyd's book on Egypt).

Moreover Nashā't had said that the Liberal Constitutionalists had intrigued against him, and this as well was the fruit of his imagination, and he had said that that party had secretly wanted a republic, and that also was rubbish since no one remembered this.

¹ "Haykal Bāshā yarud 'alā Nashā't Bāshā," in al-Ahrām, December 31, 1950.

Haykal concluded his letter by saying that after his return from Europe (he was leaving in two days to attend a conference), the Memoirs would be completed for Nashā't to read "..... so it is hoped he will be able to find new material for articles to entertain the newspaper readers in these critical days."¹

On the tenth anniversary of Mohammed Mahmoud's death on January 31st, 1951, Haykal gave his usual commemorative speech, saying that in celebrating his death one missed him even more.

He said that the poor classes, which included the fellahīn, workers and civil servants, were badly in need of the government's protection of their freedom, and its guarantee of their right to live as humans. These classes had been protected by Mohammed Mahmoud, and he had cared about their problems just as much as he had cared about the independence of the country and its sovereignty, because he believed these classes were the principal pillars of the independence.²

The third week of February, al-Asās reported that Haykal had spoken in the Senate about the country's financial situation. Haykal spoke first of the monetary policies and said he had noticed a difference in certain sections of the budget that differed from the preceeding year. He said he hoped the senators would agree with his remarks, so that the government would take these into account in planning the budget of the following year.

Haykal noted that there was a feature which dealt with the army's expenditure and weapons - specifically in the Ghazah sector. Haykal maintained that these features were related to Egypt's external policy and that it was therefore necessary to know exactly what the external situation was, and Haykal said he feared the knowledge was haphazard.

¹ Ibid.

² "Haykal Bāshā yakhtub fī dhikrā Mohammed Mahmūd Bāshā," in al-Asās, February 1, 1951.

"What is our purpose of buying arms? Are we preparing for a possible war....?"¹ There were two possibilities either that Egypt would be fighting a terrible war, or that it was preparing to defend itself against an aggression from its neighbour, and both cases were distinct. He then said that if Egypt did participate in a war, then it was up to whichever block or country she sided with to provide her with arms.

On the other hand, if Egypt was arming herself because of Israel, then there was also the Palestine question which had remained unsolved for years. Haykal also remarked that if the government wished to buy arms, it had better deal directly with official sources - because when it had dealt with companies and unofficial sources the weapons had turned out to be useless (as in the Palestine war). Had the weapons been suitable and had they functioned Egypt would have won the last war (Palestine).

Haykal also asked that when the new budget was set, pressure would be put on the government employees to work, because many went to work and did absolutely nothing in their offices.

The discussions also dealt with taxation and Haykal commented on the President of the Senate's wish to forbid smoking, and Haykal asked if this was true, then he suggested that should the government decide to impose such a tax it should resort to Parliament for its agreement. He also said that the prohibition of smoking would open wide the doors to smugglers.

Haykal also pointed out the British basis for paying taxes and stated that Egypt's income had to be used for reform, not for the building of palaces or for throwing parties.²

¹"Fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh - Haykal Bāshā ya 'tarid 'alā al-siyāṣah al-māliyah al-'āmah," in al-Asās, February 22, 1951.

²Ibid.

In the Senate's next session in March, Haykal spoke again. He pointed first to the report presented by the Foreign Minister and said that it did not contain any information on his communications or talks, and that the minister had refused to make any statements even to the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate. Yet the minister's discussions with the British had been going on for quite a time - for fourteen or fifteen months.

Haykal then recounted how Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Minister had, on January 27th, 1950, stopped over Cairo on his return from the Commonwealth Conference, and he had had a nocturnal meeting with the Egyptian Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The talks had dealt with many problems relating to the Egyptian question. The matter had after that been presented to the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, and the Foreign Minister had seen no objection then to give any information to the committee, and Haykal in his speech pointed out that no information had at that time been released to the media, and therefore Egypt's case had not been affected in any way.

He therefore insisted that there should be complete confidence between Parliament, the government and the people in all parties, particularly under the present troubled international atmosphere. He said that confidence had to exist, just as joint efforts should be made for Egypt's benefit, and opinions should be exchanged to allow her ultimately to reach her aims.

Haykal also recounted how the Foreign Affairs Minister had travelled to Europe and then to the United States, where he went on a publicity tour for Egypt that had cost L.E. 175,000, apart from L.E. 75,000 which had been the expenses of the Egyptian delegation to the United Nations. He said that after that it was expected that Egypt's case would be influenced in some way, particularly since the minister had met his British Counterpart during his stay. Egypt's two demands were known - these were the complete evacuation and the unity of the Nile valley.

Haykal also inquired about the Sudan, and he was answered that talks between the Foreign Ministers had only pertained to defense matters.

The Foreign Minister said he wished to correct an item of information given by Haykal Pasha - he had not spent 175,000 pounds it was really 10,000. He added he found it sufficient to say that the government's position regarding evacuation and the unity of the Nile valley was what it had always been, and that should suffice to appease Haykal Pasha. Moreover, he said, Haykal Pasha had forgotten an important fact which was that it was the government's right to choose the time to speak.

Haykal then said that this was not a point of difference, and the minister answered that it was solely the government's absolute right as it was the right of the President of the Senate to stop discussions, and Haykal Pasha had done this himself. He also said that while the British had always called the Egyptian question a question of defence, the Egyptians called it a matter of evacuation.¹

In April 1951, the Liberal Constitutional Party mourned the death of Abdel Aziz Fahmy Pasha. Haykal's funeral oration included a short resumé of the dead man's life and achievements. He had been the godfather of the party, and its president in 1925, and again in 1941. He had also been one of the godfathers of the Egyptian Constitution. He had resigned from his post as chief judge in the Cours de Cassation in 1935, and had aided Mohammed Mahmoud with his advice during the 1936 negotiations.²

That June, Haykal sent a letter to the editor of the weekly magazine Rūz al-Yūsuf, in which he asked about an investigation

¹ Fī Majlis al-Shuyūkh - Haykal Bāshā yuṭālib bi'l-'udūl 'an siyāsat al-ṣamt," in al-Asās, March 20, 1951.

² Iḥtifāl al-Ahrār al-Dustūriyyīn bi'tā'bīn 'Abdel 'Azīz Fahmī Bāshā - khuṭbat Haykal Bāshā," in al-Asās, April 23, 1951.

which the magazine had carried out the week before. The subject of this investigation pertained to documents which had apparently originated from Nahhas, and in these he seemed to have held communications with the Soviet Embassy. Rūz al-Yusūf had reported that what Haykal and his colleagues had done, namely giving the documents to the Head of the King's Diwān, Hasan Youssef Pasha, was a reactionary move and was unconstitutional. The magazine had maintained that the documents should have been submitted either to Parliament, or to the press, or to Nahhas himself. Haykal answered: "Permit me to contradict your opinion on that subject, equally from the constitutional angle and from the practical angle."¹ He went on to say that sending the documents to Nahhas would have been unproductive, as he would have denied the genuineness of the documents, and he would have caused a scandal. The same thing would have occurred had the documents been presented to Parliament-Nahhas would have caused a riot!

Haykal said that the day he and his colleagues had received the documents, their greatest problem had been to determine whether these were genuine or false. "For that reason we saw that we should resort to a man who had at this disposal official papers bearing Nahhas Pasha's signature..... so we went to the..... Head of the King's Diwān, and Allouba Pasha gave him the two documents to check their genuineness. We thought that if had it been definitely proved that these documents were genuine, it was up to the Diwān of His Majesty the King to do what was constitutionally correct....."²

If Hasan Youssef assured himself that the documents were genuine he would tell the King, who's constitutional right it was to give his opinion on that matter to his Prime Minister.

¹ "Khiṭāb khatīr li'Haykal Bāshā - li'mādhā lam yustad'ā Hasan Bāshā Yusūf li'l-shahādah," in Rūz al-Yusūf, June 14, 1951.

² Ibid.

Hasan Youssef was unsure of the authenticity of the documents, although he kept them for a time. He had then given them back to Allouba Pasha, and both parties considered the matter closed. But Nahhas had found another photocopy of the two documents and had presented them to the Prosecutor's office with a report from him and from another Wafd member, Ibrahim Faraq; and the Prosecutor had not tried to find out how Nahhas had obtained the copy, nor did he ask Hasan Youssef about the matter.

Haykal said that the Palace had more cause to investigate the documents than any other authority, although it was neither a legislative, nor an executive, nor a judicial power.

Nahhas and Ibrahim Faraq had also accused Haykal at the Prosecutor's office of using false documents with the knowledge that they were false, and they knew without a doubt that their accusation was a lie. Yet despite that the Prosecutor's Office had humoured him, and during the investigation had asked for the removal of immunity from Allouba Pasha-a former Minister of Justice and a judge, and from another important army general.

Haykal closed his letter to the editor by saying: "I have some advice to give those to whom good or bad luck has pushed to work in politics, (and this is) not to tangle with justice in their fights or disputes, because the fair judge in political struggle is public opinion and that is what distinguishes the sly from the good....."¹

Later that month Haykal made a speech at his party's headquarters. He declared that the government pretended to be socialist, but imposed taxes on the people that were almost similar to British taxes-which were reputed to be very high. He also said that it was impossible for Egypt's national income to increase at this particular time when the cotton was being sold for extravagant prices.

¹ Ibid.

He stressed the point that a government which did not think of the people's interest was treacherous, and that the government should have reacted to the corruption and evil which had brought about this hopeless situation. He also said that the opposition had decided to leave the government enough rope to hang itself with.

It was Ramadan, he said, and there was no qamar al-dīn (dried apricot), nor was it sold on the black market. Corruption had spread and ruin had caused everything to collapse. Had the British government needed an excuse such as corruption to take over Egypt again, the Wafdists could not have given them a better one.

He maintained that he did not want to accuse them of treachery, but rather of wrong policy, shortness of vision - and absolute degrading failure.

The negotiations between Egypt and England, continued Haykal, which had ended in the 1936 Treaty, had lasted only five or six months, whereas the present negotiations had started in February 1950 and were still going on - a total of eighteen months, and neither party had reached a decision. He also pointed out that negotiations had been going on since 1885.

He also made a joke with the names of the Wafd ministers and said that the committee of the four big ones had included Sarrāj al-Dīn, Salāh al-Dīn, Faraj al-Dīn and al-jada Qamar al-Dīn (the youth named dried apricot. This was a pun).

He made a reference to the false documents, saying he was sure neither of the ministers, Sarrāj al-Dīn and Farag, had meant to accuse him or Allouba of presenting false documents; but he said they had gotten carried away like the fellahīn who presented such accusations and then went to boast about this to others.

