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CONFIDENTIAL & GUARD

- 2 -

UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,
KARACHI.



3. There were several good reasons for trying to do so. Although President Ayub has for the time being been able more or less to suspend political controversy in Pakistan over the country's foreign policy he sees no point in running the risk of alienating any section of public opinion unnecessarily. As the Foreign Secretary admitted, Colonel Nasser is still something of a hero to vast numbers of the illiterate and semi-educated of this country, most of whom incidentally believe Colonel Nasser to be much nearer to their own image of "a good Muslim" than he probably is. The fact that the Pakistan Foreign Ministry was apparently incapable of maintaining good relations between the world's largest Muslim state and the Arab world's self-appointed leader (who had "like Pakistan" recently liberated his country from "Colonialist domination") was not understood by the villager or by the University student in Pakistan. It is true that in the absence of politicians to exploit this kind of sentiment it could hardly be a major danger to the stability of the regime in Pakistan. Nevertheless, to a Government that is impatient to concentrate its people's attention on urgent internal problems it was an irritating handicap. Moreover Colonel Nasser's animosity towards Pakistan was accompanied by an obvious tendency to support India on questions at issue between the two countries; this was a further handicap to the regime. The new Government's initial efforts to promote good relations do not seem to have met with a particularly forthcoming response from Colonel Nasser. He kept them waiting for a long time before he definitely agreed to visit their country after his projected tour of India. In the meantime Pakistan's gestures of solidarity with "Arab causes" were multiplied, the latest of them Pakistan's refusal to admit an Israeli observer to the recent session of E.C.A.F.E. scheduled to be held at Karachi at the cost of its transfer to Bangkok.

.../4.

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- 3 -



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KARACHI.

4. I reported in my telegram No.593 of 23rd April, a copy of which is enclosed as Annex A to this Despatch, what I and my staff had been able to glean from Pakistan officials of the content of the private talks between the two Presidents. Here I need only repeat that the Pakistan Government consider that in the event this visit has achieved all that they had hoped from it. They consider that normal friendly relations with Colonel Nasser are now once more established and they are not without hopes that in future they may even be in a position from time to time to exert a moderating influence on his behaviour. It remains to be seen how far this optimism is justified.
5. Colonel Nasser was accompanied during his visit by a suite of 29 persons which included his Foreign Minister, Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, his Minister for Presidential Affairs, Mr. Aly Sabri, and the Minister for Municipal and Rural Affairs for the Syrian Region, Mr. Tooma El-Awadatallah. The visit also coincided with one by a U.A.R. Trade Delegation led by the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Economy, Dr. Mahmoud Badawi Al-Shioti. The Trade Delegation's work (they negotiated a permissive Trade Agreement) was thus able to obtain a mention in the joint communique issued at the end of President Nasser's visit and so to give the appearance that the visit had culminated in some specific measures of co-operation between the two countries.
6. President Ayub received the visitor at Karachi Airport (where the U.A.R. party arrived in an Indian Air Force Viscount) together with all his available Ministers, leading dignitaries, the Heads of Commonwealth and Foreign Missions, and a guard of honour. President Nasser was also accorded a 21-gun salute, fired by heavy anti-aircraft guns from positions around the perimeter of the airfield - though not until after the aircraft had landed. According to our Indian colleagues it had taken the Pakistanis a week to agree to give clearance

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- 4 -



UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,
KARACHI.

to this aeroplane.

7. The streets of Karachi through which President Nasser was to drive during his visit were beflagged with alternating U.A.R. and Pakistan colours. This was the same kind of decor as during the visits of President Eisenhower, the Shah of Iran and the President of Turkey and the effect is rather like a parallel line of rugby corner flags. Photographs of Colonel Nasser were displayed on some buses and were on sale in some stationers' shops, although there was no evidence of much business being done. The crowds lining the streets were by no means as thick as during the visits of President Eisenhower or the Shah, despite the fact that Colonel Nasser arrived on a Sunday. Reports from Dacca, Lahore and Peshawar also suggest that spontaneous interest in the visit generally was no greater than may be expected for almost any kind of ceremony or "tamasha" in this country. Nevertheless the Foreign Secretary told me that the Pakistan Government had been anxious lest as a result of Colonel Nasser's undoubted prestige amongst the masses the welcome which he received should be embarrassingly warm. According to Mr. Ikramullah the Government had therefore not made special arrangements for the display of public enthusiasm for Colonel Nasser, although (this not to be breathed to the Americans) they had done so for President Eisenhower's visit (cf. paragraph 5 of Sir Alexander Symon's Despatch No. 38 of 17th December, 1959); and the Government had issued confidential guidance to the Press that they were not to overplay the visit. Nevertheless, the Press was full of standard eulogies of Colonel Nasser as a great Muslim patriot and most newspapers ran bulky special supplements on his career and on his country (clearly with much assistance from the U.A.R. Embassy); and Mr. Ikramullah had been much impressed - almost disturbed - by the enthusiasm and the crowds which, as some other reports tend to confirm, greeted President Nasser on some occasions, particularly in Lahore.

.../8.

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CONFIDENTIAL & GUARD

- 5 -



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KARACHI.

8. There was little of special interest in the programme arranged for President Nasser, except for the time given to discussions between him and President Ayub and their ~~service~~ ^{Senior} advisers. Scheduled for 2 hours in Karachi they were broken off after 3 and resumed again in Peshawar on the penultimate day of the visit. For the rest there were the usual formal banquets, receptions and ceremonies. Alcohol was served at the social functions at which the Pakistanis were hosts while the U.A.R. reception and banquet were "dry" (and "lounge suit", to the disgust of the Pakistan Chief of Protocol). It is understood that Colonel Nasser had asked that all functions should be "dry" but that the Pakistan Government had not agreed, following in this their civilised custom even though it was they and not Colonel Nasser who sought to emphasise the theme of Islamic rectitude during the visit. (It was nicely ironic that, Sir Alexander Symon being on leave, the Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, seated on President Ayub's right at his banquet, was none other than the Ambassador of Iraq). At Karachi Colonel Nasser visited the Shipyard and Engineering Works; at Dacca he made a public speech and was given an Honorary Degree at the University; at Lahore he visited two Engineering Works and Army Units, went sightseeing, attended prayers and made a public speech at the opening of the annual session of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (Society for the Preservation of Islam). His engagements in Peshawar consisted only of private discussions, a dinner at Government House and the ceremonies of arrival and departure. One suspects that the main reason for the Pakistanis' insistence on his going there at all was to impress their own Pakistanis and perhaps also the Afghan propagandists (who call this area "occupied Pakhtunistan".)
9. In their formal opening public speeches both President Ayub (in English) and President Nasser (in Arabic) referred to the Islamic bond and the spirit of friendship that should regulate the relations .../of the two countries.

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CONFIDENTIAL & GUARD

- 6 -



UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,
KARACHI.

of the two countries. At the same time they both indicated clearly that they had differing conceptions of the means by which their foreign policies could best be conducted. President Nasser's own references to Islam were perfunctory by comparison with those of his host. He laid the greatest stress on the links forged at Bandung (which scarcely make a popular slogan in present-day Pakistan), ~~the~~ "moral force" that Afro-Asian countries can together exert in world affairs, ~~the~~ the gratitude which "the Arab peoples" feel for Pakistan's sympathy for Arab Nationalist causes, and ~~the~~ "the revolutionary life" both nations are now leading. He pointedly distinguished between the attitude of the Pakistan people and that of their Government at the time of Suez, feeling safe no doubt in so doing (though without full justification) as the then Prime Minister, Mr. Suhrawardy, is of course now one of the "discredited former politicians".

10. In his public speech at Lahore Colonel Nasser delivered a particularly virulent attack on Britain and her "imperialism" and the "tripartite aggression" over Suez. This speech was much watered-down in Press reporting. The Foreign Secretary suggested to me in confidence that Colonel Nasser's performance at Lahore may have been a reaction against some of the straight talking that he had had in private from President Ayub. The speech contained a number of absurdities - a fact that was evidently not lost on the officials present.

11. In reply to Press questions Colonel Nasser specifically excluded the possibility of the formation of a Muslim bloc in world affairs. He may also have puzzled some of his hero-worshippers when he complimented his hosts, whose continual harping on the theme of Islamic unity he obviously considered excessive, on not being "fanatical Muslims". He made many remarks on standard lines about the aggressive aims of Israel;

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- 7 -



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KARACHI.

● he proclaimed the U.A.R.'s desire for peace and friendship with all and stressed his country's urgent need for economic development, which he suggested could, like Pakistan's and that of other underdeveloped countries, be easily satisfied if the great powers did not waste money by piling up armaments. He also referred to his own anti-Communist record and spoke as previously about the importance of consolidating the "moral force" of Afro-Asian countries.

12. Apart from his warm expressions of respect and friendship for President Ayub and the Pakistan people he said little in public about the political problems in which Pakistan is most directly interested. The tenour of his remarks on world problems indeed was much more in the spirit of Mr. Nehru than of President Ayub. He said nothing at all about Afghanistan and the recent expressions of Soviet support for the Afghans claims to "Pakhtunistan". On Kashmir he aroused great expectations in the Pakistan Press before his arrival by his answers to Indian journalists at Bombay. His remarks were originally reported here as a public offer to mediate between Indian and Pakistan. After his arrival at Karachi he explained to the Press that he had not offered his mediation but his good offices were available if both sides wanted them. Since in the meantime the Pakistan Press had reported that Mr. Nehru had denied knowledge of this "offer" while the Chief Minister of Indian-Kashmir had "rejected" it, Colonel Nasser succeeded in retaining a certain amount of kudos in Pakistan for what he was understood to have said at Bombay. At the same time however he was careful while in Pakistan to make no public reference to Kashmir which could cause any offence to India. There was no mention of Kashmir in the final communique although the Pakistan Foreign Minister was able to score a point off Mr. Nehru by telling journalists who remarked on this omission that Pakistan had gratefully accepted the offer. Thus the net result seems to have been some slight good to Colonel Nasser's prestige in Pakistan and some slight harm to the atmosphere between Pakistan and India.

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-8-

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- ... 13. I enclose as Annex B of this Despatch a copy of the joint communique issued at the end of the visit. Its contents are not particularly remarkable and it is moderately worded except for its reference to racial discrimination in South Africa. I understand that the initial draft was a Pakistani one.
14. No date has yet been arranged for the return visit by President Ayub to the U.A.R. which is referred to in the final paragraph of the communique.
15. The Pakistan Foreign Minister has now given his own account of the visit to the CENFO Ministerial Council in restricted session and it may well be by the time your Lordship receives this Despatch President Ayub will have given some supplementary account to Ministers in London.
16. The Pakistan Government are undoubtedly pleased that the visit went so well. President Ayub is evidently confident that he has established a satisfactory personal relationship with Colonel Nasser; that the latter did not resent the frank talking to which he was subjected; that he has recognised the importance of maintaining friendly relations with Pakistan and that some of his prejudices against this country have been overcome. At the same time I do not think that there is much likelihood that the Pakistan Government have wholly abandoned their reservations about Colonel Nasser, or that his visit will have led them in any way to modify their own foreign policies. There is still a general feeling among the better informed that Colonel Nasser's view of world affairs is too close to that of Mr. Nehru to command their respect. Moreover it seems fairly clear that in Colonel Nasser's own mind it was the visit to India that came first in importance, as well as in timing and duration. Such considerations by themselves would still be a bar to real confidence on the Pakistan side.

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31.

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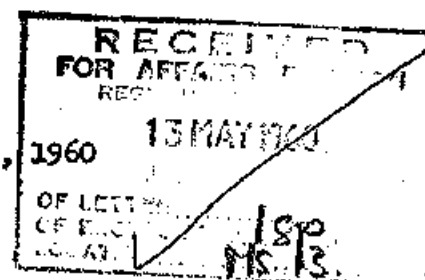


UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,
KARACHI.

EXT. 217/15/2
DESPATCH NO. 12

175
OM 9 (57)

9th May, 1960



My Lord,

I have the honour to report that Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, after spending 12 days as the guest of the Indian Government, paid a state visit to Pakistan from 10th-16th April, 1960. He spent 2 days each at Karachi, Dacca and Lahore and one day at Peshawar.

