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FROM PEKING TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. O'Neill

E/421/1772.

No. 525

D. 8.15 a.m. September 21, 1956.

September 21, 1956.

R. 3.28 p.m. September 21, 1956.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 525 of September 21.

Repeated for information Saving to Cairo Paris
Washington

Suez Canal.

A meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress held on September 20 heard and approved a report by Prime Minister Chou En-lai on the Suez Canal question. Representatives of all parties and national mass organizations supported the Prime Minister's report.

2. After rehearsing the history of the last two months and asserting the correctness of the Egyptian stand, the Prime Minister ended as follows:

"at Bandung China, Egypt and twenty seven other countries of Africa and Asia unanimously proclaimed that the evil of colonialism must be quickly eradicated. The Chinese people resolutely support the Egyptian Government in its entirely legal action. In the event of any action which infringes on Egyptian sovereignty, or which involves armed intervention, the Chinese people cannot stand aside as if they did not hear. The Chinese people together with the peace-loving and righteous people throughout the world, resolutely stands beside the Egyptian people in their great struggle in support of national independence and national sovereignty. The Egyptians will certainly obtain the full support of the Chinese people. The Chinese Government resolutely advocate that the problem of free navigation of the Suez Canal should be solved by peaceful discussion on a strict basis of respect for Egyptian sovereignty. The whole world can see that, so far as Egypt is concerned, the gate for peaceful discussion is still wide open. We resolutely oppose any provocative plan for infringing on Egyptian sovereignty or wrecking the navigation in the Canal. If Britain, France and America are truly concerned over freedom of navigation, they would rein in their horses on the brink of the precipice,

/ abandon their

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Peking telegram No. 525 to Foreign Office

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abandon their plans for forcible control of the Canal and return to the path of peaceful negotiation. There is no other way open to them".

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Cairo, Washington and Paris as my telegrams Nos. 17, 149 and 21.

[Repeated Saving to Cairo, Washington and Paris]

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(Peking Tel No. 525) J

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Friday, September 21, 1956

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ON SUEZ CANAL ISSUE

PEKING September 20 - Premier Chou En-lai told the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress today that if Britain and France, with United States support, "should dare to carry out war provocations against Egypt", the Egyptian people, supported by all countries which love peace and uphold justice, would certainly deal heavy blows to the aggressors.

In a report to the 46th meeting of the Standing Committee on the Suez issue, Chou En-lai warned the nations taking part in the current London conference "not to fall into this or that kind of traps" set by the 3 Western powers in an attempt to infringe upon Egypt's sovereignty and undermine the freedom of navigation through the canal.

He then declared that "the Chinese people cannot let pass any move encroaching upon the sovereignty of Egypt and any armed intervention against Egypt". He assured the Egyptian people of the Chinese people's "all-out support" in their struggle in defence of national independence and sovereignty.

The Chinese Government, he said, firmly advocated that the question of freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal should be settled through peaceful negotiations on the basis of respecting the sovereignty and dignity of Egypt. "There are no other alternatives".

He reaffirmed the pledge that the Chinese people, together with all other people throughout the world who love peace and uphold justice, "firmly stand on the side of the Egyptian people."

The full text of his report follows:

Chairman and members of the Standing Committee:

Recently, owing to the fact that Britain, France and the United States have resorted to further threats and provocations against Egypt, the Suez Canal situation has become all the more complicated and serious. The State Council deems it necessary to make a report to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the recent developments of the Suez Canal question and to explain the Government's stand on this issue.

The Suez Canal question has two aspects, that is, Egypt's inviolable sovereignty over the Suez Canal and the freedom of navigation through the canal. Despite the close relationship between these two aspects, they can by no means be mixed up. The Suez Canal is an integral part of Egypt; the Suez Canal Company is an Egyptian company subject to Egyptian laws and customs. Therefore Egypt has the full right to nationalise the Suez Canal Company. This is a righteous action taken by Egypt in defence of its own sovereignty and independence. As to the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal, it has long been stipulated in the Constantinople convention of 1888. After the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company, the Egyptian Government has guaranteed the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal not only by repeated statements but also by actual deeds. The Egyptian Government has even proposed to convene an international conference with the broad participation of all countries concerned for reviewing the Constantinople convention and considering the conclusion of an agreement by these countries reaffirming and guaranteeing the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal. The attitude assumed by the Egyptian Government on both aspects of the Suez Canal question is perfectly correct and unimpeachable. The Chinese Government fully supports this attitude of the Egyptian Government.

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PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ON SUEZ CANAL ISSUE (continued)

However, Britain and France have adopted an altogether different attitude. They have deliberately mixed up the question of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company with the question of freedom of navigation through the canal, in an attempt to preserve their colonialist privileges under the pretext that freedom of navigation through the canal has been threatened. Verbally they recognise or dare not deny Egypt's sovereignty over the Suez Canal, but in reality, they have been trying to compel Egypt to give up its sovereignty over the canal or to seize it by force by resorting to economic pressure and military threat, and even by employing adventurous plans of provocation. In spite of their repeated expressions of concern over the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal, they have in reality refused to conduct any peaceful negotiation with Egypt, they have even resorted to compelling non-Egyptian technical personnel of the Suez Canal Company to leave their posts and deliberately dispatched large numbers of ships for passage through the Suez Canal, in a plot to undermine the freedom of navigation through the canal. At times the United States also speaks ostentatiously of solving this question by peaceful means, yet in fact it is supporting Britain and France in their threat of force and infringement of Egypt's sovereignty. The United States has been making use of and strengthening these actions of Britain and France in order to achieve its own expansionist aim in the Middle East. It is precisely these actions of Britain, France and the United States, that have created and aggravated the tension in the Suez Canal situation.