According to Haykal the government was committing suicide. Maybe it could still depend on Parliament, but it had destroyed itself. He predicted that it would be finished by the end of 1951. He said in his conclusion: ".... when a government stoops in the way that this cabinet has by its treatment of the people ... the imposition of taxes.... the creation of classes, favouritism and nepotism to relatives and friends - when things have come to such a point-I say that this ministry cannot by any means remain in power....,"¹ and he announced that the Liberal Constitutional Party would organize a conference on October 31st.²

In October 1951 he wrote an editorial in which he mentioned how in 1945 the parties had agreed to negotiate for a new treaty to replace that of 1936. In 1946, negotiations had taken place and the security council had been approached, but nothing had been realized, and the situation was difficult to control. The Egyptian government had decided to ignore the 1936 Treaty and not to execute its obligations.

"The present ministry had seen, after eighteen months of fruitless negotiations, that it had to realize the national aspirations - (and) so it abrogated the 1936 Treaty and announced that it would very soon show the Parliament and the nation the steps it would take for the abrogation to be practical and productive.... and we support the ministry in the realization of Egypt's aspirations.... As for the practical steps towards that abrogation we cannot give an opinion.... before the cabinet shows it to the nation."³

¹"Khuṭbah khaṭīrah li-Haykal Bāshā yunāqish fihā al-ḥukūmah al-Naḥḥāsiyah al-ḥisāb," in al-Asās, June 26, 1951.

²Ibid.

³"Haykal Bāshā yaqūl: Naḥn nuwāfiq wa nantaḥir al-khuṭuwāt al-ʿamaliyah," in al-Asās, October 10, 1951.

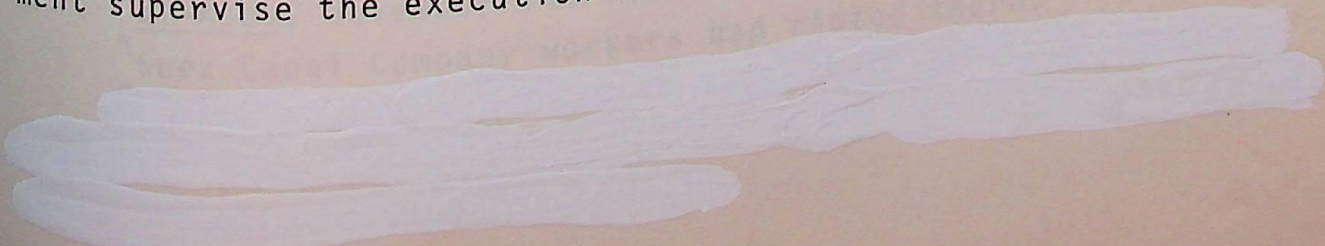
"Our greatest wish," he concluded, " is that the government should succeed in these steps to guarantee the welfare of the homeland...."

"Īd al-jihad" was celebrated once more that year, and Haykal told his audience that in 1919 the Egyptians had asked for their independence, and that today she was taking this celebration as a motivation in her present attempt to rid herself of the 1936 treaty. He also said that the struggle that had taken place within a third of a century had given the sons of today the impetus to increase their efforts.

The 1946 negotiations, said Haykal, had been about to end in an agreement which was to be known as the Sidqi-Bevin project, but after Sidqi had returned from London the British Prime Minister had given a different interpretation to the agreement concerning the Sudan than that given by Sidqi.

Haykal then spoke of the present ministry and said that the Prime Minister had said in his speech from the throne that he Egypt would negotiate with England to realize her aims. But, he said, although Egypt had failed to go beyond the 1936 treaty, despite the attempts by the Security Council, and the efforts of Egyptian cabinets, this should not prevent her from considering October 8th, 1951, (the day Nahhas had announced the abrogation of the 1936 treaty), a historical and glorious day, and that on October 14th, the Liberal Constitutional Party had given their support of the treaty.

Haykal stressed the need for the order, which he said was the true guarantee to victory. He also recommended that Parliament supervise the execution of the abrogation of the treaty.



He also said that if the organizations got together and communicated with the government and there was an exchange of trust the efforts would succeed.

He concluded ".... Let us all take heed of our affairs and let each of us take our responsibilities in hand boldly and intrepidly, so that each of us does his duty and we go forward....."¹

On December 8th, Akhbār al-Yawm reported a session in the Senate in which the questions centred round the internal incidents, and the riots that had occurred in Suez.* A senator from the opposition also complained that he had been interrupted in the Senate, whereupon Haykal said that he had been President of the Senate for five and a half years, and he had never thought of cutting any speaker. He illustrated his point by saying: "If freedom of speech is not allowed, parliamentary life will be no more than ink on paper.....,"² and it would mean nothing else and people would lose confidence in it.

He said that "the Constitution guarantees to each member of Parliament the freedom to give his opinion without limit, and excuses him from anything he may say in the assembly, and if what he says falls under the Penal Code list, the executive power is not allowed to give him titles or ranks to protect him from being influenced or affected in anyway."³

Haykal also asked the President of the Senate not to follow the above procedure too closely.

¹ "Fī 'Īd al-jihād - khutbat al-Duktūr Haykal Bāshā," in al-Asās, November 14, 1951.

* Suez Canal Company workers had rioted there.

² "Ra'īs al-Shuyūkh wa'l-wuzarā', yukhālifūn al-Dustūr," in Akhbār al-Yawm, December 8, 1951.

³ Ibid.

Egypt in 1952 saw a great many changes, some temporary and others that were to remain. In January, violent riots broke out in cities and towns and this led to clashes with the police. In some towns near the Suez Canal, the British forces clashed with saboteurs who were trying to wreck public utilities. The Egyptian Minister of the Interior thereupon ordered the police troops present in Suez to stand against the British troops. These had meanwhile ordered the forces of the buluk niḡām - auxiliary troops, which had congregated in Isma'īliyah, to withdraw from there because their presence bothered the British troops. The forces refused to withdraw - despite the Interior Minister's orders.

The result was an appalling debacle since the British forces used their canons and killed more than (80) people.

In Cairo, the newspapers reported these incidents and consequently riots broke out there as well. When the Minister of the Interior found that he needed extra forces, he went to the Palace and asked the King to provide him with armed troops to control the situation. Consequently, army troops were ordered into the city and the situation was soon under control, but not without damage. Arsonists had been at work, and whole blocks and buildings were destroyed by fire.

The Wafd cabinet's position had thus become impossible, and the King ordered its resignation. Ali Maher was ordered to form a ministry - but this cabinet only lasted a month.

At the end of January 1952, Haykal wrote an article for Akhbār al-Yawm, in which he mentioned that Egypt had said she did not want any interference or help from any Arab state in her deliberations with Britain, yet secret meetings had been held with envoys from Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Pakistan.

He said that the nation was surrounded by darkness, and declared ".... that in her recent past she had not met a more critical situation than the present one."¹ He asked if there was no one among the big politicians who would say anything. He wrote that the magazine Ākher Laḥẓah had interviewed several politicians namely Ali Maher, Bahī al-Din Barakāt, and Naḡuib al-Hilālī, a Wafd minister, and they had said that silence was absolutely necessary.²

In March 1952, the King after receiving Ali Maher's resignation, asked Naḡuib al-Hilālī Pasha to form a cabinet, and he formed one independent of the Wafd.

In early June, Haykal wrote an article refuting what people had been saying as to the necessity of abolishing political parties. Haykal answered that certain of the faults in the parties were not caused by the parties themselves as much as by factors foreign to them.

"The dictatorial streak present in the characters of some of those in charge of our public affairs, and others who find that the existence of parties represents a resistance against this dictatorial streak - to which they themselves owe a great debt - makes both factions do their utmost which includes the use of violent machiavellian means to ensure the maintenance (of this dictatorship)...."³

He said that the struggle between democracy and dictatorship was by no means new, indeed, it went back to 1881. He also remarked that twenty-eight years had passed since constitutional

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Naḥn na-ʿīsh fī ʿl ẓalām," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, January 26, 1952.

² Ibid.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Laʿīsat aḥzābunā mithālīyah wa lakinahā ʿinwān al-dimūqratiyah fī Miṣr," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, June 7, 1952.

life had been established in Egypt, and thirty ministries had governed - and not one of them had fallen because Parliament had caused them to.

Had the struggle ended and had rule become stable in Egypt on the basis of true freedom - freedom not covered by parliamentary eloquence nor by martial rule nor by charismatic dictatorship, but true freedom which resulted from mutual respect.

In his conclusion Haykal wrote that he hoped that the cabinet's latest decision-to have elections in October of that year-was a prologue to that stability.¹

The next time Haykal spoke, it was just after July 23rd, 1952. He gave a press conference at the Windsor Hotel in Alexandria, and said: "Egypt today is passing through decisive historical moments which will open a new era, which we hope will be of good augury in her present and future, it is therefore on the behavior of her sons-politicians, military and civilian-that her future depends, as regards independence and freedom, and the future of the people in abundance of life (al-*'aish*) and tranquillity."²

"For that reason it is necessary for all of Egypt's sons to make an example of themselves to others, and that they remember that what happened in the last days was an obvious result of bad government in the last years, and this became clearly obvious after the Palestine war-to all those who can see. We exposed this corruption in the writ we submitted to His Majesty, the former King in October 1950³, and we warned of its causes and results,

¹ Ibid.

² "ʿAshar malafāt min al-kasb ghayr al-mashrūʿ muʿīdah fī ʿl- ān liʿl-taqdīm ilā al-qadāʾ," in al-Akhhbār, July 28, 1952.

³ M. H. Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol. II, pp. 302-304.

but our complaints and our predictions fell on deaf ears...."

Haykal made a lengthy declaration to al-Akhbar on which he recommended the purification of the country from the evils and corruption which had attacked it, after which Egyptians could "... place their hands in each other's hands..... to realize for our country its aims....."¹

Haykal made another statement to the press that day saying that he had met with Ali Maher Pasha and wished him luck. He was asked about what the Constitution decreed when the King abdicates; he answered that there were no references to abdication in the rules of the Constitution, since this had been far-fetched eventuality.

Another reporter asked what Haykal meant by purifying the country. He answered that Hilālī Pasha, who had succeeded Nahhas as Prime Minister, had worked on the law of illegitimate gain, and had sent people around to ask what was the origin of a person's fortune-if that had been made from 1936 to the present. Some of the people asked had appeared before the prosecution. Gains which had been made after the law had been passed would be severely punished, if these gains were not restituted to the government. "What I do know," continued Haykal, "is that the Minister of Justice had left ten files which were ready to be presented (to the Prosecution), and that the Minister of Justice in the Sirry cabinet had kept them for a time-hopefully to examine them again."*

When Haykal was asked what he thought of the army coup, he answered that he hoped this coup would bear fruit quickly, and that it would purify the means of government. As for the Regency, he held the view that the Council of Regents should have no party affiliations, and they should be amongst those renowned for their

¹ Ibid.

* Naguib al-Hilālī's cabinet resigned on June 28, 1952, and was succeeded by Husayn Sirry's cabinet.

integrity, honesty, purity of conscience and paternal feelings.

