



جامعة الموصل

كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية

قسم التاريخ

محمد إبراهيم كامل ودوره في السياسة الخارجية

المصرية حتى عام ١٩٧٨

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التاريخ/ التاريخ الحديث والمعاصر

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المستخلص بلغة الرسالة

نالت دراسة الشخصيات السياسية والعسكرية المصرية في الآونة الأخيرة اهتماماً متزايداً، ودرس الجانب السياسي منها العديد من الشخصيات التي أسهمت في رسم خارطة السياسة لمصر وأثرت على مجريات الأحداث فيها، ويعد محمد إبراهيم كامل من بين الشخصيات التي لا يمكن إغفال دورها ونشاطها السياسي والدبلوماسي في تاريخ مصر المعاصر لاسيما أثناء مرحلة المفاوضات المصرية-الإسرائيلية التي تلت مبادرة الرئيس محمد انور السادات للسلام.

وتأتي أهمية موضوع الرسالة من كونها إضافة جديدة الى الدراسات الأكاديمية التي درست دور وزارة الخارجية المصرية متمثلة بوزيرها محمد إبراهيم كامل في رسم وإدارة سياسة مصر الخارجية خلال حقبة الرئيس السادات، لاسيما وأنها تستعرض دور ثاني شخصية من حيث الأهمية في الوفد المصري أثناء مرحلة المفاوضات المصرية-الإسرائيلية وتكشف مسار تلك المفاوضات وما رافقها من تحولات في موقف الرئيس السادات والظروف التي دفعت لتلك التحولات، ومواقف محمد إبراهيم كامل منها، كما وتناولت الرسالة شخصيته ونشاطاته المهنية وأدواره الدبلوماسية والسياسية في البلاد منذ ولادته عام 1927 حتى تقديمه للاستقالة من وزارة الخارجية المصرية في أيلول عام 1978.

وخلصت الدراسة الى استنتاجات عديدة كان ابرزها: تميز محمد إبراهيم كامل بشخصية وطنية منذ مراحل مبكرة من حياته، فقد انضم للجمعية الوطنية وهو طالب في الثانوية وشارك في السعي للتحرر والاستقلال من التسلط الأجنبي، وحاول خلال مدة عمله سفيراً للجمهورية العربية المتحدة في الكونغو 1964 و 1967-1971 ترميم العلاقات بين القاهرة وليوبولدفيل (كينشاسا) وسعى لإبعاد الأخيرة عن سطوة النفوذ الإسرائيلي، كما أسهم بشكل فعال في توثيق علاقات مصر بألمانيا الاتحادية أثناء عمله سفيراً في بون 1973-1977، وحظي بتقدير كبير من قبل كبار قادتها ومسؤوليها، مما أهله لدفع حكومتها نحو تأييد القضية الفلسطينية والاعتراف علناً بالحقوق المشروعة للشعب الفلسطيني، ومثّل خلال الشهور العشر التي قضاها وزيراً للخارجية المصرية الضمان الأكبر في الدفاع عن المواقف المصرية الثابتة تجاه القضية الفلسطينية، اذ كان الفكر الذي يحكم مواقفه أثناء المفاوضات المصرية-الإسرائيلية هو أن تشكل القضية الفلسطينية محور المباحثات مع إدخال الأطراف العربية الأخرى فيها، وألا يُتخذ قرار نهائي إلا في حضور الأردن وممثلي الشعب الفلسطيني، وأن يكون الحل الذي يجب التوصل اليه حلاً شاملاً وليس حلاً جزئياً او اتفاقية تعالج الجانب المصري فقط، وأخيراً جاء قراره بالاستقالة بعد أن تبين له أن الرئيس السادات لم يضع أي اعتبار لاستراتيجية وزارة الخارجية، وبدأ يتصرف بمفرده في محادثات ثنائية مغلقة مع الإسرائيليين تارة ومع الأمريكيين تارة أخرى، وبعد أن توضح له أن اتفاقية كامب ديفيد تمثل حلاً جزئياً منفرداً بين مصر و(إسرائيل)، وأنها تتجاهل حل القضية الفلسطينية وتكرس الاحتلال الإسرائيلي للأراضي العربية.

Abstract

The Arab Republic of Egypt is one of the most important countries in the Arab world because of its great influence on various political, military and economic levels at the Arab and regional levels, which qualified it to be the focus of the attention of academic researchers to study its history in its various aspects. The study of Egyptian political and military figures has recently received attention Increasingly, and the political side of it dealt with the study of many personalities who contributed to drawing the political map of Egypt and affected the course of events in it because of the great importance in identifying the historical facts that these personalities contributed to its manufacture or influenced it to one degree or another in order to reach an accurate understanding of those Facts and an update of their events and the direction of their course.

The study of the personalities does not mean a review of the biographies as much as it is a shedding light on a time period and the relationship of these personalities and their role in contributing to the events of that era, and among those personalities whose role and political and diplomatic activity in the contemporary history of Egypt cannot be overlooked, Muhammad Ibrahim Kamel, especially during the negotiation stage, The Egyptian - Israeli direct that followed President Sadat's peace initiative.

The importance of the subject of the study "Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel and his role in Egyptian foreign policy until 1978" comes from being a new addition to the academic studies that dealt with the role of the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in formulating and managing Egypt's foreign policy.



The study dealt with the personality of Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel, his national activities, and his diplomatic and political roles in Egypt's foreign policy since his birth in 1927 until his resignation from the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in September 1978.

The study consisted of an introduction, four chapters, a conclusion, and appendices. In the first chapter, "The rise of Muhammad Ibrahim Kamel and the beginnings of his national and political activity" was reviewed, including an explanation of his social and educational upbringing, as well as his personal traits that accompanies him throughout his life. The early days of his national and political activity were discussed in detail. Politics until 1955.