It is wellknown that at the London conference which Britain, France and the United States convened unilaterally in August, the 3 countries insisted on a plan for international control over the Suez Canal, that is the so-called Dulles' plan. This plan exposed the fact that in convening the London conference they did not mean to conduct peaceful negotiations on the basis of respecting the sovereignty of Egypt, but to utilise this conference for achieving their aim of violating the sovereignty of Egypt. Such a plan would not only fail to lead to a peaceful settlement of the Suez Canal question but would render its settlement all the more difficult. India, the Soviet Union, Indonesia and Ceylon exerted great efforts to keep the door open to a peaceful settlement of the Suez Canal question. India put forward a plan which respected the sovereignty of Egypt over the Suez Canal and was capable of guaranteeing the freedom of navigation through the canal. This plan was supported by the Soviet Union, Indonesia and Ceylon. However, the Western countries rejected it. As a result the London conference ended without unanimous agreement. The attitude of the Chinese Government towards the London conference has been made clear in its statement of August 15 and its note of September 17 to the Egyptian Government.

After the London conference, those countries which supported the Dulles' plan sent a 5-nation committee to Cairo in an attempt to impose this plan on the Egyptian Government. At the same time, the former Suez Canal Company, which had already lost its legal position, openly announced that in case Egypt did not reach an agreement on the establishment of a body for international control over the Suez Canal with the 5-nation committee, it would give orders to withdraw all the non-Egyptian pilots and other employees. And in the meantime, Britain and France, supported by the United States, stepped up their aggressive military preparations by concentrating large numbers of troops in Cyprus near Egypt. Even under such circumstances, the Egyptian Government, which has been insisting on peaceful negotiations, received the 5-nation committee with good will and listened patiently to its explanations on the Dulles' plan.

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W CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Friday, September 21, 1956

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ON SUEZ CANAL ISSUE (continued)

Whatever explanations there might have been, the purpose of the Dulles' plan is obvious - that is, to grab the Suez Canal from Egypt. President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt solemnly pointed out in his letter of September 9, 1956, to the 5-nation committee: "It is difficult to imagine anything more provocative to the people of Egypt. An act of such a nature is both self-defeating and of a nature to generate friction, misunderstanding and continuous strife. It would be in other words not the end but the beginning of trouble." Therefore, it is natural that the Egyptian Government cannot accept the Dulles' plan.

However the Egyptian Government has not given up its efforts to seek a peaceful settlement. In its notes delivered to governments of various countries on September 10, the Egyptian Government proposed that, as an immediate step, a negotiating body should be formed which would be representative of the different views held among the states using the Suez Canal so that questions relating to the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal could be settled by means of peaceful negotiation. The Chinese Government warmly supported this proposal of the Egyptian Government in its note of September 17 to the Egyptian Government. It has been reported in Egypt that more than 20 countries have expressed their support to this proposal of the Egyptian Government.

Contrary to the attitude of the Egyptian Government of persistently seeking a peaceful settlement, the British Government announced on September 12 that Britain, France and the United States would form a so-called "association of users of the canal", in an attempt to openly deprive Egypt of its sacred sovereignty and to gain control over the Suez Canal by force. Subsequently, the great majority of the non-Egyptian technical personnel of the Suez Canal Company, coerced and bribed by Britain and France, left their posts en masse. Now, Britain, France and the United States are holding a conference in London to discuss in detail this adventurous plan of forcibly controlling the Suez Canal. In his statement in Lok Sabha on September 13, Prime Minister Nehru justly pointed out that "the action proposed" by the governments of Britain, France and the United States "is not a result of an agreement of co-operation or consent but is to be taken unilaterally and thus in the nature of an imposed decision!" He said: These "steps announced to assume operation of the canal without the consent and co-operation of the Egyptian Government were calculated to render a peaceful approach extremely difficult and also carry with them a grave risk of conflict". In its statement of September 15 the Government of the Soviet Union strongly denounced the provocative plan of Britain, France and the United States as leading "to the artificial creation of incidents which could be utilised as a pretext for employing force against Egypt". The Soviet Union has thus served due warning to Britain, France and the United States. India and the Soviet Union have resolutely held that the question of the freedom of navigation through the canal should be settled through peaceful negotiation. This undoubtedly, is in line with the aspirations of all the peaceloving countries and peoples.

The plan of Britain, France and the United States of forcibly controlling the Suez Canal is in thorough violation of the United Nations Charter. As the Government of Egypt pointed out in its note of September 17 to the Chairman of the United Nations Security Council, this plan would seek to establish an organisation with self-granted jurisdiction within the territory of a sovereign state member of the United Nations without the consent of that state. To realise such a plan which infringes upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Egypt would obviously mean use of force against Egypt.

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PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ON SUEZ CANAL ISSUE (continued)

It would not only be an aggression against Egypt, but would seriously menace international peace and security. All countries which really adhere to the United Nations Charter cannot but undertake the obligation of actively preventing a further deterioration of this grave situation.

The United States-supported plan of armed intervention of Britain and France, which aims at infringing upon Egypt's sovereignty and dignity, is a serious provocation not only against the Egyptian people but also against all the Arab states and other Asian and African countries, as well as all the countries and peoples the world over which love peace and uphold justice. The imperialists have obviously forgotten that now it is a new era in which the socialist countries are growing stronger and stronger, countries which have won their national independence have won many victories and the world forces for peace have had an unprecedented growth. If Britain and France, backed by the United States, should continue obstinately what they have been doing and should dare to carry out war provocations against Egypt, then it is certain that the heroic Egyptian people, with the support of all the countries and peoples who love peace and uphold justice, would definitely deal heavy blows to the aggressors. Many of the countries which are now attending the London conference have already expressed their reluctance to take part in any plan in which force would be used against Egypt. Some of these countries have further stressed that their participation in the conference does not mean that they have given consent to the plan of Britain, France and the United States of organising a so-called "association of the users of the canal". Nevertheless, we still consider it necessary to remind the countries which have accepted the invitation and are taking part in the London conference to take every precaution not to fall into this or that kind of traps which are set by Britain, France and the United States in an attempt to infringe upon Egypt's sovereignty and undermine the freedom of navigation through the canal.