He also said he was leaving the next day for Lebanon, after Ali Maher had assured him that there was nothing urgent at the time which required asking Haykal's opinion.¹

The King had abdicated on July 23rd, 1952 in favour of his son Ahmed Fouad, a six-month old baby. As the new King was still very much a minor, a Council of Regents had to be appointed to reign until he came of age.

¹ "Taṣrīḥ li'Haykal Bāshā," in al-Miṣri, July 28, 1952.

HAYKAL'S ARTICLES FROM 1953 TO 1956

CHAPTER NINE

HAYKAL'S ARTICLES FROM 1953 TO 1956

In March, Haykal wrote an article in *al-Yawm*, probably under the pseudonym *al-Haykal*, in which he criticized the 1953 Constitution and its clauses. He insisted that the Constitution of 1953 was not in any way responsible for the corruption in Egypt. He also declared: "And if it is possible for us to put the blame on the foreign state for any of that corruption, it was (also) due to the weakness of character which reached the extent of hypocrisy in some of those in responsible positions, and which enabled the former regime to fall down to the extent it had..."

Further on he continued: "As for the clauses of the 1953 Constitution—they are sound in their essence, and it is not even the fault of that weakness of character, we would not have blamed the Constitution of 1953 in any way, and that Constitution would have lasted for generations without worrying anyone. Those who are accusing it today wish to rid themselves of their own responsibility by throwing it on blameless clauses... Let us therefore be realistic, see what is to be reformed in us and in our institutions and character."

Muhammad Husayn Haykal, *al-Yawm*, 14 March 1953, in *al-Haykal*, January 1953.

Muhammad Husayn Haykal, *al-Yawm*, 27 March 1953, in *al-Haykal*, March 1953.

HAYKAL'S ARTICLES FROM 1953 TO 1956

al-Hilāl, in January 1953, published Haykal's memoirs of Dar al-Hilāl, the publishing firm of al-Hilāl, al-Muṣawwar and other magazines. He related how, as a pupil, he spent his holidays reading selections from al-Hilāl to his father. Later he grew up to read the romanticized historical novels of Jurjī Zaydan, ~~one of~~ the Dar al-Hilāl founders; that was how al-Hilāl and that firm's other publications had influenced Haykal's cultural outlook.¹

In March, Haykal wrote an article in Akhbar al-Yawm, probably answering Ali Maher, in defence of the Constitution and its clauses. He insisted that the Constitution of 1923 was not in any way responsible for the corruption in Egypt. He also declared: "And if it is possible for us to put the blame on any foreign state for any of that corruption, it was (also due to) the weakness of character which reached the extent of hypocrisy in some of those in responsible positions, and which enabled the former reign to fall down to the extent it had...."

Further on he continued: "As for the clauses of the 1923 Constitution-they are sound in their essence. Had it not been for that weakness of character, we would not have blamed the Constitution of 1923 in any way; and that Constitution would (have) lasted for generations without worrying anyone. Those who are accusing it today wish to rid themselves of their own guilt by throwing it on blameless clauses.... Let us therefore," he concluded, "see what is to be reformed in us and in our mentalities and characters."¹

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Ahdī bi'l-Hilāl," in al-Hilāl, January 1953.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Nahn al-mus'ulūn 'an al-fasād," in Akhbār al-Yawm, March 21, 1953.

In June 1953, an article of Haykal's appeared in Rūz al-Yusuf, in which he related how after the Nahhas ministry had fallen (early 1952) Haykal had been visited in his office by an American responsible for promoting the Egyptian economy, and he had asked Haykal what would raise the social standard of Egyptians?

Haykal knew that in the United States of America the percentage of technical workers was 85%, to 15% of farmers; and that Germany before the war had the same ratio as the U.S., whereas after the war the ratio was 50% farmers to 50% technicians. He therefore told the American that the advancement of a people corresponded to the technical workers and technical advice it disposed of - particularly since skilled workers earned a higher income than non skilled workers. The man agreed with Haykal but said that at the moment this was impossible in Egypt. However he promised to do his best, although he was soon after transferred to Washington.

Haykal's closing remarks were that Egypt did not ask for anything - it was going to borrow.¹

In August Haykal's souvenirs as a reporter were published in al-Hilāl. He said in these: "I have directed myself with all my might to defend an idea I had faith in and still have faith in - that is the freedom of the individual, the freedom of the group, and the freedom of the nation."²

Before Haykal had decided to work as a journalist, he had written articles defending ideas, and he had never made any money out of his articles - his intentions having been to defend an opinion.

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Qard min Amrīkā," in Rūz al-Yūsuf, June 15, 1953.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Dhikrayāt min ḥayātī al-ṣaḥāfiyah," in al-Hilāl, August 1953.

He said that Mohammed 'Abduh writing in al-'Urwa al-wuthqā had really inspired him and made him want to become a journalist, but most of all Qassim Amīn's call for the rights of women in Tahrīr al-mar'āh and al-Mar'āh al-Jadīdah had given him ideas he wished to defend.

His early memories as a reporter included a story of two Liberal Constitutional Party members who were assassinated less than a month after the newspaper al-Siyāsah appeared. Another story he told was of an exhibition where al-Siyāsah, the newspaper of which he was editor-in-chief, had exposed a model house for the fellahīn. King Fouad had visited the exhibition and expressed admiration for the house. However, al-Siyāsah was not in his good books, and when he discovered that the house was the newspaper's exhibit, he left.¹

In November, Haykal wrote in Akhbār al-Yawm that for the first time in the United Nations' history, western nations had agreed with the Soviet Union to gradually decrease arms. The four great powers had agreed that a United Nations committee would start supervising this decrease, and it would be assisted by Canada. He said that the Indian President Nehrū had stated that world peace would be achieved by the cooperation of nations.² He therefore asked if optimism was the correct attitude to take?

al-Ahrām in November 1953 recorded Haykal's testimony at the trial of the former minister and Liberal Constitutionalist Ahmed Abdel Ghaffār. Charles Smith in his book on Haykal implies that Haykal criticized ".... his fellow Liberal, Abd al Ghaffar."³

¹ Ibid.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Mawgat tafā'ul hal ta'qubuhā naksah," in Akhbār al-Yawm, November 6, 1953.

³ C.D. Smith, Islam and the Search of Social Order in Modern Egypt: A Biography of Muhammad Husayn Haykal, New York, 1983, pp. 175 - 176.

This is not correct, since the only criticism of Abdel Ghaffār was by another Liberal Constitutionalist Ḥāmed al-'Alaylī who testified on the same day as Haykal. Haykal himself spoke against the politics of the Wafd which had enabled the King to become tyrannical. He said that Parliamentary life and the Constitution had served the country; and that it was "the people who had accepted the policy of removing this person and replacing him by that one instead."¹

In December, Haykal wrote in Rūz al-Yūsuf that the new generation was not aware of Egypt's efforts to achieve independence in the last third of a century. He spoke of Egypt in 1914, when it had been ruled by a British High Commissioner, aided by bureaucrats and military men. All the military advisers, as well as inspectors and teachers were British. The ministry adviser was really the minister, and the Egyptian minister had no rights.

He said that what bothered the Egyptians most were the Capitulations granted by the Ottomans enabling the foreigner living in Egypt to enjoy privilēges protecting him from the police, Egyptian justice and Egyptian laws. The introduction of mixed courts did not change this feeling, because Egyptians defended themselves in these courts in a language not their own, and most of the judges were not Egyptians.

Haykal also mentioned the Constitution and how it had ruled that the state was the source of all authority. He also narrated how it had originated.

He concluded that Egypt's struggle had been a long and continuous one.²

¹"Aqwāl Haykal wa'l-'Alaylī fī qaḍiyat Ahmed 'Abd al-Ghaffār," in al-Ahrām, November 13, 1953.

²Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Lā qīmāh li'l hurriyah mā lam yudāfi' al-sha'b 'anhā," in Rūz al-Yūsuf, December 7, 1953.

On December 12th, 1953, Haykal was required to testify in front of the revolutionary court against the former Minister of the Interior Fouad Sarraj al-Din.

He was first asked about the Wafd's policy during Haykal's tenure as President of the Senate. He answered that it had first followed a policy of diplomacy and smoothness towards all parties. He said that Nahhas had been asked if he wished to dismiss the senators who had been appointed during the cabinet of the late Ahmed Maher, as had been done during Husayn Sirry's Premiership; and Nahhas had objected saying he wanted cooperation in the government.

Haykal said that it was on his return from a Parliamentary Conference he had found in the Senate's schedule the question submitted by Moustafa Mar'ī, pertaining to the resignation of the head of the Diwan of Accounts mentioned above. The effect of that question and the uproar it had caused had led to the dismissal from office of certain senators.¹

Haykal was then asked if it was the involvement of Karim Thabit which had brought about the uproar. Haykal answered that the report presented to the Senate had brought out both the involvement of Karim Thabit and that of the damaged weapons of the Palestine war. He said that the presence of both affairs on the same report was what had caused the uproar.

When he was asked whether he had seen in the former Minister of the Interior's remark that the chair of the Presidency was shaking from all the rules that had been broken an implied threat, he answered that that day he had not. He said that when the King had failed to invite Haykal, the President of the

¹Salah 'Issā (ed.), op.cit., p. 12.

Senate to lunch, while he had invited the President of the Chamber of Deputies and several ministers, Haykal had understood this as a sort of snub. He also understood from the testimony of other witnesses that the affair had been an important topic of discussion at the Palace.¹

He was asked whether he considered his removal from office and the dismissal of the other senators as constitutional. He answered he did not know how they had considered it, but that he heard that in the first session after his dismissal - which he had not attended - the remaining senators had gone on strike in protest against the dismissals.²

Haykal was questioned persistently as to whether he believed the dismissal of the senators had been constitutional, he finally answered no, because in his view the President of the Senate was appointed for two periods of office - ten years - and it was not proper to remove him from office because that was not constitutional. He added that had the removal from office occurred in January of that year (1950), immediately after the Wafd came to power, then the situation would have been normal, but as it had occurred five months after, it was clear then that the senators had been dismissed because of the question asked.³

Had Haykal heard that Karim Thabit had visited Fouad Sarraj al-Din at 4 o'clock in the morning with a list of the Senate members? He replied that he had heard that rumour, but he did not believe things he was uncertain about.⁴

He said in answer to a question that his relationship with Fouad Sarraj al-Din had been one of friendship, while the man had been in the Wafd opposition since 1946. Sarraj al-Din would

¹ Ibid. p. 13.

² Ibid. p. 13.

³ Ibid. p. 13.