As for the second chapter, it was concerned with studying "Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel's diplomatic activity 1955-1977" since he joined the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as first secretary at the Egyptian Embassy in London and to complement his diplomatic activity during the years 1955-1963, which he spent as ambassador and consul general in Mexico and Canada. The chapter continued to review his diplomatic activity in The African continent 1964-1971, after he was appointed as the ambassador of the United Arab Republic in the Congo twice and headed between them the Press Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The chapter concluded with his diplomatic activity in the European continent 1971-1977, during which he served as the Egyptian ambassador to Sweden and Germany, respectively.

The third chapter, entitled "Muhammad Ibrahim Kamel and the Egyptian - Israeli Peace Talks until April 1978" sheds light on Muhammad Ibrahim Kamel's position on President Sadat's peace initiative in October 1977, and then his political role as the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs and a key member of the Egyptian delegation

during the direct negotiations rounds. With (Israel) at the Ismailia Conference and as Chairman of the Political Committee in its discussions in Jerusalem, as well as clarifying his positions on the most prominent events on the Arab and regional arena that accompanied that period, including: the Larnaca International Airport incident, and the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon.

While the fourth and final chapter was entitled "Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel and the Egyptian- (Israeli) Peace Talks Until His Resignation", which was devoted to studying his positions on the American attempts to resume direct talks with (Israel) after they were interrupted due to (Israeli) intransigence and stagnation, and dealing with his efforts to consolidate the Egyptian position internationally at the United Nations, and on the Arab level through his visit to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and his tireless efforts to restore Arab solidarity and unify its ranks, and his participation in the tripartite foreign ministers conference at Leeds Castle, as well as his role in clarifying the Jordanian vision and its position on the peace process, and finally revealed his planning and role in a conference The Camp David summit and his political vision, which subsequently called him to submit his resignation on 16 September 1978, and the study led to a conclusion dealing with the most prominent findings reached by the researcher on the subject.

Muhammad Ibrahim Kamel's personality was characterized by a sense of patriotism from the early stages of his life. He joined the National Assembly as a high school student and participated in the quest for liberation and independence from foreign domination.

During his tenure as the ambassador of the United Arab Republic in the Congo, Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel, 1964 and 1967-1971 tried to restore relations and put them back on the right track between Cairo and



Leopoldville (Kinshasa) and sought to distance the latter from the grip of Israeli influence.

He contributed effectively to strengthening Egyptian relations with the Federal Republic of Germany while serving as ambassador in Bonn 1973-1977, and pushed its government towards supporting the Palestinian cause and publicly recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to self-determination, after it had previously taken positions close to the Israeli side. He worked to lift the restrictions imposed on the Arabs following the Munich operation in 1972.

He was described by contemporary politicians as a contractor for the establishment of embassies, because he had a major role in establishing many Egyptian embassies and consulates in the countries of the American continents, and for his effective contribution to restoring Egyptian relations with African and European countries.

He was chosen to be the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs at a stage considered the most complex in the history of Egyptian diplomacy, given the successful diplomatic career and high professional competence, as well as the personal relationship that binds Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel to President Sadat.

It allowed some members of the Egyptian delegation during the Egyptian - Israeli negotiations to work with great freedom, especially those who were familiar with the details of the Palestinian cause such as Esmat Abdel Meguid and Osama El-Baz, and granted them wide powers to represent the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Such as Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel during the ten months he spent as minister of the Egyptian foreign largest security in the defense of the Egyptian fixed positions towards the Palestinian cause, as it was thought governing positions during the Egyptian negotiations - Israel is that the



Palestinian issue is the focus of discussions with the introduction of other Arab parties, and not A final decision is taken except in the presence of Jordan and representatives of the Palestinian people, and that the solution that must be reached is a comprehensive solution and not a partial solution or an agreement that deals only with the Egyptian side.

He worked by all means in order to preserve Egypt's relations with the Arab countries and prevent their deterioration. He attached great importance to the Arab front, given his conviction of the necessity of restoring the unity and solidarity of the Arab ranks in order to reach a just settlement of the Palestinian issue in all its aspects, as it is the core of the Arab - Israeli conflict. Stopping the deterioration in Egypt's relations with the Soviet Union in order to achieve a kind of balance in relations with Washington and Moscow.

Despite the good personal relationship that he had with President Sadat, his work as Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs made clear the great difference in planning and political vision between the two personalities, which had an impact on the tension between them to a large extent.

He strongly opposed President Sadat's secret contacts and channels with the American and Israeli sides, and strongly criticized the agreements that were made outside the official framework of the talks and without extensive consultation or study, despite the presence of seasoned political figures working alongside President Sadat, but he neglected their opinions and advice.

The majority of ministers and statesmen surrounding President Sadat were characterized by obeying his orders, implementing his decisions and limiting their formulation within the media and diplomatic framework without discussion, unlike Muhammad Ibrahim Kamel, who



saw that his duty and mission go beyond that to advice and advice regarding the steps and decisions that President Sadat takes, including flaws or defects. Excess, deficiency or danger.

It is inappropriate for Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel to be described as a political decision-maker. Despite his prominent role in the Egyptian - Israeli peace negotiations, his strong negotiating style, and his distinguished work team, President Sadat dominated the decision-making process, especially with regard to Egypt's foreign policy. Gradually since the start of peace talks with (Israel).

His decision to resign came after it became clear to him that President Sadat did not give any consideration to the strategy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and began to act alone in closed bilateral talks with the Israelis sometimes and with the Americans at other times, and after making it clear to him that the Camp David Accord represented a partial and isolated solution between Egypt and (Israel), and that it ignores the solution of the Palestinian issue and perpetuates the Israeli occupation of Arab lands.

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