2. Before this visit the Government of Pakistan had consistently, for over a year, been trying to improve their relations with the U.A.R. Never very close, these had been decidedly poor for many years, Colonel Nasser having assumed a markedly frigid attitude towards Pakistan - and a correspondingly friendly one towards India - from the moment that Pakistan in 1955 aligned herself with Turkey and Iraq in the original Baghdad Pact. It seems to have been mainly the effect of this alignment that secured for Pakistan a conspicuous if largely unmerited place in Colonel Nasser's ill-will at the time of Suez and afterwards. However, the defection from the Pact of Iraq, the only Arab member, was followed by an apparent change in Colonel Nasser's own attitude towards the Communists whose influence he had himself allowed to become established in the Middle East. At the same time relations between Pakistan's main allies and the U.A.R. began gradually to move towards normal. The revolutionary Government in Pakistan therefore saw no reason why they should not be able to eliminate a good deal of Colonel Nasser's animus against their country.

.../3.

The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Home,
Secretary of State for
Commonwealth Relations,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
Downing Street,
LONDON. S.W.1.

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17. I am sending copies of this Despatch to the United Kingdom High Commissioner at New Delhi, to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Ankara, Teheran, Washington, Baghdad, Kabul, Amman and Tel Aviv, to Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Cairo and to the Political Representative with the Middle East Forces.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant.

L. B. Walsh Atkins

(L. B. WALSH ATKINS)
ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER

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UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,
KARACHI.

ANNEX A TO KARACHI DESPATCH
NO. 12

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

From: Karachi
To: Commonwealth Relations Office 593
Repeated to: Baghdad 3, Ankara 23, Tehran 31,
Cairo 9M, Washington 24, New Delhi 239,
Saying to: Kabul 5, Tel Aviv 2, FOMEF 2.
(G.R.O. please pass all except Delhi & Kabul)
Time of Despatch: 23rd April, 1960 1450
Originator's No: 593 CYPHER
Priority: ROUTINE CONFIDENTIAL

NASSER'S VISIT TO PAKISTAN (10th-16th April)

This is a preliminary report based on confidential information from Pakistan officials associated with visit, including Ikramullah, who was present at the private talks.

2. Pakistanis are very satisfied with the visit; in advance they had been apprehensive. Ikramullah said the degree of admiration among Pakistan masses for Nasser had been very striking - clearly more than he Ikramullah cared for - even though the Government had somewhat played down the visit - through press guidance and by not arranging spectators. However, our own observations suggest that spontaneous, popular interest was less than during visits of Eisenhower or Shah of Iran, while press treatment was equally elaborate though anodyne.

3. Pakistanis say that in private talks Nasser was obviously deeply impressed by Ayub and they got on well together. There was very frank speaking, particularly by Ayub. Ikramullah thought his performance admirable. His main theme seems to have been the necessity of countering the communist threat to the independence of under-developed countries, and consequent need to concentrate on internal problems. Nasser argued convincingly that he had both the will and the ability to check communist penetration of the U.A.R. Most of the private discussions were devoted to exposition of political and economic measures adopted and proposed in each country, Ayub, as usual, talking at great length about basic democracy. Specific points in private talks were:-

4. MIDDLE EAST: Ayub pointedly criticised Cairo Radio and its part in stirring up trouble, with particular reference to Iraq and Jordan. Nasser is said to have accepted this criticism, while remarking that "our own difficulties" must not be forgotten. Nasser gave the impression that he had now accepted that Qasim was the only alternative to communism in Iraq and that he had no intention of meddling further at least for the present. About Palestine - a subject to which Nasser continuously reverted - he argued that the 1948 U.N. Resolution should be taken as a basis for settlement. In the official joint communique, this view was endorsed in notably moderate language by both Presidents with the addition that the Bandung principles "for a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question" should also be applied.

.../ 5. CENTO AND TURKEY;

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- 2 -



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5. CENIO AND TURKEY: Nasser confirmed that he no longer had any prejudice against CENIO, although he would not alter his own neutral policy. Ayub told Nasser that if he invited the Turkish Prime Minister to visit the U.A.R. he was sure he would not be rebuffed. (According to Pakistan press, such a visit has now been arranged but our Turkish colleagues have no news of this).
6. SUEZ: Ayub explained away the grievances nourished by the U.A.R. against Pakistan policy around the time of Suez, on the lines that Pakistan had not taken up an anti-Egyptian position but had been working for a peaceful solution. Nasser was also urged to recognise that the United Kingdom was trying to restore normal relations (having accepted with a good grace the loss of many former interests in Egypt). Nasser should do the same.
7. KASHMIR: Nasser said he had raised Kashmir with Nehru, but the latter had said nothing. Nasser's public offer of "good offices" at Bombay had been made off his own bat. The Pakistanis told him they were going to accept his offer; he replied he had no objection. The Pakistan Foreign Minister subsequently issued a statement saying that Pakistan had accepted the offer. The Pakistan Government does not, of course, expect anything to come of it. The joint communique makes no mention of Kashmir.
8. AFGHANISTAN: Ayub explained Pakistan's views on Afghan claims to Pakitunistan. Nasser made no comment (nor does the communique).
9. Ikramullah thought that neither side had shifted its foreign policy at all as a result of the discussions, but each now understood the other's position more clearly. Ayub had "got away with" his frank talk and had established a satisfactory relationship with Nasser.
10. Joint Communique: Ikramullah described it to me as "truthfull" but it contains nothing very striking, the main points stressed being the cordiality and mutual understanding displayed in the private talks and the pleasure both Presidents felt at the "ever increasing ties of cordial friendship and cooperation". These were said to have found practical expression in the Cultural and Trade Agreements which had been concluded between the two Countries. The only specific international points mentioned in the communique were:-

A. Disarmament, summit, and nuclear explosions.

The two Presidents expressed satisfaction at the efforts being made by the Great Powers towards relation of tension. They also reaffirmed their faith in the principle of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs.

B. Palestine.

See paragraph 4 above.

C. Algeria.

The right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence should be recognised and statesmanship rather than force should bring an end to the bloodshed in Algeria.

.../D. Africa.

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- 3 -



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KARACHI.

D. Africa.

The emergence of newly independent states was welcomed. It was hoped that others would soon be able to join the comity of independent nations.

E. South Africa.

"Racial discrimination practised by certain countries in Africa" was unjust and degrading and likely to lead to turmoil. They expressed "shock and abhorrence" at the recent killings and violence in South Africa.

11. At his press conferences and in public speeches, Nasser talked a good deal in vague terms about the "moral force" that Afro-Asian countries could exercise in world affairs. He dismissed the idea of a "Muslim Bloc" (otherwise why not Christian, Jewish, or Hindu Blocs?). He talked rather less than his hosts about Islamic Brotherhood and stressed the necessity of not being "fanatical Muslims". Much of this no doubt was a hangover from his Indian visit. He referred frequently to Suez and to Israel, and in a public address at Lahore, bitterly attacked Britain, France, and Israel for their "tripartite aggression" (Pakistan press reporting watered this down considerably). He also pointedly contrasted the attitude of the "Pakistan people" with that of the Suhrawardy Government at the time of Suez. Both Nasser and Ayub in their earlier public speeches alluded to the different approach of each country to international problems while stressing they had the common aim of peace and economic betterment.

12. Nasser's offer while still in India of "good offices" in Kashmir secured him much credit in the Pakistan press, but he was careful in public statements in Pakistan merely to urge a solution to all "problems", e.g. Sino-Indian, Palestine, Kashmir, and Algeria, on the basis of the Bandung resolutions.

13. Ikramullah has prepared a record of the private talks for the President, but I understand this has not yet been approved. I gather that President may give personal, confidential reports in Tehran and Ankara on his way to London, and to Mr. Macmillan. Foreign Minister may no doubt also speak about visit at Tehran but I have no specific indication of this.

14. I shall comment further by despatch.

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ANNEX B TO KARACHI DESPATCH NO.12

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Rawalpindi, April 16.

His Excellency President Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, visited Pakistan from the 10th to the 16th of April, 1960, on the invitation of the Government of Pakistan. The President was accompanied by Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Dr. Toema El-Awadatallah, Minister for Municipal and Rural Affairs for the Syrian Region, and other senior officials from the United Arab Republic.

During his stay in Pakistan, the President, accompanied by his entourage, visited Karachi, Dacca, Lahore and Peshawar. This afforded the President an opportunity to meet and come into close contact with a large section of the population, and to see some of the industrial projects and economic and social institutions.

The two Presidents presented each other with the highest decorations of their respective countries, the Qaladat-un-Nile and the Nishan-i-Pakistan.

At Karachi, President Gamal Abdel Nasser laid a wreath at the Mazar of the Quaid-i-Azam and also visited the Karachi Shipyard.

The Dacca University conferred upon President Abdel Nasser the Degree of LL.D. as a tribute to his great qualities as a leader.

At Lahore, the President had an opportunity of visiting certain formations of the Armed Forces of Pakistan. The citizens of Lahore gave a reception in his honour and presented an address of welcome. The President was also the guest of honour at a function of the

.../Anjuman-i-Hinayat-
i-Islam.

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- 2 -



UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,
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Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam.

Throughout these visits, the President was accorded a most cordial and enthusiastic reception which was a tribute both to his outstanding personality and leadership, and to the historic ties which united the two countries.

At Karachi and Peshawar, talks were held between the two Presidents on the world situation in general and on problems of mutual and special interest. The discussions were held in an atmosphere of the greatest cordiality and understanding.

The two Presidents noted with satisfaction the efforts which are being made by the great powers to seek relaxation of international tensions and expressed their earnest hope for the success of the forthcoming meeting of the heads of States in May this year. They also lent full support to the current efforts towards disarmament and a ban on nuclear explosions. The two Presidents were, however, of the view that while by themselves these efforts were laudable and deserving of full support from every nation, it was imperative for a lasting world peace to ensure not only an easing tension, but also an elimination of the causes which compel nations to seek armaments. In this context, the two Presidents re-affirmed their faith in the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of one country by another and deplored all actions which heighten tensions and dangers of conflict.

The Presidents reiterated their view that the question of Palestine should be resolved in keeping with the resolutions of the United Nations and the principles unanimously adopted by the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung for a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.

.../The two Presidents

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UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,
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The two Presidents expressed their concern over the situation in Algeria and reiterated their views that the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence should be recognised and peacefully implemented, and that statesmanship rather than force should bring to an end the uninterrupted bloodshed which has marked the struggle in Algeria during the past several years.

The two Presidents welcomed the emergence of newly independent States in Africa and expressed the hope that other dependent nations in that continent would also be encouraged and enabled in the near future to join the comity of independent nations.

They deplored the racial discrimination practised by certain countries in Africa which is not only unjust and degrading to a vast section of humanity but also carries within itself the seeds of discord and turmoil. They also expressed their sense of shock and abhorrence at the recent killings and acts of violence in South Africa.

The two Presidents discussed at length the measures which U.A.R. and Pakistan were taking in order to improve the economic conditions of the peoples of their two countries. They felt convinced that educational reforms, land reforms and industrialisation were essential before newly-developed countries could become prosperous and strong.

They explained to each other at length the methods of economic development and the nature of political institutions they were introducing in their respective countries.

In conclusion, the two Presidents expressed their pleasure and satisfaction at the ever-increasing ties of cordial friendship and cooperation between Pakistan and the U.A.R. This friendship and cooperation is inspired not only by the Islamic bonds of brotherhood which unite the two nations, but is also born of identity of purpose and objectives, a common desire to promote peace and well-being not only in
.../their own

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- 4 -



UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,
KARACHI.

their own areas but throughout the world. The desire for close cooperation between the two countries has already found practical expression in the field of culture and commerce. A cultural agreement has already been concluded between Pakistan and the U.A.R. and the delegations of the two countries are currently holding discussions to finalise a trade agreement.

President Abdel Nasser of U.A.R. has invited President Ayub Khan to visit U.A.R., and President Ayub Khan has accepted the invitation with much pleasure.

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CHANAKYAPURI,
NEW DELHI - 21

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FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,

CHANAKYAPURI,

NEW DELHI - 21

28th April, 1960.