⁴ Ibid. p. 14.

visit Haykal in his office and they had exchanged visits. He added that the former minister was a polite and pleasant man, and that it was normal that a young man who had reached his position would want to appear in the best possible light. Haykal also said that whenever Sarraj al-Din had expressed the opinion of his party he did so in the best way. He would study matters, and only rarely improvised.¹

The President of the Court asked if it was true that Sarraj al-Din had told Haykal that the Wafd had been out on the street for ten years. Haykal replied Yes, because he and Sarraj al-Din had been in the habit of discussing the Palace and Thabit's influence, so that in the session in which the question had been asked, Sarraj al-Din had spoken well of Karim Thabit. Later when Haykal asked him: Why? Sarraj al-Din's response was: "Our policy now is one of truce with the Palace because we have been on the street for ten years."²

Haykal was then questioned about the petition he and other heads of parties had written to the King (asking him to look at what the country had come to, and to warn him of possible consequences).³ Haykal was asked about the Wafd's reaction to this petition. He answered that he had heard Nahhas' comment that this was an outrageous crime, and said Haykal, "We knew that legally this was not a crime but that it was advice for the welfare of the country.... I made a speech after that on November 7, 1950 in which there was (said) what was in the petition in more violent language, because the King only met the Prime Minister if he wanted to. If the Prime Minister asked to meet the King, it was possible that the King would refuse..... and these irresponsible people who interfered in the affairs of government all this was against the Constitution...."⁴

¹ Ibid., pp. 14 - 15.

² Ibid., pp. 15 - 16.

³ Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol. II., pp. 302 - 304.

⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

The President then asked Haykal if the Wafd would have stood by his side had the situation been different. He replied that the members would probably have been afraid to do so lest they be put on the shelf again.

The drift of the questions led eventually to the incident of February 4th, 1942, and Haykal said: "When the warning of February 4th, 1942 came, it was said (to the King) that the people would do extraordinary things (in retaliation) but nothing happened. So he (the King) lost his faith in the people. Then when our friends found that they had been deposed (in October 1944), and that the people accepted their ejection from the government, they told themselves that maybe the people had elected them, but that would not help a cabinet that had gone out of government....."¹

Haykal was asked until when he had remained in the Senate, and he answered until May 1951.

Had Haykal and those who had signed the petition with him not noticed the King's depravity and extravagance long before they wrote the petition? He replied that this depravity had been screened to a large extent. "It was only when the question was asked and the affair of al-Muwāsāh hospital and the damaged weapons came out in the open, particularly since the country was very much in pain because of the Palestine war (debacle). What added to that was the King's journey to Europe under the false name of Fouad Pasha al-Masrī; our reputation abroad had gone down the drain..... and the English, French and American newspapers - indeed the newspapers of the world criticized Egypt, and our dirty washing was hung for the whole world to see."² He said that the French newspaper have given salacious details of Farouq's relationships with women. Haykal then related

¹ Ibid., p. 17.

² Ibid., p. 20.

that when on January 26th, 1952, the Wafd party had been removed from government, Ali Maher had asked him and all the Sa' di party former ministers, and former Liberal Constitutionalist ministers to join him in the new cabinet. Haykal had answered: "We are people who told the King so and so yesterday, and when God granted him an heir and we congratulated him... he refused to accept our congratulations..... and we therefore refused categorically (to join the cabinet) and you can ask Mr. Ali Maher about this....."¹

The following year, in 1954, Haykal wrote an article for al-Jumhūriyah, in response to an interview given to that newspaper by the former Prime Minister Ali Maher.

He declared that he would not have said anything had Ali Maher not mentioned that he had not read Haykal's second volume of Memoirs which dealt with politics during Farouq's reign. Ali Maher had said in the interview that ancient historians had travelled for days and months to prove and investigate scientifically, "and that our duty in this era was to prove what we say, and that we estimate the influence we wield in recording expressive opinions."

Haykal remarked that he had pointed out in his second volume that no one can record the history of his era, no matter how brilliant or learned, but that he was writing his Memoirs as an example to the sons of this period, and later to serve as documentation to the period of the incidents Haykal had witnessed, or had been involved in.

Haykal said he was more certain that Ali Maher had not read the second volume of the Memoirs when Ali Maher had related how the King had proposed to him (Ali Maher) to form the new ministry after the end of the April elections of 1938, after the resignation (according to procedure) of Mohammed Mahmoud. Haykal said he had

¹ Ibid., p. 20.

not mentioned this at all, and had only mentioned that the King had kept the resignation of the ministry when it was presented to him after the elections, and that Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha had had a lot of trouble in forming the new ministry.¹ He went to say: ".... I do not believe that the King at that time dealt with matters entirely on his own..... as he did after that, because he was then not much older than two months short of eighteen years old, and former Prime Minister Ali Maher headed the Royal Diwān, and he was according to his own confession, the (person) who dealt with all the affairs of state. He was the one who formed the large ministry at the end of 1937, which was headed by Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha and he was the one who formed the ministry that came after the resignation of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha in August 1939, and he was the one intent on not having the Liberal Constitutionalists sharing his rule, on forming this ministry, despite the allusion he made to the friendship between him and Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha. I am not dealing with the extent of this friendship because those who were contemporary with that period know what was between the two men, and know the opinion of Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha regarding the former Prime Minister Ali Maher."²

Haykal also mentioned that Ali Maher had said that some ministers had met him after mid-June 1938, and told him of the position of the Cabinet as regards the Parliament. Haykal remarked that what was done in Parliament was done openly, and could therefore be read by the head of the Royal cabinet.

Haykal also asked Maher, since the latter claimed that "all his life he had believed in national government, and that the strength of this country lay in the solidarity of its sons"³ - and Haykal himself agreed saying: "I as well believe in this idea

¹ M. H. Haykal, Mudhakkirāt, Vol. II, pp. 72 - 77.

² "al-Duktūr Haykal yarud 'alā Ali Maher," in al-Jumhūriyah, January 14, 1954.

³ Ibid.

very faithfully. But I wish to ask the former Premier once again - Why did he not execute this idea in the ministries formed under him ?! He formed four ministries, all under conditions requiring the formation of a national ministry, indeed a large ministry. The first of these he formed during the time of King Fouad in 1936 and ended in his death. He formed the second in 1939 And he formed the third on the morrow of the burning of Cairo on January 26th, 1952. The fourth he formed was immediately after the army coup, on July 23rd, 1952. Doubtless if the reader studies these dates he will be astounded to see that no large national ministry was formed in either of these; but I myself will answer that frequently incidents proved to be stronger than men - or at least stronger than certain men."¹

In March 1954, Haykal wrote an enthusiastic article supporting the revolutionary council's decision to cancel newspaper censorship and supervision. It was also, he wrote, preparing for the election of a National Assembly (jam'iyah waṭaniyah) which would take over the job of Parliament, until Parliament did meet. It had also decided to abolish martial law before the National Assembly elections. Another decision taken was the revision of many projects which had been undertaken within the last nineteen months; and the examination of the laws issued in the same period, to determine which of these were compatible with public welfare and which were not.

Haykal said that Abdel Nasser had shown good judgement in saying that those who wished to work in politics had to become civilians, because it was high time the army returned to its original job which was the defence of the country. Haykal remarked that this was the first step towards the resumption of democratic life, and that everyone was delighted. Egypt, he said,

¹ Ibid.

had fought for its free independent constitutional life for eighty years or more, and it had gained its democratic Parliamentary life since 1882, and numerous obstacles had stood in its way till 1924. Then another series of mistakes had been made leading to July 23rd, 1952 when a new era had dawned.....

He pointed out that "nations went through many experiences before the principles of freedom and its foundations were stabilized in them, and mistakes will occur even in the most advanced and developed nations. The idea that we can live without making mistakes is a wrong illusion, but the heaviest responsibility..... is when we make the mistake without being forced to - freely and consciously....." He therefore called upon the politicians in the government and out of it, and to the press, to carry the flag of unity and solidarity to achieve for the nation the highest goals - freedom and stability.¹

A week later, in a book review he wrote on Mika Walthari's book Sinuhi the Egyptian, he said he believed that national life was a unit in time, and that the careful study of history enabled one to learn "about our country and our people and this serves as an inspiration for literature and art, as well as (a means of) strengthening the unity of the country and raising its standards....."²

On March 21st, Haykal wrote about the way to stability, and he asked again for the resumption of Parliamentary life in an atmosphere clear of martial law, and of army interference. He also said that past experience had shown that joint efforts and unity "had brought us much of what we require in our national aims, and that rifts and schisms were always a scourge on the nation" Further on he reminded his readers that he had

¹ Ibid.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Tā'rīkhunā wa mā yulhimahu," in al-Miṣrī, March 14, 1954.

"invited the men of the press..... to estimate their responsibilities in this new era and the press had done that duty to a large extent. But a few newspapers unfortunately have been determined to stand in a position of dispute and bring back images of what used to happen in the past...."¹

He also wrote "Revolution is like war, it is not difficult to wade through, but the difficult part is to bring it to a safe conclusion. We should come out of it victorious, with freedom, justice and security."

"If, however, we are incapable of cooperating to eliminate the revolution and we are dominated by the feeling that we may go through another one, and through a new struggle, we shall return to the empty ring which we went round in for several years in the recent past, and the revolution will be more dangerous if the army shares in it.... The nation was grateful to the army that it rid the country of the tyrants..... but the army cannot be a means of encroaching on the freedom of the country.... unless it is a foreign invading army, or if it is the tool.... of an ignorant oppressor."

"We are now at a crossroads and the country in this critical instant is calling to all its sons.... Forget your persons.... and work and the elevation of the homeland elevates each of you, and the abundance in your country means abundance for all, and the freedom of your country and its pride is your freedom and pride....."²

In another article Haykal dealt with the duty of the Arab League. He said that the Arab states did not face each other

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Sabīlunā ilā al-Istiqrār," in al-Miṣri, April 28, 1954.

² Ibid.

frankly at the Arab League meetings and many nations had become annoyed with it. He said that had the League not undertaken more than it could chew this would not have happened.

He advised the Arab states therefore to be frank with each other because the Arab block could be very effective in politics if its members were good politicians.¹

At the beginning of April, he wrote another article on Israel where he mentioned that the trouble between the Arab states and Israel was starting to take a conspicuous position in international politics, and this was worrying important politicians such as President Eisenhower. He said that maybe the politicians saw the Middle East as the next gunpowder keg from which the next world war would explode.

He warned that Israel no longer paid attention to the Security Council decisions. He then said: "Let no one think I'm exaggerating when I speak of these frightening possibilities. If a war breaks out in the Middle East between Arab states and Israel (this) could lead to results similar to the Korean war."²

He also said that if the West aided Israel it had to aid the Arab states as well. He advised "the Arab politicians meeting today in Cairo to examine this dangerous situation with care and boldness, and let them know that the Arab people are all waiting to see what they decide."³

On November 19th, Haykal brought to the minds of his readers the Shepherds Hotel which had been burned down on January 26th, 1952. He mentioned that in ten years no one would remember it.

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Wajib al-jāmi'ah al- Arabiyah," in al-Miṣrī, April 28, 1954.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Khaṭar Isrā'īl," in al-Miṣrī, April 4, 1954.

³ Ibid.