It is obvious that without the backing of the United States, it would be impossible for Britain and France to put into practice the adventurous plan of forcibly controlling the Suez Canal. But Britain and France would be wrong if they think that with such United States support they could hold onto their colonialist interests in the Middle East. In an adventure of war which would provide no way out for all the imperialist aggressors, the United States would inevitably seize the opportunity to grab first of all the colonialist interests of Britain and France in the Middle East, as it has done in South Vietnam. Under such circumstances, Britain and France would not gain anything but would finally lose all that they still have now.

China and Egypt, together with 27 other Asian and African countries unanimously declared at the Bandung Conference, that the evils of colonialism should be speedily brought to an end. The Chinese people resolutely support the Egyptian Government's action of nationalising the Suez Canal Company which is entirely legal. The Chinese people cannot let pass any move encroaching upon the sovereignty of Egypt and any armed intervention against Egypt. The Chinese people, together with all other peoples throughout the world who love peace and uphold justice, firmly stand on the side of the Egyptian people. In their great struggle in defence of national independence and sovereignty, the Egyptian people will certainly have the all-out support of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Government firmly advocates that the question of freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal should be settled through peaceful negotiations on the basis of respecting the sovereignty and dignity of Egypt. It can be seen that, as far as Egypt is concerned, the door to peaceful negotiations is open.

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Friday, September 21, 1956

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ON SUEZ CANAL ISSUE (continued)

We resolutely oppose any plan of war provocation which violates the sovereignty of Egypt and disrupts navigation on the canal. If Britain, France and the United States are genuinely concerned about freedom of navigation through the canal, they should stop at the brink of the precipice, discard their plan of forcibly controlling the Suez Canal and return to the road of peaceful negotiations. There are no other alternatives.

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ON SUEZ ISSUE
(continued)

Quoting a letter written by the late Doctor Sun Yat-sen in 1933 to Takeshi Inukai, at that time a Japanese Cabinet Minister, Soong Ching-ling affirmed that nothing could stem the historical tide of national independence. "The oppressed peoples", Doctor Sun told Inukai in this letter, "have become greatly awakened since the European war, and have risen to resist oppression. These oppressed peoples are mostly Asians. Hence the people of Asia are bound to feel the effects of this tide and should rise to oppose the European."

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W CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Monday, September 24, 1956

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ON SUEZ ISSUE
(continued)

Teng Chu-min, member of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League, said that the defeat of the United States in its war of aggression in Korea, of Britain in Malaya and France in Indo-China and Algeria proved if they should risk starting war in Egypt they would certainly meet with defeat.

Teng Chu-min added that the threats and intimidation of Britain, France and the United States were just pompous play-acting and the people of Egypt, with the support of the forces of peace of the whole world, would certainly be victorious.

Lai Jo-yu, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, declared the firm support of the Chinese workers, and especially the Chinese seamen, for the just cause of the Egyptian people.

He emphasised that the Suez issue could be settled only by peaceful negotiation.

Like all other peoples in the world the Chinese people were on the side of Egypt, he said. The attitude of Britain, France and the United States in attempting their outrageous encroachment on Egypt's sovereignty was totally isolated, even in their own countries, he pointed out.

Hsu Kuang-ping, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-President of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, extended the respect of the women of China for their brothers and sisters in Egypt. She said that the Chinese women were dependable and reliable friends and supporters in a just struggle of the Egyptian women. "Like a courageous mother seizing back her child from the hands of a robber, so the Egyptian people are completely justified and right to nationalise the Suez Canal. No one has the right to interfere or obstruct", she added.

Huang Yen-pei, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association, denounced the "users association" plan as an act of provocation. This move, he said, which was designed to impose war on the Egyptian people as well as the people of their own countries simply for the sake of the interests of a few capitalists, could not possibly be tolerated.

He pointed out that the colonialists had aroused the hatred of everyone and the Egyptian people were not alone. He went on to cite the Arab countries, India, Indonesia, the Soviet Union and People's Democracies and other countries which cherished peace and opposed colonialism as all on the side of Egypt.

Huang Yen-pei said, "should Britain, France and the United States dare provoke a war against Egypt, they would be doomed to ignominious defeat".

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, said, "the Egyptian people's struggle is by no means an isolated struggle of a single nation. It is a struggle between world peace and war, between anti-colonialism and colonialism.

"The reason why Britain, France and the United States are resorting to all sorts of means to bring pressure on the Egyptian Government and people lies in their desire to extinguish the flames of anti-colonialism in the world," he said.

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NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ON SUEZ ISSUE
(continued)

He emphasised that "today we must fight off the menace of armed aggression and damp down the ferocity of imperialism by taken even more determined action".

Kuo Mo-jo called on Chinese writers to join the fierce struggle "now proceeding along the banks of the Nile" by using the pens in praise of the heroism of the Egyptian people struggling against colonialism.

Chinese scientists and technicians, he said, should help the Egyptians in their work of construction with the same enthusiasm as they were building their own bridge on the Yangtze River and hydraulic power plants on the Yellow River.

He concluded by declaring with great emotion that, in case the imperialists should start a war against the warning of the people of the world, he would go to Egypt as a "volunteer".

Shen Chun-ju, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Democratic League, he said that he could not restrain his indignation over the series of unreasonable actions taken by the imperialists in violation of Egypt's sovereignty. "The struggle of the Egyptian people against colonialism had won enthusiastic support from the Chinese people and all who treasured peace. Their struggle would certainly be victorious", he pointed out. The unreasonable seizure of other countries sovereignty by the imperialists was doomed to ignominious failure.

Hsu Teh-heng, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the Chiu San Society, stated: Since the Bandung Conference, the movement of national independence and anti-colonialism has become an irresistible force among the oppressed people the world over, especially in Asia and Africa, in determining their own fate. "However, Britain, the United States and France are attempting to make use of the Suez Canal as a means of brutally robbing and oppressing the Egyptian people. Such an aggressive criminal act is a challenge not only to Egypt, but also to all Arab states as well as all the countries that love peace and justice. The Chinese people oppose this challenge with high indignation".