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DESPATCH NO. 14

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OM 9(57)

My Lord,

I have the honour to report to Your Lordship on the visit to India by President Nasser of the United Arab Republic from March 29th to April 10th, 1960.

FE 104/287/1

2. In his despatch No. 83 of 1955 Sir Alexander Clutterbuck reported on President (then Lt. Col.) Nasser's first visit to Delhi en route to the Bandung Conference. His stature as a leader of Afro-Asian opinion was enhanced by that Conference and by his successful emergence from the Suez crisis. In the intervening period the United Arab Republic has been founded.
3. No major decisions were to be expected from what was essentially a goodwill visit. There are no major problems outstanding between India and the United Arab Republic, and it is an open secret that President Nasser's visit should have taken place some months ago, but was several times put off for reasons of mutual convenience. Nevertheless, President Nasser is something of a popular hero in India, and, while I have seen no striking results from his official talks with the Indian leaders, his recent visit was a distinct success for his personal publicity.
4. President Nasser was accompanied by his Foreign Minister (Mr. Mahmoud Fawzi); the Minister of Presidential Affairs

/(Mr.

The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Home,
Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
Downing Street, London S.W.1.

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(Mr. Aly Sabri); the Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs (Mr. Tooma el Awad Allah), with a fairly large retinue including Dr. Nuruddin Kahala, Chairman of the Syrian Region Executive Council (who was, for some reason, frequently mentioned in the press although he does not figure by name in the final communiqué). They stayed in Delhi for three days and thereafter toured India extensively.

5. A summary of the joint communiqué issued at the end of the visit was sent to Your Lordship in my telegram No. 575 of 11th April, and the full text is now annexed to this despatch for convenience of reference. The main topics discussed between Mr. Nehru and President Nasser are listed in it, and in the following paragraphs I shall comment only on a few salient points, drawing attention also to some obvious omissions. The Ministry of External Affairs, for their part, stoutly maintain that the substance of the discussions did not go beyond what is indicated in the communiqué.

Palestine

6. President Nasser's obsession with Israel was rather less manifest than during his 1955 visit. The communiqué simply states that the President and Prime Minister "reiterated their view that the question of Palestine should be solved in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the resolutions of the United Nations and the principles unanimously adopted at the Bandung Conference of 1955 for the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question". I understand that the question of Indian recognition of Israel, although not mentioned in the communiqué, was raised during the official conversations, and that Mr. Nehru, without committing himself for all time, indicated that there was no immediate Indian

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intention of establishing diplomatic relations with Israel. He thus gave President Nasser some measure of satisfaction, without upsetting existing arrangements for consular relations between India and Israel. In some of his public statements President Nasser referred to "Israeli ambitions of expansion" and to the rights of the Palestinian Arabs who had been driven from their homes. He contrived to link in people's minds the plight of the Arab refugees with the denial of human rights and the racial discrimination practised in "many countries of Africa".

Africa

7. Two paragraphs in the communiqué are devoted to Africa, and there is a separate reference also to Algeria. The hope is expressed that those countries of Africa which are not yet free shall achieve their independence "without further delay", and the "growing sense of kinship and solidarity among the people of Asia and Africa" is stressed. No reference is made to "pan-Africanism". Shock and profound regret are expressed at the large scale killings of people in South Africa, and the "racial discrimination and the denial of fundamental human rights which are being practised as State policies in some parts of Africa" are deplored. The two leaders reiterate their view that "the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence should be recognised and fully implemented". (France is not mentioned by name either in this passage or in the separate section of the communiqué deploring the nuclear explosions in the Sahara, which reflects the Indian desire to avoid being unnecessarily offensive to the French).

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Afro-Asian attitude to Summit Meetings

8. It had been rumoured in the press that Mr. Nehru would be asked by President Nasser and by President Soekarno, who made a brief visit to Delhi on April 1st, to join in a common declaration reaffirming the principles of the first Bandung Conference, and claiming Afro-Asian representation at the Summit Meeting. There was in fact no joint meeting between the three statesmen, as President Nasser had already left on his tour of the States when President Soekarno arrived. The Nehru/Nasser communiqué simply welcomes the forthcoming meeting of the Heads of Government and expresses the hope that their efforts to reduce tension will meet with success. The two leaders pledge their support for any measure of agreement which will promote an atmosphere of peace and reduce the chances of conflict.

New "Bandung" Conference?

9. As to the spirit of Bandung, President Nasser is reported to have sought to persuade Mr. Nehru to agree to the holding of a new "Bandung" Conference in Cairo. He appears to have been unsuccessful; but both President Nasser and President Soekarno (whose visits were taking place only a few days before Mr. Chou En-lai was due in Delhi) are reliably reported to have strongly advised Mr. Nehru to stand his ground with the Chinese, and for this purpose to make full use of the "moral force" inherent in the Bandung principles. ("Moral force" was a catch-phrase frequently used by President Nasser throughout his visit). Arguing from experience of Communism in both their countries, and from Chinese pressure in Indonesia, President Nasser and President Soekarno impressed on Mr. Nehru their view that any wavering in the Indian position in the face of Chinese pressure would weaken the will of smaller countries in Asia to resist

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Chinese expansionism, and that this would eventually lead to a weakening of the will to resist Communist penetration of the Middle East and Africa. Judging from the course of the discussions between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai since then, these arguments perhaps made some impression on Mr. Nehru, though it is doubtful if he required any convincing.

Kashmir

10. The subject of Kashmir is not referred to in the joint communiqué, but cropped up in President Nasser's press conferences. Both at the Bhakra Nangal dam and at Bombay he was asked by reporters whether the offer which he had voiced some years ago to lend his "good offices" in the dispute was still open. He replied that he was always ready to use his good offices between friends. The subject was not at first given much prominence in the Indian press, but was picked up here after reports had appeared in the Pakistan newspapers, and subsequently featured under sub-titles referring to President Nasser's proposed "mediation". Mr. Nehru has since denied that this topic was discussed between himself and President Nasser. Despite this denial and denials by External Affairs, it is nevertheless generally assumed that the topic of Kashmir was not completely absent from their talks.

Itinerary and main functions

11. President Nasser arrived at Palam Airport on the afternoon of the Id-al-Fitr Festival, an auspicious moment from the Islamic point of view. It was also a public holiday, and both at the airport and on the subsequent triumphal drive into Delhi the President was acclaimed by fairly dense crowds. The impression of warm Indian friendship for President Nasser was inescapable, and though the welcome was not in the least comparable in scale to that extended a few months' ago to President Eisenhower, it appeared far warmer and more spontaneous

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than that which either Mr. Khrushchev or Marshal Voroshilov recently received.

Delhi

12. The three main features of the programme in Delhi were a State Banquet, a Joint Meeting of both Houses of Parliament, and a Civic Reception at the Ramlila Grounds. At the State Banquet the President of India spoke of President Nasser as the "symbol of the spirit of awakening in the Arab world" and expressed the hope that the Arab peoples would progress towards greater solidarity. The Speaker of the Lower House went one better than this on the occasion of President Nasser's address to the joint meeting of both Houses, when he expressed the hope that on his next visit to India President Nasser would come as "Head of the Arab Nation". (Mr. Ayyanger is well known for this kind of impetuous statement, to which too much significance should not be attached, but the Iraqis - who were conspicuous by their absence at the various functions during the visit - are understood to have protested to the Indians; and I believe that the Saudi Arabians did so too. Press reports indicate that umbrage was also taken in the Lebanon). In his own speeches President Nasser used the recent tragic events in South Africa as a text from which to attack racial discrimination. He expressed the hope that the advanced nations of the world would "neither block nor hinder" the progress of under-developed countries, and he repeatedly made a point of thanking the people and the Government of India for their support to Egypt during the Suez crisis. He referred to the gigantic efforts which both India and the United Arab Republic are making to industrialise themselves, now that they have emerged from the colonialist period.

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13. The Civic Reception was the least successful of the Delhi engagements. The crowds at the Ramlila Grounds were a good deal thinner than for President Eisenhower or Mr. Khrushchev, and President Nasser suffered the misfortune of having his speech (in Arabic) translated into high-flown Urdu, which left the crowd baffled. Mr. Nehru spoke vigorously, but seemed less concerned with paying compliments to his guest than with delivering a stern homily to his own countrymen. He called for greater national self-reliance and used as illustrations the achievements of other nations, pointing the moral for India that she must become internally strong in order to resist foreign aggression.

Tour of the States

14. President Nasser received an Honorary Doctorate at Aligarh Muslim University, and visited the Bhakra Dam as well as a number of industrial establishments, scientific institutions and rural development projects. He went to Agra, Asansol, Madras, Bangalore, Poona and Bombay. My deputies in Madras and Bombay report that President Nasser's receptions in those cities were noticeably more friendly than those accorded some weeks ago to the Russian visitors. President Nasser did not go to Calcutta. The character of his welcome in Bombay was perhaps more strongly Islamic than in other centres (except Aligarh), because that city has a large Muslim community and considerable trading and cultural links with the Middle East. President Nasser also held a brief conference of U.A.R. Heads of Missions in Bombay, on April 9th.

Conclusions

15. It is fair to assume that President Nasser's visit to India had three broad objectives: to inform himself of conditions in India; to strengthen existing relations between the two Governments (and if possible obtain Indian support for

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U.A.R. policies - vide in relation to Israel); and to enhance President Nasser's personal prestige.

16. On the first point he saw for himself something of the country's economic development and was no doubt able to draw his own conclusions about the way in which parliamentary democracy operates in India - a matter which he was thought to observe particularly in relation to his consideration of constitutional development in the U.A.R. He must also have sensed the mood of national resolution in the face of the threat from China. On the second point, although members of President Nasser's entourage expressed some irritation at the relative lack of interest in, and support for, their President's views by the Indian leaders, the visit seemed to be reasonably successful. It was most successful, however, in achieving the third of President Nasser's objectives; for his activities and the press commentary on them combined to make a strong impression on the public mind. They created a composite picture of a true friend and statesman who had steadfastly adhered to the principles of Bandung (unlike the perfidious Chinese), an inspired leader of Arab nationalism who is at the same time a leader of Africa in the fight for liberation from what is left of colonialism, and an unprejudiced Muslim personality who chose to visit India before going to Pakistan. (Five years ago he came to India from Pakistan).

17. From the Indian point of view, Mr. Nehru was pleased that before his conversations with Mr. Chou En-lai, and before the major international conferences to follow later in the year, a demonstration of support for India should be given by so eminent a leader of Arab nationalism and of African aspirations.

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18. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Acting High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Karachi, to Mr. Crowe in Cairo, to H.M. Ambassadors in Washington, Paris and Tel Aviv, and to the United Kingdom Commissioner-General for South-East Asia in Singapore.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your most obedient, humble Servant.

William MacDonald

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

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10th APRIL, 1960 (CHAITRA 21, 1882)

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
X.P. DIVISION
PRESS RELATIONS SECTION

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

New Delhi April 9, 1960
Chaitra 20, 1882

On the invitation of the Government of India, His Excellency President Gamal Abdel-Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, visited India from March 29 to April 10, 1960. The President was accompanied by Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Aly Sabri, Minister of Presidential Affairs, Mr. Tooma El Awad Allah, Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs, and other high officials from the United Arab Republic.

The President and members of his party visited some of the principal cities of India. At Delhi, the President addressed the members of the Indian Parliament. At Aligarh, he received an honorary doctorate from the Aligarh University and in Bombay, he inaugurated the Egyptian and Syrian Cotton Festival. He also visited a number of industrial establishments, scientific institutions and rural development projects. Wherever he went in India, President Nasser was accorded a warm and friendly reception by the people. In the Government of India's view, the enthusiasm shown by the people was a tribute to a leader who has secured and consolidated the freedom of his country. It also provided eloquent evidence of the friendly feelings which the people of India have cherished through the ages for the people of the Arab countries.

During his stay in Delhi, President Nasser and Prime Minister Nehru had a number of talks on the world situation in general and other problems of mutual interest. The President and the Prime Minister reiterated their faith in the policy of non-alignment and their resolve to maintain friendly relations with all countries. They are of the view that while assistance and cooperation through International agencies or otherwise would be welcome for the development of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, there should be no interference in the internal affairs of any country.