He recalled how on October 30th, 1922, the Liberal Constitutional Party had celebrated its inaugural meeting there, and Adly Yakan had spoken on the occasion. He said that his newspaper al-Siyāsah had defended the idea presented by Adly Yakan, and defended national unity, and he (Haykal) "had supported this with all my strength." He added: "It was important that the call for this idea be moderate, not violent."¹ He recalled how then the Wafd newspapers had attacked the new party and had declared that the call for unity was a manifestation of weakness. He said that the feud between the two parties had lasted until the coalition (at the end of 1925). Haykal mentioned that he had been convinced that the human will was capable of anything: VOULOIR C'EST POUVOIR^{*}; and that although incidents were sometimes stronger than men - honest intent, sincere will and piercingly sharp judgement could direct incidents in whichever way the owner of these wished it.¹

In January 1955, Haykal mentioned in an article that maybe readers recalled the bomb that had exploded in front of his house (in December 1946), while Haykal was standing beside his car door. Later the police had found another unexploded bomb further down in the street. Hasan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, had asked to meet Haykal to assure him that the Ikhwān (Brotherhood) had nothing to do with this operation. Haykal had answered that there was no need, as he was not accusing the Ikhwān or anyone else, and he had no enemies.

Later, he recalled, he was asked if he objected to having tea with al-Banna whom he had already met in the Hijjaz in 1936, and later when Haykal was Minister of Education and al-Banna was a teacher of Arabic language.

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Yawmiyāt al-Akḥbār: al Ḥawādith wa'l-rijāl," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, November 19, 1954.

^{*} In French in the text.

The King had congratulated Haykal on his escape from the bomb and said that he had been near Haykal's house and had gone to make sure Haykal was safe. The latter thanked the King for his solicitude.

Later a youth had been arrested for drawing Haykal's house. He claimed he was a student of architecture and he had been trying to draw Haykal's house.

Haykal concluded that disagreements were part of life, and at the same time were what contributed to development and progress.¹

In another article a week later, Haykal talked of the problem of how to raise the level of the people. He pointed out that the average salary was L.E. 38 per annum. He had read in the papers that the High Dam project was going to raise the national income to 150 million pounds. This increase would raise the level of living, but if there was 150 million pounds without an increase in population within the next ten or twenty years, then the average increase in the income of the 22 million people would be seven and a half pounds yearly, or three quarters of a pound per month. Haykal said he imagined that those who spoke of raising the income of living in the country would not consider that forty-five or fifty pounds a year be considered a suitable average income, if they wished for people to live honourably and decently.

He therefore advised moderation in living conditions (al-taqashuf), because people had to give something to their country in exchange for its protection and care.

He also said that the classes who were well-off should be responsible for the comfort of the whole society. "And this class

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Yawmiyāt - lā attahim aḥadā," in al-Akḥbār, January 8, 1955.

I am addressing myself to is more capable by virtue of its culture and education, to understand the meaning of social solidarity, and that it requires of people that they should divide the pleasures of life and its problems justly and equitably."¹

He said that what distressed him was that "we are influenced in our lives by the economic opinions prevailing in the West and which have divided the world into two camps, although we have in the wisdom of this east, and in its religions and philosophies, what would lighten a great many of burdens of life; and if we made our sons aware of this wisdom we would be satisfying living creatures thirsty for these meaningful noble principles."²

Haykal went on to say that raising the level of material life was as important as raising that of normal life, and that doing this faithfully would ease consciences.

On February 11th, al-Akḥbār published Haykal's souvenirs of the incidents he had witnessed after the coup d'état of July 23rd, 1952. He had been called back from Lebanon by his friends to attend a meeting in Alexandria where Lutfi al-Sayyid and Ahmed Abdel Ghaffar and other cronies of Haykal's were gathered. These included Liberal Constitutionalists, Independents and Sa'dists, and they wanted Haykal to meet with the leaders of the coup to offer support and encouragement. Haykal had told them to wait. When he was convinced he went with several people to meet with the Free Officers. Ahmed Lutfi al-Sayyid spoke for Haykal's group in support of the movement, and the leader of the coup answered: "We are executing your politics and the plan you drew. This," wrote Haykal "happened before noon, and none of us knew that at that time the King was signing the letter of abdication to the throne in favour of his son."³ The following

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Kayfa narfa' mustawā al-sha'b," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, January 15, 1955.

² Ibid.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Yawmiyāt al-Akḥbār: Li'ḥisāb al-ta'rikh," in al-Akḥbār, February 11, 1955.

day Haykal met with Ali Maher, the Prime Minister, and asked him: "What do you plan to do after what happened?" Ali Maher answered that he did not know to what extent the officers wish to go. After that Haykal returned to Lebanon to resume his holidays.

In April Haykal wrote that one of the reasons behind the crisis in the Middle East was the disagreement between the nations of the Arab League over the pact between Iraq and Turkey which England had also joined. Another reason was the skirmishes, between Israel and its Arab neighbours, which caused the Security Council to occasionally look at the situation with an anxious and worried look. Then there were the actions of the Western politicians, Haykal added, which by no means improved the situation, but on the contrary made it worse. He said that the statesmen had been able of solving the most complex problems when they took advantage of the correct opportunities.

He concluded this editorial however, saying he was confident these politicians would be able to save the world before the time had passed.¹

In another article Haykal bemoaned the fact that the world powers were arming themselves heavily to prevent the outbreak of war. He said that peace alone helped develop world civilization, and it was peace which made scientific discoveries greatly beneficial for the welfare of mankind, instead of being the tool of its destruction.²

Haykal, in another article that month, pointed to the three enemies of the Egyptian countryside - disease, poverty and ignorance. He declared that the Egyptian government was absolutely required to fight these. He also said that the best means to

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Sirr idṭṭirāb al-Sharq al-Awsat," in al-Akḥbār, April 18, 1955.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-ʿĀlam bayn al-harb wa'l-salām," in Akḥbar al-Yawm, April 23, 1955.

fight these was by setting a five-year or ten-year plan, as other nations were doing at present. These plans would be directed towards specific aims. The people selected to carry out these plans should be made to feel they had a heavy responsibility, Haykal recommended, and at the end of each year the work done to fulfill these aims, had to be checked to determine how much of it had been done.¹

In al-Akḥbār, Haykal related how Lutfi al-Sayyid had been required to give a speech on the occasion of the King's receiving an honorary doctorate in 1939, and the speech included the word democracy, and Lutfi al-Sayyid was asked to remove the word. This upset him and he refused to give the speech.²

Haykal wrote an article on Islam and civilization in response to an article he had read in Life magazine. He said that Westerners had frequently written about the East. He said that the downfall of the Muslim world was due to the Ottoman empire, and that there was the possibility that Islam could go together with development and progress.

He also declared that the Muslim world was ready to cooperate, and this cooperation could occur if the Muslim world felt that trust existed, and trust could only be established if the politicians of the East and West met.

He concluded that the development promoted by technology and science in the twentieth century had made a nation of the world of mankind - an ease particularly simplified because of the ease of communications.³

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-a 'dā' al-thalāthah alatī tufatik al-rīf," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, April 30, 1955.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Yawmiyāt," in al-Akḥbār, May 9, 1955.

³ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Islām wa'l-ḥadārah," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, May 13, 1955.

Two weeks later, Haykal wrote another article saying that the Prime Minister Gamal Abdel Nasser had made a speech on the occasion of Laylat al-Qadr - the night when the Prophet first heard the Qur'ān. Nasser had announced in this speech that Parliament would reassemble on January 1956, and he had asked all those with opinions or ideas to speak their minds, in order to discover the most suitable path for the country to follow.

This wise behaviour, continued Haykal, enabled the people to feel that those responsible for government wished to find out the people's view. He added that allowing people to share by asking for their opinions was a principal step towards sound democratic rule.

He said he hoped this transition would lead to a period of stability - which would occur if people were content.¹

In August 1955, Haykal related what he knew of Ismail Sidqi Pasha's resignation as Prime Minister in September 1946. The King on receiving the resignation had commissioned his uncle Sherif Sabri Pasha to form a coalition government, and this attempt had failed and Sidqi had to remain in government until the fall of the cabinet - when public opinion had failed to be convinced of the Sidqi - Bevin project.

This reminded Haykal of a problem he had been unable to settle in his mind - what was King Farouq's position regarding the Sidqi negotiations? Was he in support of these, and was he hopeful that they would succeed, or was he - on the contrary - hoping they would fail?

He then narrated the circumstances he was privy to. Sidqi had called him up in Port-Said at 6 a.m. and asked him to be

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Rā'y li'man ya'lam," in Akhbār al-Yawm, May 22, 1955.

in Alexandria at the negotiations room in Bulkeley. When Haykal got there, Sidqi told him that the Egyptian Ambassador to Great Britain had arrived the day before with a proposal from the British concerning the Sudan. The King and Sidqi were satisfied with the proposal, and Sidqi asked Haykal to support him regarding the British proposal.

When the negotiations committee met later that day, most of the King's relatives and acquaintances were against the proposal. Chief among these was Sherif Sabri Pasha, who was actively opposed to Sidqi's proposals.

Haykal was surprised at the situation, and by coincidence that day the Minister of Foreign Affairs had invited Arab ministers for the Ramadan breakfast, and Haykal after this meal went to a nearby coffee terrace. There he met by accident Hasan Youssef, Deputy Head of the Royal Diwān, and he asked him, why was it that those closest to the King were opposed to what had been asked for in the King's name? Did this have a special meaning? Hasan Youssef answered: "You will see that tomorrow Sirry will have altered his position."

The next day Sirry showed a slight shift from the position he had held the day before, but soon after he went back to agreeing with his friends, and this opposition lasted until the Sidqi cabinet resigned for good.

Haykal wondered whether the King had truly agreed with the Sidqi plans, or was he hoping they would fail. Haykal said that he had not found anyone who would solve this puzzle for him.

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Mā huwa al-sirr fī an aqārib al-malik kanū yu'āridūn al-mu'āhadah?" in al-Akhhbār, August 3, 1955.

He had heard that the Wafd had made the condition that the Chamber of Deputies be dissolved before accepting to join in Sabri's coalition ministry.

He also said that on the evening of the day Sabri was asked to form a coalition cabinet, he had met Noqrashī and Sabri at Husayn Sirry's house, and each of them had started to give his opinion concerning the composition of the ministry. Sherif Sabri had answered: "This ministry is being formed to resume negotiations which are on the verge of collapsing, and Parliament is now on holiday. If the negotiations are successful therefore we will dissolve the Chamber of Deputies and make new elections." Haykal answered that he did not understand how the Parliament could be dissolved because the negotiations were expected not to succeed.

Haykal wrote that what had amused and entertained him on the above occasion was that Sherif Sabri Pasha said that Noqrashī should be in the new cabinet with another Sa'dist, and Haykal as well as another Liberal Constitutionalist should be together, and that three Wafdists should be in the cabinet as well. Haykal asked - why should the Wafd have three members while the other two parties only had two. Sherif Sabri Pasha answered, "Because the head of the Wafd will not participate in the ministry." Haykal thereupon answered: "If the head of a party counts for two, then I resign my position in the ministry (in exchange) for three Liberal Constitutionalists, and I believe Noqrashī agrees with this view." All those present had smiled and the ministry was not formed because the attempts had failed. Moreover, the Chamber of Deputies, he wrote, had been dissolved at the end of 1949.