Ma Yin-chu, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, said that in compelling Egypt to accept the "Dulles' plan" that infringes its sovereignty, in announcing their intention to organise the "users association", and in attempting to control the canal by force, Britain, France and the United States have encountered the opposition of world peacelovers. "That the Egyptian Government should exercise its sovereign rights on its own territory", he continued, "is a matter of course. Justice is with the Egyptian people, and they are sure to win the victory."

Chang Po-chun, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party and Minister of Communications, described the United States scheme for a "users association" as a "very vicious scheme."

If this plan went through, he said, it would mean conniving at encroachment by the colonialists on the sovereignty of other countries at will.

Chang Po-chun pointed out that up to the present many Chinese seamen had applied to go to Egypt to work as pilots at the Suez Canal.

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CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Monday, September 24, 1956

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ON SUEZ ISSUE
(continued)

Chen Chi-yuan, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, representing the patriotic overseas Chinese voiced support to the Egyptian people in their fight for upholding national sovereignty and honour. He declared, "we overseas Chinese wish to express our unbounded sympathy and respect to the Egyptian people who are at present fighting heroically against colonialism, and extreme indignation and hatred against the colonialist atrocities committed by Britain, France and the United States. We millions of overseas Chinese are all friends of Egypt, and are determined to support China's statement concerning the Suez Canal as well as to give our full support to the just struggle of the Egyptian people."

Chen Chi-yu, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Chih Kung Tang, said, "China in the past faced similar difficulties as Egypt is now encountering. The Chinese people fully understand the Egyptian people's conditions and must support their just cause to a successful conclusion. I am confident that the millions of overseas Chinese would stand firm on the side of the Egyptians, support their righteous cause and frustrate the aggressors' war scheme."

Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, condemned the imperialists for their persistence in vaunting their military might and for their adventurist plot to seize the canal.

He recalled an incident during Chen Chiung-ming's rebellion before the northern expedition, when Doctor Sun Yat-sen, commanding 5 warships, sailed up from Whampoa to Canton. The then British Consul General in Shameen, Canton, on behalf of the imperialist countries, openly declared that only the withdrawal of these ships from the Pearl River could safeguard the lives and property of the foreigners in Shameen and navigation between Hongkong and Canton. Doctor Sun, however, answered firmly, "the Pearl River is a Chinese river. I naturally have complete freedom of movement along this river". And his fleet persisted in doing so to the end.

Marshal Yeh Chien-ying commented that at that time the revolutionary force in Canton was very weak while the imperialist pressure was formidable. "But, as long as we believe in the justice of our cause and do not budge, we do not have to fear the threats of the imperialists."

"Now nearly 30 years have passed since the above incident. The world has undergone a fundamental change. Despite the numerous difficulties which Egypt has to face in her struggle, the situation is far more favourable for her than 30 years ago. The Egyptians are a courageous and strong-willed people. I am confident that they will not be cowed by the bulwark of the British, French and United States imperialists."

The Marshal warned the colonialists to be rather more clear-minded and realistic in view of the lessons taught to the Americans in their defeat in Korea, to the British in their defeat in Malaya, and the French in their defeat in Indo-China. The British and the French Governments were especially warned that if they insisted on laying hold of the canal by military means, they would be pushed beyond redemption along a disastrous path, which is just what the United States desired.

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NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ON SUEZ ISSUE
(continued)

Marshal Liu Po-cheng, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, stated that the threat of force by certain Western nations was a challenge not only to the people of Egypt and other Arab countries, but also to all peaceloving countries and peoples. The present problem concerned not only the safeguarding of Egypt's sovereignty but opposition to imperialist aggression and the repulse of military threat for the cause of world peace.

Marshal Liu continued that the Chinese people knew from experience that the imperialists were not to be dreaded after all. "It is only by repelling infringement that justice can be upheld; it is only by resistance against aggression that peace can be maintained. The Chinese people heartily sympathise with and wholly support the Egyptian people in their heroic fight. They resolutely oppose any attempt at infringing Egypt's sovereignty and bringing about an armed intervention," he stated.

Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, said that the Suez issue was a question of colonialism versus anti-colonialism. "It is a question which does not concern Egypt alone but all countries which suffer from the vices of colonialism."

Chen Shu-tung condemned the 3 Western powers for their economic pressure and military threats against Egypt and their attempt to achieve their colonialist ends by means of the "users association" plan.

Lo Lung-chi, member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Vice-Chairman of the China Democratic League, declared that utter failure would await those who dared commit military aggression. "The Chinese people would do their best to support the Egyptian people with their material resources and, whenever necessary, with their voluntary actions", he declared.

He asserted, "the combined forces of the Egyptian people, the entire Arab people, the Asian and African people and the peaceloving people the world over were certainly capable of inflicting crushing defeat on the aggressive designs of Britain, France and United States".

Chou Chien-jen, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, said that the 600 million Chinese people were closely watching the grave situation in the Suez Canal zone created by imperialist provocation.

He added that the imperialists should draw lessons from the war in Korea, Vietnam, Malaya and Algeria. The Governments of Britain and France should realise that pulling chestnuts out of the fire would do them no good, he stressed.

Fu Tso-yi, member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Minister of Water Conservancy, said that the colonialists considered the Suez Canal as an important link and would not relax in the slightest their criminal grip in an attempt to make a demonstration against the oppressed people of the world. Threats of war could not intimidate the Egyptian people, he went on. For their national independence and the integrity of their sovereignty, the Egyptian people have taken a grave decision regardless of all kinds of sacrifices. Victory or defeat in war was not determined by the strength and size of armed forces, but by the fact whether the war was just or not, by the firm and unbending will of the broad masses for independence and freedom. (continued)

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Monday, September 24, 1956

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ON SUEZ ISSUE
(continued)

The era of threats, slaughter and suppression of the people in the colonies has already gone forever, he added.

Wei Li-huang, former Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Kuomintang ground forces, said that the attempt of Britain, France and the United States to set up a "users association" and the provocative action of concentrating armed forces in Cyprus was opposed by the peace-loving people of the whole world.

He added that the Chinese people who were engaged in building up a happy life for themselves warmly loved peace but were not afraid of war.