The President and the Prime Minister welcomed the trend towards relaxation of international tension. They also welcomed the forthcoming meeting of the Heads of Government and expressed the hope their efforts to reduce tension would meet with success. They pledged their support for any measure of agreement which would promote an atmosphere of peace and reduce the chances of conflict.

The President and the Prime Minister welcomed the progress which has already been made by the Conference on the suspension of nuclear tests which is now meeting in Geneva. They expressed the hope that final agreement would be reached without further delay, thereby relieving anxiety throughout the world. They regretted that at a time when avenues are being explored for reaching an agreement on the permanent abolition of nuclear tests and considerable progress has been made in that direction, nuclear bombs have recently been exploded over a region in Africa against the wishes of the people who are

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affected by such explosions and against the consensus of world opinion. They expressed the hope that such tests would be discontinued.

The President and the Prime Minister also discussed the prospects of the disarmament talks which are now taking place in Geneva. They were of the view that the progress on disarmament is an essential condition for reducing tension and promoting a peaceful atmosphere. They expressed the hope that the meeting of the ten-nation Disarmament Committee of the United Nations, would lead to positive results in the field of disarmament.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed the recent developments on the African continent. They welcomed the awakening among the people of Africa and the resurgent spirit of freedom which inspires millions all over the continent. They welcomed the attainment of independence by many nations of Africa and expressed the hope that such nations as are not yet free would achieve their freedom without further delay. They also welcomed the growing sense of kinship and solidarity among the people of Asia and Africa who are facing similar problems and are determined to solve these problems in a spirit of mutual cooperation and understanding.

The President and the Prime Minister deplored the racial discrimination and the denial of fundamental human rights which are being practised as state policies in some parts of Africa. In particular they expressed their sense of shock and profound regret at the recent large scale killing of innocent people in the Union of South Africa. These events have shocked the conscience of civilized people all over the world and the President and the Prime Minister expressed the hope that the weight of world opinion would be brought to bear on the authorities responsible for the adoption and execution of such policies.

The President and the Prime Minister reiterated their view that the question of Palestine should be solved in conformity with the provisions of the U.N. Charter, the resolutions of the United Nations and the principles unanimously adopted at the Bandung Conference of 1955 for the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question. They expressed their concern at the situation in Algeria and reiterated their view that the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence should be recognised and fully implemented.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed problems relating to the economic development of the under-developed countries. They agreed that these countries are facing problems of a similar nature and that it is to their advantage to cooperate with one another in their own interest and in the interest of the world as a whole.

The President and the Prime Minister noted with pleasure that friendship and understanding between their two countries is growing day by day. This friendship and understanding is based not only on sharing of common objectives in their approach to world problems but also on close cooperation in the economic and cultural spheres. The President and the Prime Minister look forward to continued cooperation between their two countries in all fields and to the further strengthening of the ties of friendship and understanding as a result of the present visit of President Nasser to India.

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Extract	Pakistan Fortnightly Summary Summary 68. Part I (Nil) 69 Pt II	(FEC) 58 6/19 28A April 1960
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The Nasser Visit (See paragraph 13 of Pakistan Fortnightly Summary for 23rd March-5th April)

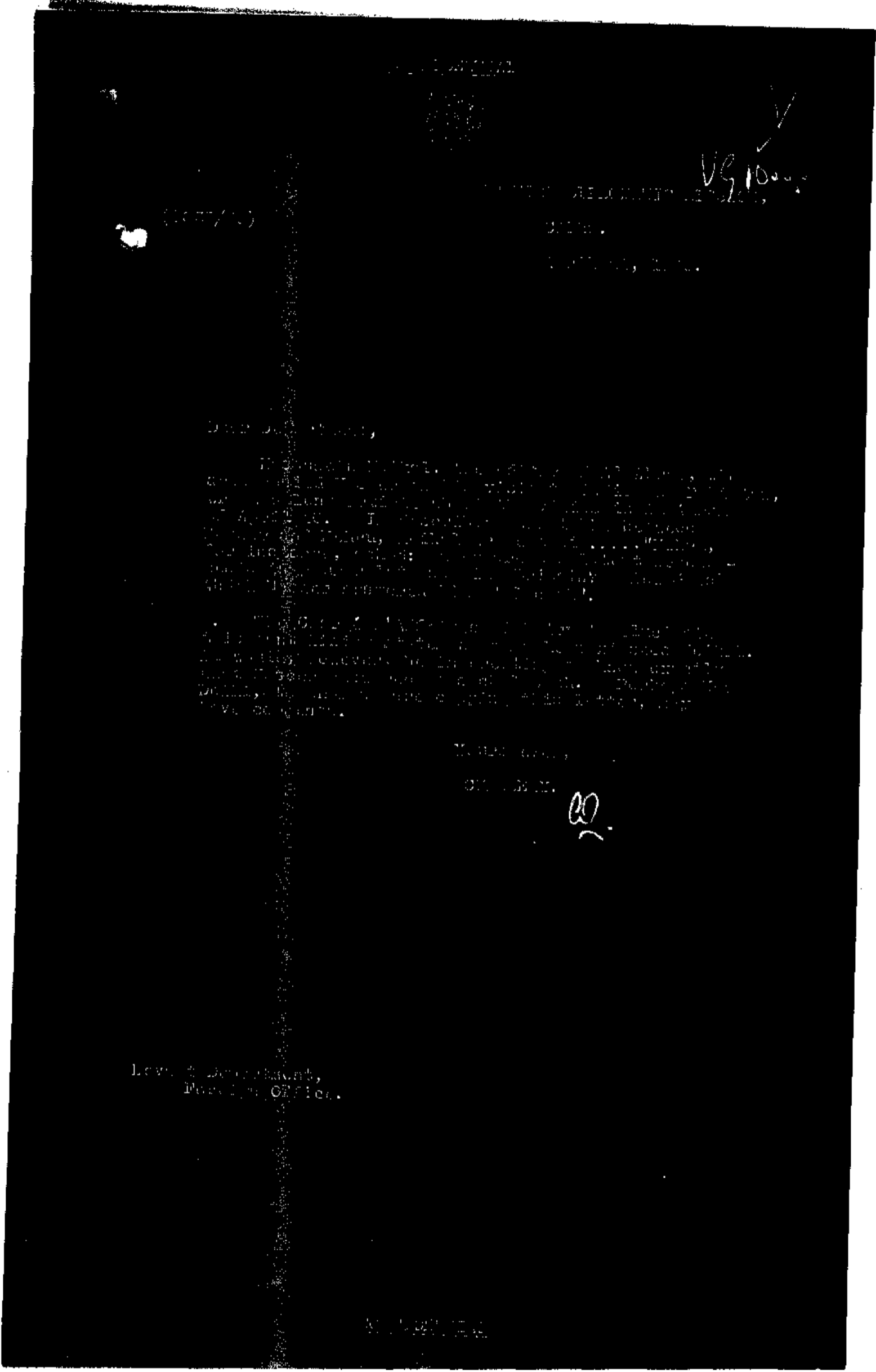
President Nasser arrived from India on 10th April and left for Cairo on 16th April, using an Indian aircraft on each occasion, after spending two days each in Karachi, Dacca, and Lahore and one day in Peshawar.

2. The Pakistan Government consider that the visit achieved all they had hoped from it, i.e. the re-establishment of friendly relations after a period of frigidity on the U.A.R. side that had ante-dated Suez. (In fact it had lasted since Pakistan joined the original Baghdad Pact). Pakistan officials have confirmed in confidence that, as the Joint Communique stated, the private talks took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding. President Ayub spoke with typical frankness about the need to concentrate on internal problems in order to combat Communism, he criticised Cairo Radio and elicited from President Nasser that he now had no hostility towards CENTO although he would not change his own neutral policy. President Ayub also stressed that Pakistan had never adopted an anti-Egyptian stand over Suez. In the Joint Communique there was no reference to the two subjects of most direct political interest to Pakistan - Kashmir and Afghanistan - although these were discussed. The references in the Communique to Algeria and Israel were moderately phrased but there was downright condemnation of "racialism" in Africa with of course particular reference to South Africa.

3. President Nasser's public offer while still in India of his good offices over Kashmir earned him credit in the Pakistan press, and the Pakistan Government, after privately confirming that President Nasser would have no objection, publicly "accepted" it (but with official tongues very much in their cheeks). Previously some sections of the Pakistan press had shown a distinct tendency to criticise President Nasser's failure to reciprocate by any positive gesture Pakistan's loyalty to Arab causes (Israel and Algeria).

4. In his public speeches and press conferences President Nasser talked much in vague terms about "the moral force" which Afro-Asians could exert in world affairs. He talked much less than did his hosts about Islamic solidarity, and in reply to questions he specifically excluded the idea of a Muslim bloc. His references to Israel and to Suez were very frequent but the only time that he really let himself go was in a public address at Lahore where he bitterly attacked "British imperialism" and the "tri-partite aggression" at the time of Suez. The Pakistan press, evidently under official direction, considerably watered down this speech in reporting it. President Nasser also drew pointed contrasts between the attitude of the Pakistan people and the Government of Mr. Suhrawardy (now facing charges under E.B.D.O.) at the time of Suez.

5. Throughout the visit President Nasser was of course incomparably the main topic of importance in the Pakistan press which was full of standard eulogies of his services to his own country, to Arab Nationalism and (through his visit) to the cause of Islamic solidarity in general. Popular interest in the visit, although considerable, seemed to be a good deal less than in the visits of President Eisenhower or of the Shah of Iran.



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NASSERS VISIT TO INDIA AND PAKISTAN

NASSER RETURNED TO CAIRO ON AFTERNOON OF SAT APR17 AND RECEIVED AN ENTHUSIASTIC POPULAR RECEPTION. TWO NATIONAL HOLIDAYS FALLING ON SAME WEEKEND WOULD HAVE ASSISTED AUTHORITIES IN ARRANGING THAT VERY LARGE CROWDS BE ON HAND TO GREET HIM, AND THE HOLIDAY FESTIVITIES NO RPT NO DOUBT CONTRIBUTED TO SPIRIT OF THE WELCOME. NEVERTHELESS HIS RECEPTION PROVIDED A FURTHER IMPRESSIVE ILLUSTRATION OF THE HOLD WHICH HE HAS ON THE COMMON PEOPLE OF CAIRO.

2. THE PRESIDENT PROCEEDED AT ONCE TO REPORT TO THE PUBLIC ON HIS TRIP HIS SPEECH, DELIVERED IN A MAIN SQUARE OF CAIRO ON AFTERNOON OF HIS RETURN, SEEMED DESIGNED TO REINFORCE THE PICTURE WHICH THE LOCAL PRESS HAD BEEN BUILDING UP OF HIS INDIAN AND PAKISTANI TOUR. THIS IN GENERAL TERMS WAS OF A TRIUMPHAL PROGRESS AND AN ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION BY GOVTS AND PEOPLE WHO RECOGNIZE NASSER AS A HERO OF AFRO-ASIAN LIBERATION, WHO HAVE FOLLOWED HIS ACTIONS WITH KEEN AND SYMPATHETIC INTEREST AND WHO ARE READY TO PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR HIS POLICIES.

3. CAIRO PRESS HAD BEEN CONCERNED TO ASSERT NASSERS CLAIM TO PRIMACY AMONG AFRICAN LEADERS OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM AND ANTI-COLONIALISM. DURING HIS TIME IN INDIA THE PICTURE DRAWN WAS OF THE TWO OUTSTANDING FIGURES OF THE AFRO-ASIAN WORLD MEETING TO COORDINATE THEIR STRATEGY ON PROBLEMS OF LEADERSHIP. THERE WAS MUCH TALK OF JOINT RESPONSIBILITY WHICH NEHRU AND NASSER WERE SAID TO HAVE ASSUMED FOR THE RESTORATION TO FREEDOM OF ALL PEOPLES STILL UNDER COLONIAL CONTROL. THE PAKISTANI

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PAGE TWO 338

VISIT WAS TREATED IN SIMILAR FASHION BUT WITH AN ISLAMIC SLANT. AS ONE PAPER PUT IT "THE VISIT TO PAKISTAN HAS BEEN OF PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE AS THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN ENTRUSTED WITH AN ADDITIONAL TASK OF JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WELL BEING OF MUSLIM PEOPLES". IT SEEMS FAIRLY CLEAR BOTH FROM PRESS COVERAGE AND HIS OWN SPEECH THAT, WHATEVER OTHER REASONS HE MAY HAVE HAD FOR MAKING THIS JOURNEY, A PROMINENT ONE WAS TO REINFORCE IN THE EYES OF HIS OWN PEOPLE HIS POSITION AS A LEADER OF WORLD STATURE.