Haykal had met Hasan Youssef the day after, and told him what had happened. Youssef smiled and said, "Good - we prefer that the refusal should come from the Wafd, so that it is not

said that the Palace was not serious when the King charged Sherif Sabri with the formation of a cabinet."¹ Haykal admitted he was surprised with this remark, because he did not know and understand roundabout tactics.

"By completing this story.... I wished to show," he wrote, "..... that when we write our memoirs and souvenirs we do not write them complete in many cases. It is therefore necessary for whosoever knows the subject of these souvenirs to complete these, in order to prevent the historian from falling into error regarding what could be secondary questions, which would later lead to errors in interpretation...."²

He concluded that he had not known and still did not know the King's position regarding the Sidqi - Bevin project. Some had said that it was due to the clause regarding the Sudan's right to self-determination.

The remaining articles written by Haykal that year were travelogues, and anecdotes of his travels.

In April 1956, Haykal again wrote of the threat Israel represented. It had caused an uproar in the East, because it had attacked the Syrian boundaries.

He mentioned that there was a natural disagreement existing between Arab governments and Arab people which could not be sorted out, because the people saw Israel as a real danger.

He also claimed that the Arab nations did not wish to attack Israel because they were convinced that her isolation and the economic boycott imposed on that state were sufficient to sap her vital resistance.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

He also wrote that the ghost of war still hovered over the world after the two world wars, and said that because of that we should always face incidents strongly and resolutely. He hoped world peace would finally come to be.¹

In September that year, he wrote that he had often thought of Egypt's development in the twentieth century, and he mentioned that his conscience was at rest "because if a human being sees us as we are today and what we were about yesterday..... (he will see) that there is one century (of progress) between us and our fathers, while several centuries exist between us and our forefathers."² He made a reference to the education of Egyptian women, and the rapid evolution of Egypt, and the work for freedom and progress.

He also mentioned that Egypt's history would have been altered considerably had Mohammed Ali's son Ibrahim Pasha been allowed to reach Istanbul. Had the then great European powers not interfered the face of history would have changed, he wrote.

"As for the Egyptian people's vitality, it pulsates in every field.... and we have the right, therefore, to look at the future without worry, (because) it is possible for this nation to reach the farthest goals."³

At the end of that month he struck another optimistic note in an article. He reflected that in this century various phenomena had occurred requiring examination. These included fabulous inventions and discoveries made.

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Šharq al-Awsat bayn yawm wa ghaduh," in Akhbār al-Yawm, April 7, 1956.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "Ḥayawiyat al-Sha'b al-Miṣrī," in Akhbār al-Yawm, September 8, 1956.

Another phenomenon which was no less curious, he remarked, was the position of the East and the West. At the beginning of the century the West had dominated. Then when the United Nations had first been established many thought that this international organization was insufficient to face world development, and this world development had caused all the Eastern nations to wake up and demand independence.

He said that the idea of world government had been the result of various ideas, "No matter the circumstances through which the world is passing in this period of its life, it will seldom come across similar ones. This is the result of the transition from one system to another, which guarantees for all peace and tranquillity. When will that system come to be? That is God's knowledge. But those who will see it will have faith that our world, in this twentieth century, has passed through what arouses (in us) great wonder....."¹

In another article he declared that culture protected independence. He discussed various forms of culture - industrial culture, which had evolved from manual culture and moved to machine culture. He noted that theoretical culture enabled one to follow the development of the various forms of culture.

"Let us therefore spread culture among the people,"² he recommended. He also said that national awareness should be devel-

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Sharq yaksab ḥurriyatahu," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, September 29, 1956.

² Mohammed Husayn Haykal, "al-Thaqāfah taḥmī al-istiqlāl," in Akḥbār al-Yawm, October 6, 1956.

oped, because colonialism followed the policy of depriving colonized countries from general culture, since cultural progress was a means of protecting freedom and independence. It was also the means to appreciate all the beautiful things in life.

Haykal's remaining articles that year were non political - and varied in nature. He died in December 1956.

CONCLUSION : AN ANALYSIS OF HAYKAL'S SOLE AND ARTICLES
AS THEY EMERGE IN THIS ISSUE

CONCLUSION : AN ANALYSIS OF HAYKAL'S ROLES AND ARTICLES
AS THEY EMERGE IN THIS THESIS

C H A P T E R T E N

In the first part of this chapter I propose to examine the various roles which Haykal played while in the second part an attempt will be made to establish and analyze Haykal's beliefs and attitudes in the light of the material presented earlier in this thesis.

CONCLUSION : AN ANALYSIS OF HAYKAL'S ROLES AND ARTICLES
AS THEY EMERGE IN THIS THESIS

corroborated by an anecdote told to the present writer about Haykal by one of his close associates, Hafez Mahmoud himself a journalist, who served under Haykal as a secretary and as a liaison officer. This story which there is no reason to doubt is true - relates how King Farouk called on Haykal while he was a minister, and asked him to retract certain critical remarks concerning the Khedive Ismail - Farouk's grandfather. It is not clear what Haykal's reply was, but it could be Haykal's reply exactly what annoyed the King: it could be Haykal's reply that Ismail was a short sighted, extremely ambitious, vain, vain, vain and pitiless man. Yet Haykal also said that the Khedive's times were legendary and that he was a great character. Haykal also said that he was a great character, highly intelligent, sharp of vision and very determined. Haykal also mentioned that in order to make Egypt a part of the Arab world he went to tremendous lengths, bringing back and developing such

¹ Mohammad Husayn Haykal, *Ishtikhak al-Farouk wa Sharhihi*, Cairo, 1933, p. 55.

CONCLUSION : AN ANALYSIS OF HAYKAL'S ROLES AND ARTICLES
AS THEY EMERGE IN THIS THESIS

In the first part of this appraisal I propose to examine the various roles which Haykal played, while in the second part an attempt will be made to establish and analyse Haykal's beliefs and attitudes in the light of the material presented earlier in this thesis.

Although Haykal reached elevated positions in Egyptian governmental and legislative bodies, he never really lost his knack or dedication as a journalist. This statement is partly corroborated by an anecdote told to the present writer about Haykal by one of his close associates, Hafez Mahmoud - himself a journalist, who served under Haykal on al-Siyāṣah and al-Siyāṣah al-Usbū'iyah and who much later became Head of the Egyptian Journalists Union. This story-which there is no reason to disbelieve - relates how King Farouq called on Haykal while he was a minister, and asked him to retract certain critical remarks concerning the Khedive Ismail - Farouq's grandfather - in Haykal's book Tarājim Miṣrīyah wa Gharbīyah. It is not clear from the book exactly what annoyed the King; it could be Haykal's description of Ismail as a short sighted, extremely ambitious, impatient, rash and pitiless man. Yet Haykal also said that the Khedive's times were legendary and that he was a great charmer, highly intelligent, sharp of vision and very determined.¹ Haykal also mentioned that in order to make Egypt a part of Europe, Ismail had gone to tremendous lengths, building much and destroying much,

¹ Mohammed Husayn Haykal, Tarājim Miṣrīyah wa Gharbīyah, Cairo, 1933. p. 55.

and that he had burdened Egypt financially, by borrowing extensively from foreign banks and accumulating debts. Haykal remarked that it was ironical that Ismail, with his dreams of modernizing Egypt, was the first to give Europe the opportunity to interfere in Egyptian affairs.¹ These judgments, although unexceptionable in themselves, were presumably not so in Farouq's eyes.

According to Hafez Mahmoud, Haykal refused to take back anything he had written on the grounds that he would be considered a liar if he did so. Farouq told him then that he could very easily deprive Haykal of his position as Minister and where would he be then? Haykal answered by unclipping a pen from the inner pocket of his coat and showing it to the King, said: "I would still have this, Your Majesty!"²

This incident serves to show several features about Haykal, not least among them being his integrity and honesty, his pride in his mission as a writer, his veracity and his satisfaction as being an author free and independent to write as he saw fit, untrammelled by personal considerations. Moreover, it shows that Haykal considered himself first and foremost a writer and journalist. He himself acknowledged this in a speech.³

Haykal's journalistic instincts were very finely developed and enabled him to ask certain relevant questions in his articles. This is shown when he asks in an article: What was the King's position regarding the Bevin - Sidqi Plan?⁴

At this time, Haykal himself was not as cognizant of the inner conflicts between the Palace and the government as he

¹ Ibid. p. 69.

² From Hafez Mahmoud in a private interview.

³ See above p. 213.

⁴ See above p. 251.

had been while Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha was alive, and had kept him informed of the goings-on between the Palace and the government. The question he asks is, however, a prescient one. In the same article he states that all the King's entourage were opposed to the plan.

Sidqi, in his Memoirs, mentions that the project had failed because the committee for the negotiations had taken a very strong stance against it because of the Sudan issue.¹ A former Egyptian Foreign Ministry Attaché, who was Sidqi's secretary during the negotiations, mentions that the King at first supported the plan, but later when he found that the committee which included his uncle Sherif Sabri Pasha was opposed to it, and the Wafd as well, he withdrew his support because he feared he would become unpopular.

As a journalist, Haykal had definite ideas about the role newspapers should play. That their role was an extremely powerful one is clear from his statement that, "if the government guided public opinion 10%, newspapers guided public opinion 90%"². It was a basic belief of his, however, that the functions of the journalist should be exercised with a proper sense of responsibility. That he thought of himself in this responsible even paternalistic role is obvious from his statement: "I have to be a father who guides his children - Am I doing my duty? I should do that in every case".³ Much the same sentiment lies behind his claim that newspapers would do a noble job if they dealt with every law or report while it was being presented to the responsible committee.... in this way journalism would participate in the setting of laws and in the guidance of deputies and senators and not limit the work of journalism just to reporting settings and court proceedings"⁴. Moreover, journalists should perform the duty that their

¹ Ismail Sidqi, Mudhakkirātī, Cairo, 1950. pp. 97-98.

"al-Saḥāfah ka'l-marā'h al-jamīlah," in al-Muṣawwar, August 14, 1942.

² See above p. 101.

³ See above p. 101.

conscience dictated them to.¹

In Haykal's eyes not only was journalism a responsible, indeed, noble profession, but it should be applied to constructive ends. For example, during his funeral oration for Ahmed Maher, Haykal praised the statesman's talents as a journalist who, if he criticized, also offered solutions for whatever problems he dealt with. He remarked that Maher had always been careful to present both sides of an issue and not just his own view.²

To him a journalist was not a simple hack but a man who dealt in the currency of ideas and accepted the obligation to defend them with his pen. In later life, when recording his memoirs of his life as a journalist, he recalls that what caused him to become a journalist in the first place was admiration for Mohammed Abduh and for Qassem Amin - particularly for the latter, since in his writings Haykal found ideas he wished to defend.³ By the same token, he disapproved of newspapers which failed to attack problems and preferred instead to hurl insults at each other;⁴ or even worse to expose people's private lives.⁵

He recalls how proud he and other editors of al-Siyasah had felt at being taken to court for their defence of freedom and fight against tyranny.⁶

A continuing motif throughout his editorials and articles is his emphasis on issues and problems which he believed were of consequence to Egypt. An example of their nationalistic concern is his emphasis on the capitulations and the need to abolish these

¹ See above p. 214.