He warned the imperialists to be "more sober and collected". He said, "I was trained as a soldier. In case of necessity, I am willing to support Egypt as an old volunteer."

Chang Hsi-jo, member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. and President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, said that Britain and France, together with the United States, their close companion, have resorted to all sorts of debased and absurd measures in an effort to save what can never be saved over the Suez Canal issue. They would not give up even though they were at their wits end, he added.

Nevertheless, all nations and people the world over who loved peace and justice stood resolutely on the Egyptian side. Thus even though someone should attempt to defy the desire of all, it would be nothing more than "committing suicide". He added, "we can only persuade/other person not to hang himself; but if he insists on hanging himself, what else can you do for him."

Burhan, the head of the Chinese Islamic Haj mission, the Chinese cultural mission to Egypt and Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, said, "when I was recently in Egypt, I witnessed the unshakable solidarity of the Egyptian people behind the nationalisation of the Suez Canal that was effected under the leadership of President Nasser."

He said: "The Egyptian people will not submit to the use of force by any foreign countries. The Suez question can only be settled by peaceful negotiations."

He declared that if an aggressive war was launched against Egypt by the imperialists, he along with his two sons would volunteer to fight for the independence and freedom of Egypt.

Hsieh Hsueh-hung, member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. and Chairman of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, said that the league, in line with other democratic parties and the people of the country, resolutely supported the just stand of the Chinese Government on the Suez Canal issue. "The Chinese people always love peace and opposed war. Therefore, we fully support this just struggle of the Egyptian people, in the same way as the people the world over support us in our just struggle to liberate Taiwan", she added.

Wang Kuang-ying, who returned recently from Egypt, gave the meeting an eye-witness account of the fervour of the Egyptian people of all walks of life in their great unity against imperialism.

/the

(continued)

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ON SUEZ ISSUE
(continued)

He said the Egyptian people who had given 120,000 lives of their fellow countrymen in building the Suez Canal would not tolerate any encroachment on their sovereign rights.

Chen Ming-shu, member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., stated that without United States support, Britain and France would not dare continue to insist on their fantastic attempt to defy justice and infringe the sovereignty of another country. The United States supported them because it wanted to use this opportunity to seize and take over the British and French colonialist positions in the Middle East. The scheme of Britain, France and the United States would undoubtedly end in defeat no matter whether the question be settled swiftly in favour of Egypt or be dragged on.

Hu Yao-pang, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League of China, said that the liberated youth of China had displayed greatest enthusiasm and courage in two things, one was the construction of the country and the other was opposition to imperialism. The statement made by Premier Chou En-lai that the Chinese people would give all-out support to the people of Egypt fully expressed the desire of the young people of China. The youth of China never wanted war, but if the imperialists were bent on inviting self-destruction then the young people of China, who had undergone the tests of war, would certainly join the people and youth of the whole world in sending the war-makers to their graves.

Wang Kun-lun, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, recited a poem he had written in support of the Egyptian people's struggle to defend their sovereignty and independence.

End of Pw.

CHINA'S FIRST ENSEMBLE FOR AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

PEKING September 23 - New China's first ensemble ever to visit Australia and New Zealand left Peking by train this morning.

The company is composed of Peking opera singers, exponents of modern dancing, folk musicians and other performers organised under the auspices of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. It will spend 3 months touring Australia and New Zealand at the invitation of Garret H. Arall Ltd., and J.C. Williamson Ltd, of Melbourne, Australia.

Led by Hsu Kuang-hsiao, poet and writer, Ma Shao-po, Vice-Director of the National Peking Opera Theatre, and Chang Shao-ting, a leading member of the association, the ensemble has a total of 87 members. They include Peking opera actor Li Ho-tseung, who has visited India, Burma, Indonesia and Japan, actress Chiang Hsia-jung, who won a first prize at the 5th World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship in Warsaw, young performers who have visited Japan or countries of North Europe and modern dancers from the Wuhan People's Theatre.

Its repertoire of over 30 items includes Peking operatic items such as General Lien Po and Prime Minister Lin Hsiang-wu, the Drunken Beauty and Crossroads, and also the Lotus Dance, the Red Silk Dance, folk music and folk songs.

The ensemble plans to visit New Zealand first and then proceed to Australia during the period of the Olympic Games.

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pp 7-8 and 15-20 to be Pw

E 14211/1772(C)	(Peking Tel No 553)	FC 10110
CHINA NEWS AGENCY	Monday, September 24, 1956	

SEPTEMBER 22nd MEETING OF PARTY CONGRESS:

FRATERNAL SPEECH OF DELEGATE FROM SYRIA AND LEBANON

BEKING September 22 - A thunderous ovation greeted the speech delivered by Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon, at the congress today.

Egypt, like all other Arab countries, "is firmly determined to defend the Suez Canal and her right to sovereignty and national independence", he said. Egypt's victory in the struggle for the canal was a victory for the cause of world peace and a victory for all progressive humanity striving to free itself forever from the humiliation of imperialism and the horrors of imperialist wars, he added.

"The Arabs know very well that they are not alone in this battle, that they have by their side the powerful world camp of socialism. They have by their side all the people of Asia and Africa, the people of Latin America, the working class and all the fair-minded people of France, Britain and all the countries of Europe", he said.

The voice of the great Soviet Union at the London conference was that of a faithful defender of the cause of Egypt and the Arabs. The Soviet statements concerning the Suez Canal had been a clear and firm warning to the imperialists.

People's China had proved in its repeated statements that it "is a sincere friend of the Arabs, and in the van of the movement of national liberation and peace in Asia and Africa", he continued.

The Arabs with all their hearts were behind the efforts the Chinese people were making to unify their country by liberating Taiwan from foreign occupation. Tens of millions of Arabs were demanding that the People's Republic of China, their great friend, take its rightful place in the United Nations.

"Egypt and all the Arabs want the difference concerning navigation of the Suez Canal to be resolved by peaceful means, on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of Egypt over her canal."