4. IN HIS SPEECH ON APR 17 NASSER ALSO MADE MUCH OF A NEW CONCEPT WHICH HE HAD APPARENTLY DISCOVERED DURING THE COURSE OF HIS TRIP - THE CONCEPT OF "MORAL FORCE". IT SEEMS THAT "MORAL FORCE" AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT EMERGED FROM THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE (WHERE HE AND NEHRU COMBINED TO CREATE IT). IT HAS SINCE BECOME A POTENT WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF THE LEADERS OF INDIA AND UAR AND (PERHAPS SOMEWHAT LESS SO) OF PAKISTAN. "MORAL FORCE" NOW SUPPORTS THE STRUGGLE OF UAR FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE AND IN ALGERIA AND HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RETURN TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF ALL THOSE AFRICAN STATES WHICH HAVE RECENTLY EMERGED OR WILL SOON EMERGE FROM COLONIALISM. INCIDENTALLY IT APPEARS TO HAVE THE ADDITIONAL ADVANTAGE OF JUSTIFYING A UAR CLAIM TO A STATUS APPROACHING THAT OF A GREAT POWER IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT UAR IN CONTRAST WITH EG FRANCE, DOES NOT RPT NOT POSSESS ATOMIC WEAPONS. AS NASSER PUT IT ON SAT LAST, "IF I WERE MADE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN POSSESSING ATOMIC BOMBS AND MORAL SPIRIT WHICH IS THE OFF-SPRING OF FAITH AND DETERMINATION I WOULD CERTAINLY CHOOSE THE LATTER

5. ANOTHER INTERESTING FEATURE OF THE SPEECH WAS A BRIEF BUT OBVIOUSLY CAREFULLY CONSIDERED REF TO THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESSING ON WITH THE COUNTRYS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AS A MEANS OF CONSOLIDATING ITS INDEPENDENCE AND OF ASSISTING OTHER PEOPLES TO DO THE SAME. NASSER SAID

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PAGE THREE 338

THAT THE EFFORTS OF UAR TO SOLVE ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE BEING CLOSELY WATCHED BY FRIENDLY PEOPLES. UAR WILL EARN THE RESPECT OF THE WORLD IF THESE ARE CARRIED THROUGH SUCCESSFULLY, AS THEY CAN BE BY HARD WORK.

6. IN BALANCE THE CURRENT DIRECTION OF NASSERS THINKING, SO FAR AS IT MAY BE REFLECTED IN HIS SPEECH AND IN CAIRO PRESS COVERAGE OF HIS VISITS, SEEMS SATISFACTORY ENOUGH. HE OBVIOUSLY CONTINUES TO REGARD A HIGH LEVEL OF PERSONAL PRESTIGE INTERNATIONALLY, AND THE APPROBATION OF LEADERS SUCH AS NEHRU AND AYOUB KHAN, AS OF FIRST RATE IMPORTANCE TO HIS DOMESTIC POSITION. THIS MAY BE INEVITABLE, AT LEAST UNTIL SUCCESS IN THE FIELDS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE GIVES HIM STRONG ALTERNATIVE CLAIMS TO THE LOYALTY OF HIS PEOPLE. SO LONG AS HE DOES SO HE WILL BE IN SOME DEGREE SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE INFLUENCE OF MODERATE MINDED FRIENDS WHEN SITUATIONS ARISE WHICH TEMPT HIM TO ADVANCE AGAINST ISRAELIS AND HIS ARAB ENEMIES BY EXTREME AND DANGEROUS METHODS.

7. THE CONCEPT OF "MORAL FORCE" ADMITTEDLY TAKES A PECULIAR AND SOMEWHAT LIMITED SHAPE, APPLYING ONLY TO QUESTIONS OF COLONIALISM AND INJUSTICE TO THE ARABS, AND OPERATING ONLY IN AN OUTWARD DIRECTION. NEVERTHELESS IT SUGGESTS A HAPPIER STATE OF MIND THAN THE SLOGAN OF THE "SUCRED MARCH" WHICH NASSER WAS PROCLAIMING SOME TWO MONTHS AGO FROM ALL OVER SYRIA.

8. NASSERS EMPHASIS ON PROBLEM OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS A FACTOR AFFECTING UARS INTERNATIONAL STANDING IS ALSO HEALTHY, AND MAY WELL IN SOME PART REFLECT PERSUASION BY HIS INDIAN AND PAKISTANI HOSTS, THOUGH IT IS OF COURSE NOT RPT NOT NEW AND WAS PROMINENT IN HIS THINKING LAST SPRING. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AS A PART OF HIS OVER-ALL POLICY, MUST SOMETIMES APPEAR AS AN ALTERNATIVE, AND ITS CLAIMS

...

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PAGE FOUR 338

MAY CONFLICT WITH, AMBITIONS FOR POLITICAL CONTROL IN ARAB WORLD AND THE CREATION OF A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ARAB UNITY. CERTAINLY IT WOULD BE IN CONFLICT WITH ANY IDEAS HE MIGHT AT TIMES ENTERTAIN OF EVENTUALLY DESTROYING ISRAEL BY FORCE. IF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS SIGNIFICANT IN THE INTERNATIONAL AS WELL AS THE DOMESTIC SPHERE, PERHAPS THE COUNTRY CANNOT AFFORD TO COMMIT TOO MUCH MORE OF ITS SLIM RESOURCES TO FURTHER ARMS PURCHASES. IT SEEMS REASONABLE TO IMAGINE THAT SUCH A LINE OF THOUGHT WOULD IN DUE COURSE HAVE A STRONG MODIFYING EFFECT ON NASSERS ATTITUDES TOWARD HIS ARAB AND ISRAELI NEIGHBOURS THOUGH THIS WOULD PERHAPS NOT RPT NOT OCCUR UNTIL HE SEES HOPEFUL PROSPECTS FOR A REAL ADVANCE IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND WELFARE. IN THE MEANTIME INDICATIONS SUCH AS HE OFFERED IN HIS RECENT SPEECH CAN BE TAKEN AS SOME SIGN OF A TREND IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE HAVE AS YOU KNOW BEEN SOME OTHER AND CONTRARY SIGNS DURING PAST TWO OR THREE MONTHS

ARNOLD SMITH

(RECD LDN 261430Z KT)

17513
President Nasser's visit file
Mr. Wright
Mr. Walker
26
45758.
(with Clacke)

Commonwealth Relations Office,
Downing Street, S.W.1.

27 APR 1960
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC LOCALITY

26th April, 1960

Dear Tony

I attach a copy of Telegram No. 593 from Karachi, from paragraph 13 of which you will see that President Ayub may give the Prime Minister a confidential report on Colonel Nasser's recent visit to Pakistan.

It is unlikely that the Acting High Commissioner's despatch (promised in paragraph 14) will have reached us by the time Mr. Macmillan sees President Ayub and their conversation may well be the first account we shall have of the visit, apart from that in Telegram No.593 itself.

Yours Sincerely,

(Sgd.) (S.W.F. MARTIN)

A.J. Phelps, Esq.,
Treasury,
10 Downing Street

ACTION COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

45/58.25
file not
closed

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

FROM: KARACHI (ACTING H.C.)

RPTD: BAGDAD
ANKARA
TEHRAN
CAIRO
WASHINGTON
DELHI
KABUL
TEL AVIV
P.O.M.E.F.

D: Karachi 17.05 hours 25th April, 1960
R: 13.38 hours 25th April, 1960

CYPHER
IMMEDIATE

No. 602 CONFIDENTIAL AND GUARD

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 602, repeated Bagdad No. 4, Ankara No. 25, Tehran No. 33, Cairo No. 105M, Washington No. 27, Delhi No. 243, Kabul No. 46, Tel Aviv No. 105M and P.O.M.E.F. No. 3, (Commonwealth Relations Office please pass all except Delhi all Immediate).

(24) My telegram No. 593, 23rd April.
N A S S E R

Following words in paragraph 2 "and by not arranging spectators" should be treated as "Guard".

Copy to:-

D.II

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C.R.O.
Foreign Office
"(Levant. Dept.)

Mr. R. Walker
Eastern Dept.
S.E.A. Dept.
Mr. Arculus (2)

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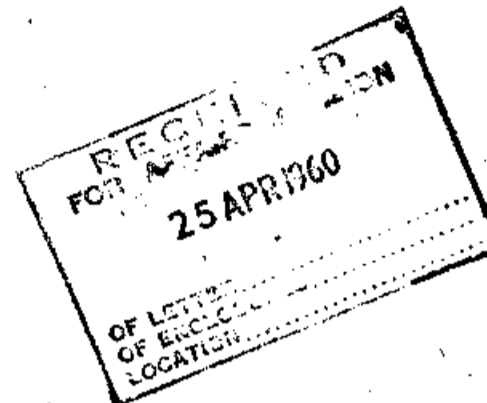
ALLOTTED TO SOUTH ASIA AND FAR EASTERN DEPT.

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION COPY 24

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

FROM: KARACHI (ACTING H.C.)
APTD: BAGHDAD
ANKARA
TEHRAN
CAIRO
WASHINGTON
DELHI
KABUL
TEL AVIV
POMEH } (SAVING)



D: Karachi 14.55 hours 23rd April, 1960
R: 13.21 hours 23rd April, 1960

CYPHER

No. 593 CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 593 repeated Baghdad No. 3, Ankara No. 23, Teheran No. 31, Cairo No. 97M, Washington No. 24, Delhi No. 239, Kabul No. 5 Saving, Tel Aviv No. 2 Saving, Pomeh No. 2 Saving (Commonwealth Relations Office please pass all except Delhi and Kabul).

NASSER'S VISIT TO PAKISTAN 10TH TO 16TH APRIL

This is a preliminary report based on confidential information from Pakistan Officials associated with visit including Ikramullah who was present at the private talks.

2. Pakistanis are very satisfied with visit; in advance they had been apprehensive. Ikramullah said the degree of admiration among Pakistan masses for Nasser had been very strong, clearly more than he Ikramullah cared for, even though the Government had somewhat played down visit through press guidance and by not arranging spectators. However our own observations suggest that spontaneous popular interest was less than during visits of Eisenhower or Shah of Iran while press treatment was equally elaborate though anodyne.

3. Pakistanis say that in private talks Nasser was obviously deeply impressed by Ayub and they got on well together. There was very frank speaking particularly by Ayub. Ikramullah thought his performance admirable. His main theme seems to have been the necessity of countering the communist threat to the independence of under developed countries and to concentrate on internal problems. Nasser argued convincingly that he had the will and the ability to check communist penetration of the U.A.R. Most of the private discussions were devoted to exposition of political and economic measures adopted and proposed in each country, Ayub as usual talking at great length about basic democracy. Specific points in private talks were:-

4. Middle East: Ayub pointedly criticised Cairo Radio and its part in stirring up trouble with particular reference to Iraq and Jordan. Nasser is said to have accepted this criticism while remarking that "our own difficulties" must not be forgotten.

/Nasser

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

- 2 -

Nasser gave the impression that he had now accepted that Gasim was the only alternative to communism in Iraq and that he had no intention of meddling further at least for the present. About Palestine a subject to which Nasser continuously reverted he argued that the 1948 U.N. resolution should be taken as a basis for settlement. In the official joint communique this was endorsed in notably moderate language by both Presidents with the addition that the Bandung principles "for a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question" should also be applied.

5. CENTO and Turkey. Nasser confirmed that he no longer had any prejudice against CENTO although he would not alter his own neutral policy. Ayub told Nasser that if he invited the Turkish Prime Minister to visit the U.A.R. he was sure he would not be rebuffed. (According to Pakistan Press such a visit has now been arranged but our Turkish colleagues have no news of this).