² See above p. 126.

³ See above p. 234.

⁴ See above p. 129.

⁵ See above p. 101.

⁶ See above pp. 162 - 163.

as soon as possible.¹ Similarly, his claim that Egypt should dispense with the services of foreign employees in order to enable its sons to find jobs when they completed their studies.²

His high-minded attitudes did not, however, prevent him from writing satirical and even insulting editorials in which he attacked the government - particularly that of Nahhas and his cabinet. He denigrates Nahhas for his use of a private army of mercenaries which spread terrorism and chaos.³

Perhaps this same concern with a strict moral code in regard to one's professional life explains the fact that while he was minister, Haykal wrote much less or not at all as a journalist. Whenever he did write he would write essays, as for example, that on the mission of the university in teaching students to do research, or an article in defence of the Arabic Language Academy (Majma' al-lughah al-'Arabiyah).

Similarly, when the war ended it was natural that Haykal should become preoccupied with the major issues of the day which transcended parochial politics, such as the United Nations, or the International Parliamentary Union.

A belief in objectivity and fair reporting of facts is a further facet of his exalted view of the role of the journalist. He is usually at pains to present the facts first, before putting forward his own opinion and suggesting solutions. An example of this is his article concerning the Aswan Dam Project, in which he first told the story of the conflict in Nahhas' cabinet concerning this project, and then mentions the importance of the project for Egypt's agriculture and economy.⁴ He presents both sides of the issue

¹ See above p. 19.

² See above p. 20.

³ See above p. 26.

⁴ See above pp. 24 - 25.

giving the view of Nahhas and his cronies as well as that of Noqrashi and his party. In spite of his antagonism towards Nahhas he himself simply stresses the importance of the building of the Dam, without really siding with either party.

Haykal's ease and facility as a journalist and writer may have influenced his approach to his role as a speaker and lecturer, since his style in both cases is much the same - although naturally his lectures are often much longer than his articles, because he is dealing with an audience rather than with readers.

A tendency to sermonize is evident in his lectures. For example, in a lecture in which he defends democracy, he exhorts the youth to acquire an education because "it is the only weapon that will serve in the present day world - particularly since values have changed."¹

On first taking over the Ministry of Education this tendency is more pronounced. In making a statement to the press he emphasizes the role of his ministry as being to spread education and inspire the youth with faith in truth.² Again in his article "Risālat al-Jāmi'ah," he stressed the importance of university education,³ and later when the university students went on strike he advised them paternally to concentrate on their studies instead of rioting.⁴

The same concern lies behind his recommendation that the teaching of foreign languages in government schools be postponed. He stresses the importance of teaching the Arabic language by suitably qualified teachers and the need to teach civics to Egyptian and foreign pupils so that they learned what they owed Egypt in terms of loyalty.

¹ See above pp. 166 - 167.

² See above p. 54.

³ See above pp. 58 - 59.

⁴ See above p. 60.

When Haykal held the joint portfolios of Education and Social Affairs in Ahmed Maher's coalition cabinet he was able to take up the cudgel against illiteracy. However, he maintained, sensibly enough, that research was the basis for action and that the project sponsored by the cabinet required a great deal of investigation. In matters relating to education his approach was pragmatic rather than starry-eyed. He believed that the publicizing of primary education was a sound principle, but schools had to be founded and suitable teachers had to be found to teach in them.¹ Haykal was not one to concentrate on minor issues at the expense of major ones. In his first term as a minister, he sought to answer his own questions such as-should education be free of charge for all? and was poverty a suitable criterion to justify free education?²

We see the same high-minded approach in his later role as President of the Senate. He stresses that the importance of the President's role lay in his integrity, sound action and his fairness to all, rather than his party affiliation or his resignation from his party. He clearly believed that the position of President of Senate was an important one, and the person who occupied that position should have the character of a statesman and be above party politics, even if he was a party man. He should maintain justice among people and should also be required to be honest and knowledgeable of the law and the Egyptian Constitution.³

The latter emphasis is perhaps understandable at a more human level, since Haykal was knowledgeable of the Constitution in that he had been one of those who had helped to draft it.

A testimony to his fairness of judgement is the fact that he would not have remained President of the Senate for two and a quarter terms had he not been fair.

¹ See above p. 118.

² See above p. 58.

³ See above p. 122.

Haykal in his dual role as politician and as party man - which it can be argued are both sides of the same coin, because a politician has to be conciliating and diplomatic, and a party man has to fight for his party even if that means playing dirty.

Had Haykal not been a diplomat, he would not have been on good terms with leaders from the Wafd as mentioned above.¹ Had he not been a conciliator, he would not have been willing to put all hard feelings aside, and sit with Nahhas at the same table and discuss matters.² Yet Haykal did not miss any opportunity to make speeches for his party and praise his party leaders repeating how, for example, Mohammed Mahmoud had been the first to call upon Egyptians to incite their leaders to demand Egypt's independence, and to nurture expansionist dreams of Egypt by uniting it with Libya and Sudan. He reflects the same reflex of party loyalty when claiming that Abdel Aziz Fahmy and Adly Yakan were two other Liberal Constitutionalist members who had fought for Egypt's independence and sovereignty; the first by being one of the men who had gone with Zaghlul to the British High Commissioner to demand Egypt's independence; the second for his moderation and consummate diplomacy, by means of which he had succeeded in negotiating Egypt's independence. This amalgam of superior statesmanship and party opportunism in Haykal is perhaps not paradoxical. What it does illustrate is the way in which Haykal was capable of rising above the narrow interests of sectional politics, which Nahhas was not capable of doing. At the same time, there were occasions when he could not restrain himself from descending into the ruck of party politics. In 1944, for example, he accused Nahhas of collecting L.E. 150,000 for the relief of a famine in Aswan and Qina, and of taking this money for himself or for the Wafd.³ Again in 1950 he suggested that Nahhas and his ministers were obtaining money from black market deals at the expense of the poor and middle class.⁴

¹ See above pp. 150 - 151.

² See above p. 113.

³ See above p. 120.

⁴ See above pp. 214 - 215.

Another role to which Haykal took to naturally was to be played on a broader stage than Egypt. As an international figure he made speeches at the United Nations Organization and spoke chiefly against colonization and the domination of powerful large nations over small weak ones. He demanded several times that a United Nations force be formed to act as a defence force and guard against this bullying by the powerful nations.¹ He also spoke of the Palestine problem and its complexity, maintaining that the division of Palestine meant the injecting into the body of all the Arab countries a cancerous poison.² He also predicted correctly that the question of Palestine would last for several generations.³

In the page which follow I propose to turn to an examination of Haykal's beliefs and attitudes as reflected in the articles, speeches, lectures and interviews reviewed earlier in this thesis.

One of the most striking and consistent beliefs exhibited by Haykal both as a journalist, senator and later as President of the Senate, was his belief in the Liberal precept 'right to know'. This is illustrated clearly by his position in regard to the issue of the Aswan Dam project. In the article he wrote dealing with this matter he describes in detail how the Wafd cabinet had split into two factions over the costs of the construction of Aswan Dam. Finally, it had been agreed to offer the project to international tender. A British company offered to carry out the work for (8) million pounds, while a Swiss company offered to do it for much less. Nahhas favoured the British company while the other faction preferred the Swiss. Nahhas refused to have the matter discussed in Parliament, and accordingly Haykal wrote the article describing the situation in detail, making it quite clear that he believed that the matter had to be put in front of public opinion.⁴ A further example of Haykal's belief in the right of

¹ See above pp. 142 - 143.

² See above p. 161.

³ See above p. 161.

⁴ See above p. 25.

the public to be informed is evidenced by his behaviour as President of the Senate during the questions concerning the resignation of the Head of the Diwan of Accounts. This issue turned on the involvement and taking of bribes by the King's Press Attaché, Karim Thabit. During the Senate sessions in which questions were asked, and which became more and more heated, Haykal, in his capacity as President of the Senate, did not in any way try to curb the questions asked, to the extent that the Minister of the Interior, Fouad Sarrāj al-Din, was prompted to protest that never before had the Senate witnessed such a session in which questions had been asked in this manner or as dangerously.¹

His insistence on the sanctity of public opinion even extended to the Assembly of the United Nations Organization where he made a speech against the Russian proposal to prevent war propaganda,² explaining that public opinion in Egypt could not agree to control the news, or to maintain a censorship on newspapers.

Haykal was acutely aware that the role of the press was not only limited to writing the news but also to giving and moulding opinions. As a logical extension of his belief in the 'right to know', he also believed in freedom of opinion and consequently freedom of the press. We have already commented on how proud he was that he and the other editors of al-Siyāsah had been taken to court because they were fighting for freedom. Another example of this is his defence of Abbas al-'Aqqād after he had been jailed. Haykal wrote at the time that there could be no reform nor would reform be of any value if each author was inhibited by the consideration that his opinion would offend the powers that be.³

¹ See above pp. 202 - 203.

² See above p. 157.

³ See above p. 31.

His fervent belief in public opinion was a central part of the general fabric of his democratic beliefs. In the sessions of the Senate referred to above, involving Karim Thabit Pasha, Haykal made a statement to the press in which he linked freedom of the press with the safeguarding of the Constitution.¹

This statement brings us to another of Haykal's firmly held beliefs - his absolute faith in the Egyptian Constitution. He saw in the Egyptian Constitution the guarantee and protection of human rights and the principle of division of authority (faṣl al-sulṭāt). The latter did not mean that each arm of government existed independently of the other, but that they all needed to cooperate for the benefit of the public. This explains his statement that "... the executive power proposes the law to the legislative power which decides and states what should be stated of these laws and supervises the executive power."²

To Haykal, the Egyptian Constitution was the result of the people's protest against violence, and whenever suggestions were made to update it he would say that there was no pressing need for doing so.³ On one occasion, when the Constitution was accused of unsuitability and inefficiency, Haykal had responded by saying that it was not the Constitution but its application which was at fault. Again, when Ali Maher in 1953 blamed the Constitution for the corruption in Egypt, Haykal sprang to its defence, claiming that the fault lay not in the Constitution, but in the extreme hypocrisy of some of those making accusations against it. He suggested that their attack on the Constitution was prompted by their own guilt.⁴

It is not surprising to find that most of Haykal's articles against Nahhas and the Wafd were based on the unconstitutional

¹ See above p. 204.

² See above pp. 170 - 171.

³ See above p. 172.