But if the imperialists had recourse to armed aggression in order to impose their domination on the canal, then the example of Algeria would show them what was in store for them, not only in Egypt but also in Syria and in every Arab country, he pointed out.

A great popular movement had been launched throughout the Arab world, which embraced millions of people under the slogan of the national front against imperialism.

"We Syrians want to tell the imperialists that they will find the Syrian people and the Syrian army an independent, united Syria a single mass that will burn the soil under their feet if they try to dirty our soil or the soil of Egypt with their imperialist rot." This statement drew prolonged, thunderous ovations from the entire hall.

The Arabs wanted to live in peace in their own countries; they wanted to advance by peaceful means along the road of democracy, of economic and cultural progress. But the imperialists tried to arrest this peaceful development by their pressure, threats and intervention in the Arab's internal affairs.

(continued)

SEPTEMBER 22nd MEETING OF PARTY CONGRESS:

FRATERNAL SPEECH OF DELEGATE FROM SYRIA AND LEBANON (continued)

But all the imperialist pressure has failed miserably in the face of resistance by the people and before the growing fraternity between the people and the army in the struggle against imperialism. That was why the imperialists were now looking for a means to re-occupy the Arab countries and to re-establish their direct domination over the Arab countries.

But, he added, "we are defending our independence, with your support and your assistance.

"With your support and your assistance, the Arabs will free all the countries that are still occupied and subject to imperialist treaties.

"We shall continue our advance along the road of national liberation and economic and cultural development, and we shall bring about Arab unity on the basis of democracy and complete liberation from the yoke of imperialism.

"From your great 8th Congress we are learning how to implement to the widest extent the policy of an anti-imperialist national front with all progressive forces, the national bourgeoisie included. We shall remain faithful to our people, faithful to our countries, faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism which are the road of national liberation, the road of a truly democratic development, the road of the glorious march towards socialism to which all the Arab peoples aspire."

In conclusion, he said: "Long live the faithful friend and powerful ally of the Arabs: The great camp of peace and socialism headed by the Soviet Union! Long live Arab-Chinese friendship!"

His speech was repeatedly punctuated by waves of stormy applause.

/of - - - - -

CHINESE AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION ENTERTAINED IN INDIA

NEW DELHI September 23 - A.P. Jain, Indian Minister of Food and Agriculture, yesterday gave a dinner party in the President's house in honour of the Chinese agricultural delegation led by Chiang Chih-sien, Vice-Minister of Land Reclamation.

The delegation met with the Secretary and other senior officials of the Ministry this morning before it left for Agra to visit the famous Taj Mahal.

- - - - -

CHINESE DELEGATION ON WAY HOME

DJAKARTA September 23 - The delegation of the China-Indonesia Friendship Association, led by Sheikh Nur Mohammed Ta Pu-sheng, left here for home by air this morning after 1 1/2 months in Indonesia.

They were seen off by Mrs. Rasuna Said and Professor Tjan Tjoesom, Vice-Chairmen of the Indonesia-China Friendship Association, and others.

During their stay in this country, the Chinese delegates attended the Indonesian National Day celebrations and visited 14 cities in Java, Sumatra and Bali. They contacted various strata of Indonesian people. They were received by President Sukarno, Vice-President Hatta, and other Indonesian leaders.

- - - - -

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Sir H. Trevelyan
No. 2260
September 21, 1956

D. 9.10 p.m. September 21, 1956
R. 10.45 p.m. September 21, 1956

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to British Information Services New York
telegram No. 52 of September 21.

AND TO: Washington
Foreign Office

Repeated for information Saving to Bagdad

Paris

Beirut (R.I.O.)

Foreign Office telegram No. 3201.

Salem's letter to Arab League in Shaab of September 18 (my telegram No. 256 Saving of September 19, not to all) put forward proposal for achieving glory and independence of Arab nations. Proposal called for immediate meeting in Bagdad of Arab Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers to "announce position of their governments in the event of aggression by British and French, with American support, on any Arab country".

2. Salem wrote: "In my view this position is summarised as follows:

- (a) Breaking off of diplomatic and economic relations between all Arab governments and aggressor governments.
- (b) abrogation of all political, military and other treaties and agreements which tie them to the aggressor States including the Anglo-Egyptian Base Agreement, The Bagdad Pact, the Saudi-American Bahrain Agreement, and the agreements of Tunis and Morocco with France.
- (c) Treating all Western bases, American, British and French in the Arab World, from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean as illegal, and cutting off all facilities and services granted to them under these treaties and agreements. All Arab workers should boycott these bases.
- (d) annulling of all contracts granted to American, British and French exploitation companies. Arab labour should boycott these institutions, including oil companies. / (e)

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Cairo telegram No. 2260 to Foreign Office

-2-

(e) Endeavouring to establish pacts of non-aggression and friendship between the Arab Powers and the Powers which support us in our attitude towards Western aggression".

3. In article in Shaab on September 19 Salem argued that Arabs had powerful, long-neglected weapons in their armoury which their leaders should learn how to use. Following consists of "facts" which Salem argued proved his point.

"Firstly, Britain, France, American and some of the Western Powers have much invested wealth in our Arab area bringing in altogether millions of pounds. If we are attacked we can completely paralyse the exploiting of these huge sums. Here, even the strongest Western Governments cannot resist the pressure of their companies which invest these riches in our area".

"Secondly, the cutting off of all the petrol which our Arab land produces means a complete collapse in the livelihood of Western Europe and a corresponding collapse in its entire defensive Power".

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to B.I.S. New York and Washington and Saving to Paris as my telegrams Nos. 52, 331 and 321 respectively.

[Repeated to B.I.S. New York and Washington and Saving to Paris]

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary

Mr. Dean

Mr. Ross

Head African Department

Head News Department

1111

SOS has seen Minsky / Transport
 Enter Green (African) 21/18
TOP SECRET

With the end of the Menzies mission it is more than ever important for us to control events in the Canal.