6. Suez. Ayub explained away the grievances nourished by the U.A.R. against Pakistan policy around the time of Suez on the lines that Pakistan had not taken up an anti-Egyptian position but had been working for a peaceful solution. Nasser was also urged to recognise that the United Kingdom was trying to restore normal relations (having accepted with a good grace the loss of many former interests in Egypt). Nasser should do the same.

7. Kashmir. Nasser said he had raised Kashmir with Nehru but the latter had said nothing. Nasser's public offer of "good offices" at Bombay had been made off his own bat. The Pakistanis told him they were going to accept his offer; he replied he had no objection. The Pakistan Foreign Minister subsequently issued a statement saying that Pakistan had accepted the offer. The Pakistan Government does not of course expect anything to come of it. The joint communique makes no mention of Kashmir.

8. Afghanistan. Ayub explained Pakistan views on Afghan claims to Pakhtunistan. Nasser made no comment (nor does the communique).

9. Ikramullah thought that neither side had shifted its foreign policy at all as a result of the discussions but each now understood the others position more clearly. Ayub had "got away with" his frank talk and had established a satisfactory relationship with Nasser.

10. Joint communique. Ikramullah described it to me as "truthful" but it contains nothing very striking, the main points stressed being the cordiality and mutual understanding displayed in the private talks and the pleasure both Presidents felt at the "ever increasing ties of cordial friendship and co-operation". These were said to have found practical expression in the cultural and trade agreements which had been concluded between the two countries. The only specific international points mentioned in the communique were

(a) Disarmament summit and nuclear explosions. The two Presidents expressed satisfaction at the efforts being made by the great powers towards relaxation of tension. They also re-affirmed their faith in the principle of non interference in other countries internal affairs.

/(b)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

- 3 -

(b) Palestine. See paragraph 4 above.

(c) Algeria. The right of the Algerian people to self determination and independence should be recognised and statesmanship rather than force should bring an end to the bloodshed in Algeria.

(d) Africa. The emergence of newly independent states was welcomed. It was hoped that others would soon be able to join the comity of independent nations.

(e) South Africa. "Racial discrimination practised by certain countries in Africa" was unjust and degrading and likely to lead to turmoil. They expressed "shock and abhorrence" at the recent killings and violence in South Africa.

11. At his press conferences and in public speeches Nasser talked a good deal in vague terms about the "moral force" that Afro Asian countries could exercise in world affairs. He dismissed the idea of a "Muslim bloc" (otherwise why not Christian, Jewish, or Hindu blocs?) He talked rather less than his hosts about Islamic Brotherhood and stressed the necessity of not being "fanatical Muslims". Much of this no doubt was a hangover from his Indian visit. He referred frequently to Suez and to Israel and in a public address at Lahore bitterly attacked Britain France and Israel for their "tripartite aggression" (Pakistan press reporting watered this down considerably.) He also pointedly contrasted the attitude of the "Pakistan people" with that of the Suhrawardy Government at the time of Suez. Both Nasser and Ayub in their earlier public speeches alluded to the different approach of each country to international problems while stressing they had the common aim of peace and economic betterment.

12. Nasser's offer while still in India of "good offices" in Kashmir secured him much credit in the Pakistan press but he was careful in public statements in Pakistan merely to urge a solution to all "problems" e.g. Sino-Indian, Palestine, Kashmir and Algeria on the basis of the Bandung resolutions.

13. Ikramullah has prepared a record of the private talks for the President but I understand this has not yet been approved. I gather that President may give personal confidential reports in Teheran and Ankara on his way to London and to Mr. Macmillan. Foreign Minister may no doubt also speak about visit at Teheran but I have no specific indication of this.

14. I shall comment further by Despatch.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

Extract: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ India Savip 82
 83
 FE 45/5522
 19/4/60

Visit by Col. Nasser (My Fortnightly Summary for 17th-30th March, part II, paragraph 21)

- President Nasser's visit to India ended on 10th April when he left Bombay for Pakistan. In the joint communique published on the evening of his departure, the two Governments reaffirmed their faith in the policy of non-alignment; they expressed the hope that the French nuclear bomb tests would be discontinued; they deplored both "the racial discrimination and the denial of fundamental human rights which are being practised as state policies in some parts of Africa" and "the recent large scale killing of innocent people in the Union of South Africa", they referred also to the need to solve the Palestine problem and stated that "the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence should be recognised and fully implemented".
- Apart from the general atmosphere of mutual esteem and friendship, nothing remarkable or unexpected arose from President Nasser's visit. The Islamic aspect was to some extent exploited; the President arrived on the afternoon of the Id Festival and throughout his visit directed much of his attention towards the Muslim section of the Indian population. But he expressed no important new ideas or policies save for a somewhat tentative public re-iteration of an earlier offer to act (if invited) as a mediator between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute. Mr. Nehru has since said that President Nasser had not put forward any offer of mediation during their talks.

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POL 119/2

CONFIDENTIAL

By Mr. de la Haye

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM
NEW DELHI - INDIA

14th April, 1960.

President Nasser and Kashmir

We have telegraphed to you the texts of the remarks made by President Nasser at Bhakra Nangal and at Bombay, in answer to questions from press correspondents, to the effect that he was always ready to offer his good offices to effect a settlement.

2. I asked Y. K. Puri, the Joint Secretary in the Commonwealth Division in External Affairs about this the other day. He said that President Nasser, knowing that the question of Kashmir was agitating the minds of the Pakistani leaders and that they were therefore bound to talk to him about it, simply wanted to get off to a good start for his visit to Pakistan. There was no deeper significance: the Indian attitude continued to be that the Kashmir problem could only be settled in bilateral negotiations between responsible Indians and Pakistanis. Many influential and wise outsiders had tried to intervene and failed. There was no alternative to direct negotiations. The Pakistanis seemed to hold to the theory that a Kashmir settlement was a pre-condition to good relations with India, whereas the Indians hold to precisely the opposite view, namely that sustained good relations over a period of time would of themselves breed conditions in which a final settlement of the Kashmir problem would be found on a mutually acceptable basis.

3. I pointed out that it seemed unlikely that President Nasser would have said anything in public on this highly sensitive topic without some prior warning or clearance with Mr. Nehru, but did not receive an answer. I have since seen a commentary which throws some light on this point in the "Times of India". The writer, Prem Bhatia, claims to have had his information from the Prime Minister. Prem Bhatia's argument is that Mr. Nehru was not averse to having someone like President Nasser explain to President Ayub that pressure on India for a quick settlement of Kashmir would get him nowhere. Here is the quotation from Prem Bhatia's article:-

"His offer to mediate in the Kashmir dispute is significant especially as he must have known of India's sensitiveness on the subject. It would be uncharitable to assume that Mr. Nasser made his offer solely to get off to a good start for his visit to Pakistan.

Because he knew that Field-Marshal Ayub Khan would raise the Kashmir question, it is safe to assume that he prepared himself for an answer through prior talks with Mr. Nehru. If he gave notice to Mr. Nehru of his subsequent offer, it is hard to imagine that the Prime Minister asked him to keep out of this ancient trouble. The advantage of any mediation by Mr. Nasser is that he knows the Indian case and will effectively carry to his host in Pakistan the views of Mr. Nehru.

Nevertheless the question remains: mediation over what? There can certainly be no question at the moment of any cession of territory by India, however strongly this country may feel about the need for a rapprochement with Pakistan. However, mediation can achieve another result, and that is to bring home to the leaders of Pakistan the utter futility as well as the danger of pressurising India at a time when her hands are full with more serious difficulties. In no case can mediation, however friendly the medium, take the

/place

H. A. Twist, Esq., O.B.E.,
Commonwealth Relations Office.

CONFIDENTIAL



- 2 -

place of direct understanding on both sides. Pakistan cannot ignore the danger of damaging the existing climate of goodwill through sustained obstructions to the conclusion of a treaty on the canal waters dispute.

4. Yesterday, at question time in the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Nehru denied having received any mediation offer from President Nasser. In reply to another question he said that there was no proposal for him to meet Field Marshal Ayub Khan outside the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting.

... 5. I enclose a spare copy of this letter, copies of which also go to Bryan Walsh Atkins in Karachi and to Colin Crowe in Cairo.

W. M. Anderson

Anderson

(C. M. Anderson)

FE 45/58

215
21 APR 1960
FOR A...
OF THE...
OF THE...

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM FROM THE OFFICE OF
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM IN INDIA

Addressed: Saving to:
Karachi 27
Cairo M 16
Capetown 12
Tel Aviv M 17
Paris 4
Washington 33
New York 6

POL U/48
UNCLASSIFIED

Repeated; Saving to:
C.R.O. 78
(no enclosures) (for information)

SENT: 13th April 1960.

(20) — My telegram 575 to the C.R.O. of 11th April,
repeated to you.

NASSER/NEHRU COMMUNIQUE

I attach 2 copies of full text of communique.

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NOT TO BE PUBLISHED OR BROADCAST BEFORE 20.30 HOURS I.S.T. ON SUNDAY
10TH APRIL, 1960 (CHAITRA 21, 1882)

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
X.P. DIVISION
PRESS RELATIONS SECTION

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

New Delhi April 9th, 1960
Chaitra 20, 1882

On the invitation of the Government of India, His Excellency President Gamal Abdel-Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, visited India from March 29th to April 10th, 1960. The President was accompanied by Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Aly Sabri, Minister of Presidential Affairs, Mr. Tooma El Awad Allah, Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs, and other high officials from the United Arab Republic.

The President and members of his party visited some of the principal cities of India. At Delhi, the President addressed the members of the Indian Parliament. At Aligarh, he received an honorary doctorate from the Aligarh University and in Bombay he inaugurated the Egyptian and Syrian Cotton Festival. He also visited a number of industrial establishments, scientific institutions and rural development projects. Wherever he went in India, President Nasser was accorded a warm and friendly reception by the people. In the Government of India's view, the enthusiasm shown by the people was a tribute to a leader who has secured and consolidated the freedom of his country. It also provided eloquent evidence of the friendly feelings which the people of India have cherished through the ages for the people of the Arab countries.

During his stay in Delhi, President Nasser and Prime Minister Nehru had a number of talks on the world situation in general and other problems of mutual interest. The President and the Prime Minister reiterated their faith in the policy of non-alignment and their resolve to maintain friendly relations with all countries. They are of the view that while assistance and co-operation through International agencies or otherwise would be welcome for the development of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, there should be no interference in the internal affairs of any country.

The President and the Prime Minister welcomed the trend towards relaxation of international tension. They also welcomed the forthcoming meeting of the Heads of Government and expressed the hope their efforts to reduce tension would meet with success. They pledged their support for any measure of agreement which would promote an atmosphere of peace and reduce the chances of conflict.

The President and the Prime Minister welcomed the progress which has already been made by the Conference on the suspension of nuclear tests which is now meeting in Geneva. They expressed the hope that final agreement would be reached without further delay, thereby relieving anxiety throughout the world. They regretted that at a time when avenues are being explored for reaching an agreement

/on the

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-2-

on the permanent abolition of nuclear tests and considerable progress has been made in that direction, nuclear bombs have recently been exploded over a region in Africa against the wishes of the people who are affected by such explosions and against the consensus of world opinion. They expressed the hope that such tests would be discontinued.

The President and the Prime Minister also discussed the prospects of the disarmament talks which are now taking place in Geneva. They were of the view that the progress on disarmament is an essential condition for reducing tension and promoting a peaceful atmosphere. They expressed the hope that the meeting of the ten-nation Disarmament Committee of the United Nations, would lead to positive results in the field of disarmament.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed the recent developments on the African continent. They welcomed the awakening among the people of Africa and the resurgent spirit of freedom which inspires millions all over the continent. They welcomed the attainment of independence by many nations of Africa and expressed the hope that such nations as are not yet free would achieve their freedom without further delay. They also welcomed the growing sense of kinship and solidarity among the people of Asia and Africa who are facing similar problems and are determined to solve these problems in a spirit of mutual co-operation and understanding.

The President and the Prime Minister deplored the racial discrimination and the denial of fundamental human rights which are being practised as state policies in some parts of Africa. In particular they expressed their sense of shock and profound regret at the recent large scale killing of innocent people in the Union of South Africa. These events have shocked the conscience of civilized people all over the world and the President and the Prime Minister expressed the hope that the weight of world opinion would be brought to bear on the authorities responsible for the adoption and execution of such policies.