⁴ See above p. 232.

behaviour of the Wafd. This was particularly seen in the case of the "unconstitutional" existence of the Blue Shirts, the illegality and unconstitutionality of the Wafd cabinet, when in 1937, they wanted to prevent the King from appointing the Head of the Royal Diwan,¹ and the unconstitutional interference of the Wafd in university education.²

For Haykal, the constitutional and parliamentary system was the best because "it was the programme put by the people."³ It may be speculated that for Haykal, the lawyer, the Constitution represented a written text, a binding code within which Egypt existed as a sovereign entity. The very fact that its principles were in print meant that it justified and made inviolable Egypt's existence as a state.

An extension of this inherent sanctity of the written word as expressing a binding contract can be seen in his attitude towards the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. He made a speech in Parliament in which he belittles the impact of the treaty saying that it would do little except bring Egypt a mite closer to independence.³ Yet, in November 1941, in a speech given during the "Yawm al-Jihād", he acknowledged that Egypt "had to keep her part of the bargain towards England."⁴ To him treaties, like legal contracts, could not be set aside as the exigencies of politics decreed. He maintained that if the clauses of the Treaty were "carried out by both parties honestly, the mutual trust generated would lead to the disappearance of the obstacles in the way of Egypt's independence."⁵

He wrote of his hopes that the charter of the new world organization would hold ideals similar to those of the Atlantic Charter and that the Security Council would not be formed before the codification of international law.⁶ He was clearly concerned that Egypt should play a part in these important events, and declared her readiness to assume responsibility regarding the United Nations Charter.⁷

¹ See above pp. 27 - 28.

² See above p. 31.

³ See above p. 167.

⁴ See above p. 94.

⁵ See above p. 116.

⁶ See above p. 128.

⁷ See above p. 132.

Behind his concern over the shaping of the United Organization lay his constant preoccupation with the law as both a guide and safeguard. In his speech to the General Assembly he declared that international law should prevent any individual nation from thinking it was above the law.¹

Bearing in mind the extremely idealistic nature of Haykal's enthusiasm about the foundation of the United Nations at the onset, it is, perhaps, not surprising to find that he grew disillusioned as he saw how the organization was functioning in practice and the manner in which the great powers used the right of veto.² Part of this was probably due to the fact that he himself was representing a small power, for he complains of the continuing domination of the great powers.

Haykal did not blame this on the Charter itself and shows again the lawyer's reluctance to tamper with existing legal structures, insisting that it should be made to work in its present form and that any attempt to alter the Charter was premature.³

It is interesting to note that this same central and lifelong obsession with the transcendence of the law is reflected in this view in regard to the Egyptian Constitution and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. To him written contracts, even if deleterious must be binding, particularly so since the clauses and the articles had been drafted with the complete agreement of the parties involved. In the case of the Constitution this included the Egyptian people and in the second England and Egypt.

Earlier in this study, the comment was made that during Haykal's years as a student in Paris he had come across a book by Leon Bourgeois on solidarity which made a deep impression;⁴

¹ See above p. 142.

² See above p. 142.

³ See above p. 159.

⁴ See above p. 4.

he acknowledges that it was to influence him all his life whether this was quite the seminal influence that he claims is neither here nor there.

He recalls nostalgically, for example, the times when Egypt had been united in the face of a common threat, as in 1919 in the revolt against the British, and in 1925 when Sa'd Zaghlul formed a coalition cabinet after the assassination of the British sirdar of the Egyptian army, and in 1930, when Sidqi replaced the Constitution of 1923 by that of 1930. The last united front was that presented by the Egyptians in 1936 when the political parties joined together and asked for independence from Great Britain.¹

This somewhat romanticized recollection of past solidarity becomes a lodestar by the light of which one views present shortcomings. Haykal made constant pleas to his audiences to get together and present a united stand against the common threat. At the onset of the second world war, for example, we find him making a speech in the Senate in which he acknowledges the differences of opinion in that body, but affirms with evident satisfaction that the danger of the moment had brought about unity.² Again in 1944, after the fall of the Nahhas ministry we find him recalling the incident in February 1942 when the King after the resignation of Husayn Sirry had found it as necessary to unite the nation and had called on party leaders, Nahhas included, to form a joint ministry to face the situation the country found itself in.³

Haykal may well have followed this theme beyond the boundaries of political realism. In August 1944, in a magazine interview, he addresses a plea to Nahhas to set aside their differences and get together to discuss the nation's welfare.⁴

¹ See above p. 97.

² See above p. 68.

³ See above p. 119.

⁴ See above p. 43.

Again in January 1946 during the Noqrashi cabinet, he avers that the delicacy of the moment required unity. The above examples are but a few of the many which show the importance Haykal attached to unity and solidarity.

His analysis of the reasons for Egypt's absence of unity are worthy of examination. In April 1937, in al-Siyāṣah al-Uṣbū'iyah, he declared that Egypt was the land of contradictions and took as an example the basis upon which Egypt's legal system was built? "Was it," he asks, "on the Muslim Sharī'ah or on the French Napoleonic code?" In the same vein he goes on to contrast the education at al-Azhar with secular education.¹ It is revealing of an innate caution in him, however, that he does not recommend any particular remedy. He takes refuge in generalities such as the principal aim being to remove obstacles in the way of unity.

The same recourse to general prescriptions recurs more than once. He expresses the hope that if tolerance could be the basis of communal life, Egyptians would rise to the highest peak of humanity.² In the same vein, he laments in a generalized and unprescriptive way the borrowing from others and the imitating which can deprive a nation of its national character.³ His only solution is the pious hope that if the people of Egypt cooperated to purify and presumably indigenize everything borrowed they would be able to achieve a unity "that will affect the world."⁴

Haykal's highly idealistic belief in the importance of national unity led him to make certain unpragmatic associations between the various classes in the nation promoting reform.⁵ He seems to have believed that differences in political beliefs were built on human self-interest rather than on real differences

¹ See above pp. 19 - 20.

² See above pp. 152 - 153.

³ See above p. 20.

⁴ See above p. 153.

⁵ See above p. 72.

of opinion, and that deep down most people "agreed on more than ninety percent of the problem."¹

Haykal did not limit his call for unity to Egypt and Egyptians. He also spoke of the unity of the Arab nations and pointed to the then attempts at unity as a parallel to the United Nations. He stressed, presumably on analogous grounds, that the principal aim of the Arabs represented in the Arab League should be unity on all questions.²

Haykal's idea of unity extended itself to the point where he expressed a naive belief in a world community, and that the ending of World War II had brought forth a new image of world cooperation.³ In support of this he makes the sort of superficial historical analogy to which he seems to have been addicted when he claims that tribes had achieved unity before urban life and concepts of nationhood had defined and limited their perspectives. As he put it: "We are now crossing over this boundary from a narrow national outlook to a broader international one; we are in a world tied together moment by moment."⁴

Returning our concern to the smaller stage of Egypt, one notices that reform is another recurring theme of his. He believed that the principal cause for the failure of reform was the lack of stability of cabinets. Each cabinet suggested a reform programme which was required to be followed through, yet whenever the cabinet fell the programme was put aside. Thus there was no continuity of ideas because each cabinet selfishly sought its own achievements.⁵

Similarly he also blamed the absence of serious industry and the paucity of training and lack of technicians on the

¹ See above p. 176.

² See above p. 143.

³ See above pp. 145 - 146.

⁴ See above p. 152.

⁵ See above pp. 133 - 134.

constant bickering between parties. He goes further and suggests that policies were almost never planned over a range of time. The reference is clear - that Egyptians lacked the sense of unity and capacity for organization and dedication to solve their own problems. But here, as elsewhere, the devising of specific and realistic solutions seems to be beyond him, and he has recourse once again to the somewhat self-righteous generalization, maintaining that the factors which made for the growth of nations were faith, self-abnegation and the exertion of maximum effort.¹ To him, the British, in World War II, exemplified this spirit of unity and self-sacrifice. The theme is taken up, for example, in the article from al-Hilāl in which he praised the stoicism, fighting spirit and patriotism of the British², and again in an interview given another year in which he expresses the hope that the British would win since they represented a democracy.³

It is droll to record that despite Haykal's praise of the British, the British Ambassador seems to have despised Haykal and referred to him as a non entity.⁴

His attitude towards the Egyptian monarchy is also very revealing of the man himself. For the most part he is favourably disposed referring to the King as a young ruler, wise yet impetuous and praises his efforts to reform Egypt. Haykal maintains this attitude throughout, until in 1950 he denounces Farouq by implication as a weak tyrant.⁵ Yet despite this, Haykal did not join the ranks of those who slurred Farouq's name. Indeed he defended him in an article in which he told Ali Maher that Maher had been in charge of the affairs of Egypt when the King was still a minor.⁶

¹ See above p. 95.

² See above pp. 89 - 90.

³ See above pp. 79 - 80.

⁴ Trefor Evans (ed.) op.cit., pp. 199, 362.

⁵ See above p. 214.

⁶ See above pp. 240 - 241.

This was not the only instance illustrative of the continued loyalty which he evinced towards the throne. It was a basic trait of Haykal that once having given his loyalty he does not easily rescind it. It is unusual to find in a politician such adherence to chivalric codes of personal loyalty, integrity and even compassion. This was well illustrated in regard to the trial of Fouad Sarraj al-Din, Minister of the Interior of the Wafd, and one of those involved in the senate sessions investigating the scandal involving Karim Thabit. Sarraj al-Din had at first accused Haykal of being too lenient during the session, but later had kept silent after reaching an agreement with Haykal. When Sarraj al-Din was put on trial Haykal could have really ruined him yet his answers were very brief and he simply elaborated when specifically asked to. Even then, he answered as diplomatically as possible.¹

A further example was the occasion of the trial of Ahmed Abdel Ghaffar, a Minister of Agriculture and Liberal Constitutionalist. Charles Smith in his book on Haykal mentions that the latter had failed to defend Abdel Ghaffar. That was not the case, as has been mentioned above.²

To sum up, Haykal emerges, from the material we have examined in this thesis, as a true liberal who believed in freedom, based on the free exchange of opinions and civilized argument. He was against extremes of any sort, believing that moderation was the best policy, that strength can be achieved in unity of purpose and common resolve-rather than the resort to physical strength. He believed that personal motives and ambitions should be set aside if long range reform was to be achieved.

Learning was for him the ultimate weapon, because by learning people could broaden their horizons and thus become more likely

¹ See above pp. 236 - 238.

² See above p. 235.

to reach a consensus of opinion and hammer out a common aim.

It is not suprising that Haykal by his very liberalness and the philosophical intellectuality which was a dominating characteristic of his, failed to make an impact on the masses who would have preferred a strong arm technique and who for this very reason chose to follow the Wafd. Only in some of his campaign speeches, when he jokes with his audience, do we see a man with a potential common touch come through. His remoteness and customary aloofness is illustrated by the story relating to his failure to become a deputy when his Wafdist opponent in the Gammaliyah district, a man by the name of Abdel Hamid al-Bannān asked his audience: "Who is this Dr. Haykal? I'll bet none of you even knows where his clinic is!"

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