Following discussions with Georges Picot and the International and British Chambers of Shipping, I summarize below their appreciation of the situation as it may now develop -

JFK 21/1784 / G

- a) The majority of European pilots and technical staff will start to leave the Canal. If unhindered, they are likely to stop work by Saturday 15th.
- (b) Many shipowners will divert vessels round the Cape at this news.
- (c) The size of the initial "pile-up" at each end of the Canal depends on (b).
- (d) Nasser will make every effort to keep the Canal going with Egyptian pilots plus ^{and foreign} Greeks/volunteers. Picot's view is now that he will manage to get at least 40% of current traffic through and possibly a great deal more. His task would be made easier if -
 - (1) Captains are willing to join Canal convoys without pilots or with inexperienced men. Ships would follow a "lead ship" with an experienced pilot.
 - (2) Captains with long experience of Canal will accept certification as temporary pilots by Nasser and take their own ships through.
- (e) This device, if it succeeded, coupled with major diversions round the Cape might keep the Canal going but on a reduced scale.
- (f) Lack of technical staff will be felt, but not for some time. Lack of funds, so far as Canal operations are concerned, is not decisive so long as Nasser retains £10 million of Canal Company's funds plus the 40% to 50% of dues that he is collecting and pays no compensation.

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-2-

I suggest that the following action will best meet this situation as it develops.

(1) The Canal situation will change continuously.

To keep it under review I propose to set up a small Committee under Dennis Proctor, my Deputy Secretary (Shipping). This would channel information from the Suez Canal Company and Shipping Industry and maintain constant touch with them. I propose that Treasury, Foreign Office and the Navy should be represented on this Committee. The first task of the Committee would be to organise operations "Pile-up" and "Convoy" -(7) and (8) below.

(2) Britain and France instruct any British or French controlled ships still paying dues to Nasser to cease forthwith and to pay in London or Paris.

(3) U.S.A., Norway, Holland, etc. are asked to follow suit. (2) and (3) should be announced by Wednesday 12th.

(4) International authority set up by Dulles Plan governments.

(5) Pilots' departure should be handled so that it appears a genuine refusal to tolerate impossible working conditions technically as well as politically.

(6) Departures should start on 15th September.

(7) Operation "Pile-up".

On and after September 15th sufficient ships should be routed to Suez and Port Said to cause serious congestion at

entrances to Canal well beyond the capacity of remaining force of pilots to clear. All offers of compromise methods of transit (see (d) above) must be refused as unsafe. Barrage of complaints to Nasser and to U.K. and France about unavailability of transits and unsafe conditions must be organised.

(8) Operation "Convoy".

Countries concerned exercise their treaty rights to station warships at each end of Canal. Suez Canal pilots to be placed on these ships, and to be offered to ships of any nation that are held-up. If by this time international body is functioning, this should be the authority under which passage of Canal should be organised for these ships. If not, U.K. and France would act in its name. As soon as a convoy was organised demand should be made to Nasser for its free and unobstructed passage. If not, warships might be used to lead convoy.

It is only fair to add that Picot and Shipowners see great practical difficulties in this plan. It would also be negatived by any degree of success by Nasser in organising his own Convoys, hence the importance of (7). Given the success of "Pile-up", we should have to attempt "Convoy".

Harold Wilson

Ministry of Transport

104 Sept 1956

SECRET

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTF

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND
WHITEHALL SECRET DISTRIBUTION

Sir R. Makins

No. ~~2979~~ 1979
September 22, 1956

D:8.09 p.m. L.T. September 22, 1956
R:2.53 a.m. September 23, 1956

EMERGENCY
SECRET

J E-1211/786

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. ~~2979~~ 1979 of
September 22

Repeated for information to: UKDEL, New York Paris
Cairo

Your telegram No. 4389: Suez Canal.

In my absence in Indiana with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Her Majesty's Minister met Mr. Dulles at the Airport this afternoon and later attended a meeting with him to discuss your intention to call a Security Council meeting for September 26. He spoke according to your telegram under reference: adding some points from your telegram No. 4400.

2. Mr. Dulles said he considered it was sound to go to the United Nations, but thought the Prime Minister had agreed with him that we should first wait to see what progress we could make with the Suez Canal Users' Association. Contrary to your view he feared immediate recourse to the Council would make some of the 18 (notably Iran, Pakistan and Ethiopia and perhaps also Sweden and Denmark) hesitate to join S.C.U.A. until they see how things go in the United Nations.

3. He particularly welcomed the seventeen hours delay in announcing your intention as he thought many nations would have been angered by an announcement so immediately after the London Conference and without any advance consultation or even warning. It would appear as if the decision to act had already been taken in London whilst they were there and withheld from them. For this reason (though he did not insist) he thought postponement til 3 p.m. B.S.T. Monday (repeat Monday) would be even better than the timing proposed in your telegram No. 4403. United States intelligence sources had been unable to trace any information to support that referred to in paragraph 1 of your telegram under reference: he was, therefore, unable to assess how immediate the risk was of Russians forestalling us.

/ 4.

~~SECRET~~ 1979

Washington telegram No. 2972 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

4. Mr. Dulles was not prepared to co-sponsor. He thought it better that we should act bilaterally with the French since, if the United States were associated with us, we might later find them applying the brakes in a way which would embarrass you and M. Pineau.

5. Minister said he would of course report Mr. Dulles's views on postponement but he thought it likely that, as there had been one postponement already, you would wish to stick to existing dateline.

6. Mr. Dulles is obviously rather worried by the timing of your action in the Council, particularly as he is without any clear indication of precisely what we mean to ask the Council to do. He asked whether the reference to a "situation" in the item heading meant that action would fall under Chapter VI. Her Majesty's Minister said he thought this probably was the intention, although possibly we should not specify. There were plenty of precedents for appealing to the Council without invoking any particular Article of the Charter.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Paris and Routine to Cairo as my telegrams Nos. 169 and 154 respectively.

[Repeated to Paris and Cairo]

2222

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary
Sir I. Kirkpatrick
Mr. Dean
Mr. Nutting
Mr. Murray
Mr. Pink

Sir G. Fitzmaurice
Head of African Department
Head of News Department
Head of General Department
Head of United Nations
Department
Mr. Mayall

Resident Clerk

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SECRET

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

No. 4413

September 23, 1956.