The President and the Prime Minister reiterated their view that the question of Palestine should be solved in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the resolutions of the United Nations and the principles unanimously adopted at the Bandung Conference of 1955 for the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question. They expressed their concern at the situation in Algeria and reiterated their view that the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence should be recognised and fully implemented.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed problems relating to the economic development of the under-developed countries. They agreed that these countries are facing problems of a similar nature and that it is to their advantage to co-operate with one another in their own interest and in the interest of the world as a whole.

The President and the Prime Minister noted with pleasure that friendship and understanding between their two countries is growing day by day. This friendship and understanding is based not only on sharing of common objectives in their approach to world problems but also on close co-operation in the economic and cultural spheres. The President and the Prime Minister look forward to continued co-operation between their two countries in all fields and to the further strengthening of the ties of friendship and understanding as a result of the present visit of President Nasser to India.

AR:KNG:GS
99/60

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THE 10TH APRIL, 1960 (CHAITRA 21, 1882)

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Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

FROM: DELHI
RPTD: KARACHI (ACTING H.C.)
D: Delhi 18.08 hours 11th April, 1960
R: 13.08 hours 11th April, 1960

EN CLAIR

No. 578

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 578,
repeated Karachi No. 106.

My telegram No. 571.

PRESIDENT NASSER AND KASHMIR

(19) /
In Bombay on 9th April, in reply to question at press conference whether he would discuss Kashmir with Ayub and use his good offices to bring about early settlement Nasser is reported to have said. Begins.

"We want to see an end to this problem, because it is creating difficulties and troubles to both the countries. I am willing to use my good offices in solving this question. If the two countries agree about it I am ready". Ends.

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D.II

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ACTION COPY

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

FROM: DELHI
RPTD: CAPE TOWN
 KARACHI (ACTING H.C.)
 U.K. MISSION, NEW YORK
 CAIRO
 WASHINGTON
 TEL AVIV
 PARIS

RECEIVED FOR THE COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE 12 APR 1960 OF LETTERS OF ENCLAVES LOCATION

D: Delhi 12.15 hours 11th April, 1960
 R: 10.11 hours 11th April, 1960

EN CLAIR

IMMEDIATE

No. 575

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 575, repeated Cape Town No. 6, Karachi No. 108, U.K. Mission, New York No. 13, Cairo No. M99, Washington No. 32, Tel Aviv No. M100 and Paris No. 3. (Commonwealth Relations Office please pass Cape Town, New York and Washington).

NASSER/NEHRU COMMUNIQUE

Following is summary of communique issued yesterday at end of Nasser's visit to India. After referring to members of President Nasser's party and to his major activities in India the communique goes on to refer to the political policies followed by the two Governments in the following words. The President and the Prime Minister reiterated their faith in the policy of non-alignment and their resolve to maintain friendly relations with all countries. They are of the view that while assistance and co-operation through international agencies or otherwise would be welcome for the development of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa there should be no interference in the internal affairs of any country.

2. After stating that both leaders welcomed the trend towards the relaxation of tension and the forthcoming Summit meeting the communique went on to refer to the Geneva talks on the suspension of nuclear tests stating the President and the Prime Minister welcomed the progress which has already been made by the conference on the suspension of nuclear tests which is now meeting in Geneva. They expressed the hope that final agreement would be reached without further delay thereby relieving anxiety throughout the world. They regret that at a time when avenues are being explored for reaching an agreement of the permanent abolition of nuclear tests and considerable progress has been made in that direction, nuclear bombs have recently been exploded over a region in Africa against the wishes of the people who are affected by such explosions and against the consensus of world opinion. They expressed the hope that such tests would be discontinued.

/3.

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- 2 -

3. The communique then referred to the current disarmament talks in Geneva and expressed the view that progress on disarmament is an essential condition for reducing tension and promoting a peaceful atmosphere.
4. The communique continued with a substantial section concerned with African affairs as follows. The President and the Prime Minister discussed the recent developments on the African continent. They welcomed the awakening among the people of Africa and the resurgent spirit of freedom which inspires millions all over the continent. They welcomed the attainment of independence by many nations of Africa and expressed the hope that such nations as are not yet free would achieve their freedom without further delay. They also welcomed the growing sense of kinship and solidarity among the people of Asia and Africa who are facing similar problems and are determined to solve these problems in a spirit of mutual co-operation and understanding. The President and the Prime Minister deplored the racial discrimination and the denial of fundamental human rights which are things practised as state policies in some parts of Africa. In particular they expressed their sense of shock and profound regret at the recent large scale killing of innocent people in the Union of South Africa. These events have shocked the conscience of civilized people all over the world and the President and the Prime Minister expressed the hope that the weight of world opinion would be brought to bear on the authorities responsible for the adoption and execution of such policies.
5. In references to the Palestine and Algerian situations the communique stated that the President and the Prime Minister reiterated their view that the question of Palestine should be solved in conformity with the provisions of the U.N. charter the resolutions of the United Nations and the principles unanimously adopted at the Bandung Conference of 1955 for the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question. They expressed their concern at the situation in Algeria and reiterated their view that the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence should be recognized and fully implemented.
6. The communique finally referred to the problems of economic development of under developed countries and agreed that it would be to their mutual advantage to co-operate with each other. The communique noted that the growing friendship and understanding between India and Egypt was based not merely on common objectives but also on their approach to world problems and on close co-operation in the economic and cultural spheres. They looked forward to continued co-operation in all fields and the further strengthening of mutual ties of friendship and understanding as a result of President Nasser's visit.
7. Full text of communique will be forwarded by bag.

Note by Telegraph Section: This telegram has been passed to Cape Town.

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ACTION COPY

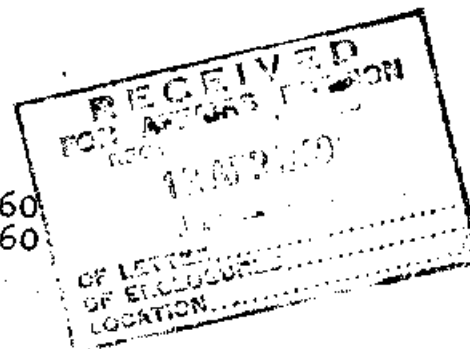
45/5819

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

FROM: DELHI

RPTD: KARACHI
WASHINGTON
CAIRO

D: Delhi 13.48 hours 9th April 1960
R: 11.13 hours 9th April 1960



EN CLAIR

No. 571

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 571 repeated Karachi No. 104, Washington No. 29 and Cairo No. M97 (Commonwealth Relations Office please pass Washington and Cairo).

Karachi telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office No. 499. (18)

PRESIDENT NASSER AND KASHMIR

Statement appears to have been made in answer to a question put by a journalist on the conclusion of Nasser's visit to Bhakra Dam. The Ambala Tribune of 3rd April reported it as follows.

"In regard to the Kashmir issue also he wished a settlement in accordance with the Bandung spirit. A settlement of the dispute was to the benefit of both India and Pakistan. It was something harassing to both these countries since independence and its continuation would mean unnecessary burden on the Exchequer replying to a question as to which of the two countries was refusing to implement the Bandung spirit Mr. Nasser said in the past 'we had tried to mediate, we are ready even now to give our good offices in effecting a settlement'".

2. In reply to a further question he is reported to have gone on to say that Mr. Suhrawardy's regime was definitely hostile to the United Arab Republic. During the Suez crisis India gave the U.A.R. support, but Pakistan despite a promise did not give any support. He added that the situation had improved of late but he had not yet seen Pakistan President Ayub Khan. He would see him next week for the first time. He hoped that the visit would improve and strengthen better relations between the U.A.R. and Pakistan.

3. Same interview was reported in Hindustan Times of 3rd April but in less detail. This said "As for Kashmir which had 'ceased to be an acute problem' President Nasser offered his good offices to settle the differences between the two countries".

4. Other newspapers do not seem to have given any prominence to this interview on which there has so far (? been - omitted) no editorial comment.

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D. II
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ACTION COPY 18

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

FROM: KARACHI (ACTING H.C.)

RPTD: DELHI
WASHINGTON
CAIRO

RECEIVED
FOR: ASSESSOR DIVISION
APR 8 1960
OF LETTER.....
OF ENCLOSURES.....
LOCATION.....

D: Karachi 17.30 hours 7th April 1960
R: 13.24 hours 7th April 1960

EN CLAIR

No. 499

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 499 repeated Delhi No. 220, Washington No. 21 and Cairo No. 87M (Commonwealth Relations Office please pass Washington).

PRESIDENT NASSER AND KASHMIR

Considerable interest has been displayed by the Pakistan press in Delhi reports of remarks said to have been made by President Nasser at Nangal, East Punjab on 2nd April.

2. Nasser is alleged to have urged India and Pakistan to settle their dispute on Kashmir peacefully and to have said that "the Bandung spirit should govern the two countries towards the solution of this problem". In reply to a question he was reported as saying that in 1955 he had offered to use his good offices to help resolve the dispute and he was ready to do it even now.

3. According to the Pakistan press "official sources" in Karachi have welcomed this statement. The press itself certainly has and had described it as "Nasser's offer to mediate". Suggesting that Pakistan should readily accept the offer, one Urdu paper comments that in this way Pakistan can usefully show to the Arab world that it is India who refuses to settle the dispute peacefully. The press has also alleged that many newspapers in India ignored President Nasser's statement.

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CONFIDENTIAL

(1501)

17

BRITISH EMBASSY,

AMMAN.

April 1, 1960.

Talhany, our local Vice Consul, has made the following suggestion which I think is worth passing on.

2. A great friend of Talhany's is Hajem el Tal, who is the Jordanian Chargé d'Affaires in Karachi. Talhany has told me that Tal is generally well-informed about what goes on and gets on well with his Arab colleagues. Talhany thought that if someone in the High Commission would care to cultivate him a bit during Nasser's forthcoming visit to Pakistan we might hear some items of information which otherwise we would miss. Talhany thought that it would help if whoever saw Tal could mention his (Talhany's) name by way of introduction and pass on his regards.

3. I put this forward rather apologetically; we no doubt have excellent sources in Karachi already and the above suggestion may appear rather frivolous. However, I think it is worth mentioning. May I leave it to you to inform the Commonwealth Relations Office if you see fit?

(L.C.W. Figg)

A.K. Rothnie, Esq.,
Levant Department,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

Extract fr.	India Foreignly Summary CONFIDENTIAL - FET4/ISF 17-30 March 1960	16 ^A
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VISITORS

President Nasser's Visit

21. President Nasser arrived in Delhi on 29th March for a twelve-day visit to India. He was given a hearty welcome by a large and ebullient crowd, on holiday for the celebration of the Id-ul-fitr. His speeches have been mainly devoted to praise of Afro-Asian solidarity, with particular reference to the need for unity in the face of imperialist political and economic aggression.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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16

(VG 1061/5)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

March 25, 1960.

For some time we have known that a visit by President Nasser to India and Pakistan was in the wind but, as far as I can see, the first definite information we had about it was in Karachi telegram to the C.R.O. No. 268 of February 20 and New Delhi telegram to the C.R.O. No. 41 Saving of February 23. (14)

MEG 29/25/60
We have, of course, been considering whether we could take advantage of these visits, for example by getting the Indians and the Pakistanis to speak seriously to Nasser about the present lines of our policy towards him and the Middle East in general. In fact, as you will have seen from Golds' letter to Redpath in the C.R.O. of March 10 Ikramullah has needed no prompting and would seem to be going to take what is, as far as we are concerned, a fairly useful line. We are in two minds whether it would, in fact, be useful to put President Nehru up to speaking for us. I am not sure really what weight he would carry with Nasser nor are we at all certain that he would in fact take the line we wanted him to. (15)

We have not, however, made up our minds about this and would be grateful for any comments you may have.

(A.K. Rothnie)

C. T. Crowe, Esq., C.M.G.,
Cairo.

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION COPY 45/51 15

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

FROM: DELHI (ACTING H.C.)

RPTD: CAIRO
ANKARA
TEHERAN
WASHINGTON
POMEF
KARACHI

D: 23rd February, 1960
R: 25th February, 1960

No. 41 SAVING UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 41 Saving, repeated Cairo No. M9 Saving, Ankara No. M10 Saving, Teheran No. M11 Saving, Washington No. 11 Saving, Pomef No. M12 Saving and Karachi No. 14 Saving.

(14) — Karachi telegram No. 268 to C.R.O. repeated Delhi No. 116.

VISIT OF COLONEL NASSER

Ministry of External Affairs state that Colonel Nasser will arrive in Delhi on 29th March for a 12 day visit. He will spend three days in Delhi before going off on an extensive tour of India. He will leave for Pakistan on 10th April.

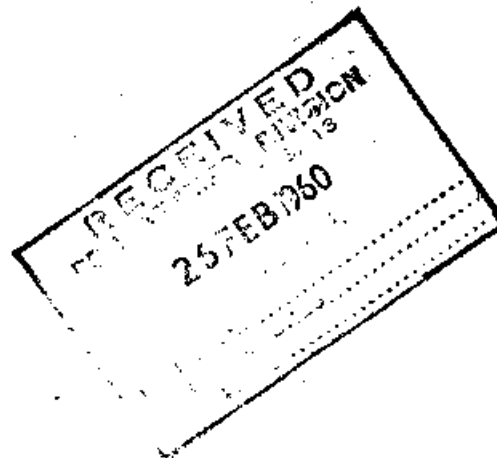
Copy to:-

C.R.O.

Foreign Office

Mr. Redpath
Mr. Walker
Mr. Arculus

SA + FE
ALLOTTED TO ~~WEST~~ EAST DEPT.



14

ACTION COPY
Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

RECEIVED
 CIVIL
 23 FEB 1960

FROM: KARACHI
RPTD: CAIRO
 ANKARA
 TEHERAN
 WASHINGTON
 P.O.M.E.F.
 DELHI (ACTING H.C.)

D: Karachi 11.40 hours 20th February, 1960
 R: 09.09 hours 20th February, 1960

EN CLAIR

No. 268

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 268, repeated Cairo No. 47M, Ankara No. 13, Teheran No. 19, Washington No. 8, P.O.M.E.F. No. 1 and Delhi No. 116, (Commonwealth Relations Office please pass Cairo, Washington and P.O.M.E.F.).

VISIT OF COLONEL NASSER

It has now been confirmed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Colonel Nasser will pay a five day visit to Pakistan from 10th April.

Copy to:-

D.II

C.R.O.
 Foreign Office

Mr. Redpath
 Mr. R. Arculus

Copies to Foreign Office (Telegram Section) for retransmission to Cairo, Washington and P.O.M.E.F.

SA + FE
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CONFIDENTIAL ACTION COPY

13.

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

RECEIVED
FOR ATTACHED MESSAGE
22 JAN 1960

FROM: KARACHI
RPTD: CAIRO
DELHI (ACTING H.C.)

D: Karachi 17.55 hours 20th January, 1960
R: 13.52 hours 20th January, 1960

CYPLER

No. 112 CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No. 112, repeated Cairo No. 18M. (Commonwealth Relations Office please pass Cairo) Delhi No. 47.

VISIT BY NASSER TO PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs told us the other day that Nasser has at last agreed to visit Pakistan (in reply to a long standing invitation). When his postponed tour of South Asia (including India) took place previously the Pakistanis had apparently been unable to get any reply to their invitation.

2. The UAR Ambassador is now reported to have told the press at Chittagong on 19th January that the visit would take place shortly after Id-Ul-Fitr (end of March).

Copy to:- D. II

C.R.O.

Foreign Office

Mr. Redpath
Mr. Davie
Mr. R. Walker
Mr. Beulus

Copy to Foreign Office (Telegram Section) for retransmission to Cairo.

ALLOTTED TO MIDDLE EAST DEPT.

FA

F.O.

Mr. F.A. Warner.
Miss Petrie
Mr. Warner (2)

25/1.

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Copy. (DY10316/2)

45/5/15¹²

B35 NASSER ACCEPTS RENEWED INVITATION TO PAKISTAN

(CAIRO RADIO IN ENGLISH) PRESIDENT NASSER YESTERDAY RECEIVED THE PAKISTANE AMBASSADOR IN CAIRO. THE AMBASSADOR RENEWED PRESIDENT AYUB KHAN'S INVITATION TO THE PRESIDENT TO VISIT PAKISTAN. HE DISCLOSED THAT PRESIDENT NASSER HAD ACCEPTED THE INVITATION.

END BBC MON 23/11 1417 NB



RECEIVED
FOR AFFAIRS DIVISION
REGY. DIVISION
27 NOV 1959
DUPLICATES
OF LETTER
OR ENCLOSURES
LOCATION

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM
NEW DELHI - INDIA

24th November, 1959.

Dear Department,

The Indian press reports that President Nasser has indicated his intention to visit New Delhi in January. The date and duration of his visit have yet to be discussed.

We are copying this letter to the Commission for British Property in the Egyptian region.

Yours ever,

High Commission

Far Eastern and South East Asia Department,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

M.C.
45/5/15



OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,
7, PRINCE STREET,
COLOMBO, CEYLON.

CONFIDENTIAL

REF: 268/7/1. CONFIDENTIAL

21st July, 1959.

Dear Brown,

(8) In his letter of the 25th June to Clark
Crostwait reported that Nasser had accepted an invitation
in principle to visit Ceylon and that the present tentative
idea was that he would do so in late August or early
September. I am told that the Ceylonese have since heard
that Nasser will be occupied during August with some sort
of Arab Summit and that therefore his visit to Ceylon is
likely to be somewhat postponed.

Yours sincerely
R. W. Newsam
(R.W. Newsam)

H.R.E. Brown Esq., C.M.G., O.B.E.,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
London, S.W.1.

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CONFIDENTIAL
OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,
7, PRINCE STREET,
COLOMBO, CEYLON.



268/7/1

Reply?
CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED
FOR AFFAIRS DIVISION June, 1959
REGD
JUL 1959
OF LETTER
OF HEAD
LOCATION

Dear Mr. [unclear],
Car is [unclear]

1. In his letter to you of the 16th June Walsh-Atkins sent you a copy of a Reuter's report to the effect that Nasser has accepted the invitation to visit Ceylon.

2. I enclose a report to the same effect from the "Daily News" of the 16th June. We have been told that this report has some basis of truth. When he returned to Cairo after a recent visit to Ceylon, the Ceylon Ambassador to the United Arab Republic took with him an invitation from Mr. Bandaranaike to Nasser. Nasser has accepted the invitation in principle and the present tentative idea is that he should come to Ceylon in late August or early September and not, as suggested in the enclosed cutting, when the Intra Regional Economic Conference is held which on present plans would be in the last week of December.

3. I am sending a copy of this letter to Walsh-Atkins and James.

Yours sincerely
T. L. Crosthwait
(T.L. Crosthwait)

W.A.W. Clark, Esq., C.M.G., C.B.E.,
LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

EXTRACT FROM CEYLON DAILY NEWS 16th June 1959

NASSER IS WILLING
(By a Daily News reporter).
President Nasser himself may represent the United Arab Republic at the Colombo Powers Conference scheduled to be held here in November.
The U.A.R. President who has been invited to Ceylon by the Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike has, according to Government sources, expressed support and co-operation for making the conference a success.
His country, as a signatory to the Bandung Declaration, would make it a point to be represented at the conference, he is reported to have said.



CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,
6 Tees January Marg,
New Delhi.

POL U/48

25th June, 1959

RECEIVED
FOR AFFAIRS DIVISION
30 JUN 1959
OF LETTER
OF ENCLOSURE
LOCATED

March

Thank you for sending us a copy of your letter to Clark about the possibility of a visit to India by President Nasser. Rumours about this have appeared in the Indian Press from time to time. James Scott has written to Moon in the Commonwealth Relations Office about this on 12th and 30th April. On the last occasion the dates of the visit, attributed by the Indian Press to "authoritative sources", were the end of 1959 or beginning of 1960.

The Ministry of External Affairs have consistently denied any knowledge of a proposed visit and when I recently questioned the Chief of Protocol about the accuracy of newspaper reports he replied that there was nothing in them "at the moment". I shall, of course, try to find out what fire lies behind this smoke when I next have an opportunity.

I am sending copies of this letter to Colombo and to the Commonwealth Relations Office.

C.M. Anderson

L.B. Walsh Atkins, Esq.,
United Kingdom High Commission,
KARACHI.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSION,

KARACHI
RECEIVED
 FOR AFFAIRS DIVISION
 22 JUN 1959, 1959
 OF LETTERS
 OF ENCLOSURES
 LOCATION

Mr. Brown
I have agreed with
Mr. Khan that we take the
De. of of same long on 2/6
Mr. D. W. S. [unclear] 2/6
Mr. [unclear]
F.O. [unclear] [unclear]
Is this yours
or mine?
Done
Wandy
19/6

R. [unclear]
5/6
22/6

Dear Jeff,

.... I enclose a copy of a Reuter report in the paper today to the effect that Nasser has accepted an invitation to visit Ceylon "at the same time as he visited India".

2. It may, therefore, be topical to mention that last week when I was talking to the Deputy Chief of Protocol here he made some remark about the State Visit to Pakistan later this year of the Yang Di Pertuan Agong of Malaya. I fired a very quick question about whether Nasser was coming here. He said 'No'. There was a momentary hesitation, but I think he was probably telling the truth as he knew it. I had my question in mind because of occasional suggestions that are made that elements in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are rather well disposed towards Nasser (a disposition we doubt if the President shares) and in particular because the Foreign Minister told the High Commissioner that he had "briefed" Mr. Shoaib, the Finance Minister, for his talks with Nasser and others in Cairo on his way to Washington on 27th May.

3. I am sending copies of this letter to Morley and James.

Yours ever,
Brian Walsh Atkins

(L. B. WALSH ATKINS)

W. A. W. Clark, Esq., C.M.G., C.B.E.,
 Commonwealth Relations Office,
 LONDON, S. W. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

D.H.C.

TIMES OF KARACHI

16/5/59

Nasser To Visit Ceylon

CAIRO, June 13. — Mr. A. B. Perera, the Ceylonese envoy, said last night that President Nasser has accepted an invitation to visit Ceylon.

He made this announcement to reporters after he had met President Nasser in Kubbah Palace.

The envoy said the invitation was extended by the Ceylon Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike.

He said the date had not yet been fixed although President Nasser said he would visit Ceylon at the same time as he visited India.

Reuter

42/5/59 3

R+un

RECEIVED
FOR AFFAIRS
- 5 MAY 1959

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,
6 TEES JANUARY MARG,
NEW DELHI, 2.

30th April, 1959.

Dem Mem

Would you please refer to my letter POL.U/48 of 12th March about a possible visit to India by President Nasser.

We have been unable all along to get any confirmation of this report from the Ministry of External Affairs. A report in the Times of India date lined Cairo, April 11th, states however that President Nasser has postponed his visit to India because of "pressing developments in West Asia". "Authoritative sources" are quoted as saying that President Nasser would now come to India towards the end of the year or early next year.

The report continues that the U.A.R. President's visit would be in response to a standing invitation from Prime Minister Nehru.

Yours sincerely
J.A. Scott
(J.A. SCOTT)

P.J.S. Moon, Esq.,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
Downing Street, S.W.1.



Registry 17/13
① W O'Brien to see
② copy under cover to N. Dinchenko (F.O.)
③ then receive.

New file
VT/Dalme

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
 FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM
 NEW DELHI - INDIA

12th March, 1959.

UNCLASSIFIED

As
17/3

RECEIVED
 FOR AFFAIRS DIVISION
 RECY. ROOM N.S. 13
 17 MAR 1959
 DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS
 OF ENCLOSURES

Dear Moon

A rather circumstantial report has appeared in the "Hindustan Times" (New Delhi) that President Nasser is to visit India in June. The report continues that the date of the visit has been fixed and that it is in response to a long standing invitation from the Government of India.

Officials in the Ministry of External Affairs have been unable to confirm the truth or otherwise of the report. We will write again when we hear definitely whether President Nasser is coming.

Yours sincerely
J.A. Scott

(J.A. SCOTT)

P.J.S. Moon, Esq.,
 Commonwealth Relations Office,
 Downing Street,
 London S.W.1.