D. 7.43 p.m. September 23, 1956.

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Addressed to Washington telegram No. 4413 of September 23.

Repeated for information to:

Paris [Priority] U.K. Del. New York [Priority]
Cairo [Priority].

Your telegram No. 1979 [of September 22] Suez.

Please tell Mr. Dulles that we felt we could not agree to a further day's delay in announcing recourse to Security Council, for the reasons given in my telegram No. 4389. Birgi and Noon have not yet left this country and I have told Birgi and the Pakistan High Commissioner (as Noon was not available) of what we are doing. They were enthusiastic. I have sent messages to the remainder of the eighteen. I have it in mind to call a meeting of their ambassadors early this week to discuss tactics at the Council.

2. We do not think it wise to specify at this stage the Chapter under which we are taking this action. There are (as you say) plenty of precedents for not doing so.

3. You should add that I fully understand Mr. Dulles reasons for not joining us and the French in co-sponsorship. Please tell him what guidance we have issued (my telegram No. 1877 to Paris) and say that I shall let him know early next week how we propose to handle the affair in the Council and make suggestions for consultation.

[Copies sent to No. 10 Downing Street].

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General Department.

TTTT

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En clair

St. Nau/1787

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Middleton
No. 836
September 22, 1956

D: 4.59 p.m. September 22, 1956
R: 7.36 p.m. September 22, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 836 of September 22.
Repeated for information to Amman Bagdad Cairo
Damascus Jeddah.

Quoting a reliable source in Amman as confirming rumours about developments in Egyptian-Saudi relations, "Hayat" carries the following message which has not appeared in other newspapers:

"In the course of the meetings of the Political Committee of the Arab League, the Saudi delegate, Sheikh Youssef Yassin, commented on the attitude of the Egyptian President towards the Arab States on the Suez crisis by saying that these States are always asked to meet after events had taken place, and that they are usually faced with a "fait accompli". He also said that the Suez Canal did not concern Egypt alone, but the Arab States in general and the oil-producing countries in particular, and that any decision taken by Abdul-Nasser affected the other Arab States directly. He added that so far the Egyptian President had acted unilaterally in taking decisions and in conducting negotiations and did not ask the advice of the other Arab States. The Head of the Iraqi delegation spoke in the same sense, and said that he supported the Saudi delegate over the necessity of consulting the Arab States concerned in the Suez dispute before, not after, taking decisions. The attitude of the Saudi delegate and his agreement along this line with the Iraqi delegate was the object of comment and discussions, and the Egyptian side showed its preparedness to consider these views.

Foreign Office please pass to Jeddah as my telegram No. 23.

[Repeated to Jeddah].

LLLLL

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

E 14211/1787

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Sir H. Trevelyan

No. 2280

D:7.57 p.m. September 22, 1956

September 22, 1956

R:9.51 p.m. September 22, 1956

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 2280 of
September 22

Repeated for information to New Delhi

and Saving to: Washington Paris

My telegram No. 2209: Suez Canal.

I saw Krishna Menon briefly before he left Cairo. He said that he was bringing no proposals from the Egyptian Government and was only concerned to find out the present thinking on both sides. He said that the Indians had been throughout putting pressure on Nasser to be moderate. He thought that Nasser though not willing to compromise on his main position would receive approaches from the Users' Association in a reasonable manner.

2. Menon said that he had only seen newspaper reports about the Users' Association as it emerged from the conference. His impression seemed to be that it had now lost its teeth and could suitably be enlarged to include everybody who sent goods through the Canal including India and the U.S.S.R.; so as to form a body to negotiate with the Egyptian Government. He again expressed his disquiet at the increased costs to the Indian economy which would follow from a boycott policy and professed to deplore the increased dependence of Europe and the United Kingdom upon the United States which he expected would result from it. He said that all the Indians wanted was a solution by agreement. They had no objection to an international board operating the Canal; but as he had pointed out at the London Conference the Egyptians would not accept such a board. Finally he said that if the real issue was not the conditions for operation of the Canal but the dangers of Nasser to Western interests in the Middle East, the Indians would not be able to be of any help.

/ Foreign ..



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Cairo telegram No. 2280 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

Foreign Office pass to New Delhi and Saving to Washington and Paris as my telegrams Nos. 16, 380 and 528 respectively.

[Repeated Saving to Washington and Paris.
Copies sent to Telegraph Section, G.R.O. for repetition to New Delhi]

2222

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Sir R. Makins
No. 1976
September 22, 1956

D: 8.19 p.m. September 22, 1956
R: 10.05 p.m. September 22, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1976 of September 22.
Repeated for information Saving to Cairo, Tel Aviv, UKDel
New York

Jelub Paris.

My telegram No. 641 Saving.

Suez Canal: American Press and Radio Comment.

Front page headlines in this morning's East Coast papers say that the "Big Three split on Suez; France may not join 'weak' Canal Plan" (Washington Post), and, "detour plan dropped by United States in Suez row as too costly to West" (New York Herald Tribune). United States correspondents in London stressed that "France was a surprise holdout because the plan gave member nations 'too much freedom' to pay Canal tolls to Egypt" (United Press). Some reporters in Washington, especially Roberts (Washington Post) made much of the view that "Western Big Three unity was publicly and gravely threatened". Roberts thought that "this was the dominant and perhaps genuine outcome of the second London Conference which ended amid serious differences over and no general agreement on what to do next". Both Roberts and Higgins (New York Herald Tribune) reported on the lines that "the United States has now definitely abandoned any immediate idea of re-routing ships away from the Suez Canal so long as it is operated with reasonable efficiency... at the moment the most the United States is prepared to do is order American ships to stop paying Suez Canal transit tolls directly to the Egyptian Government ... but it will have little practical effect because most of the American bound oil and other cargoes going through the Canal are carried by ships of independent registry". Reports about the establishment of S.C.U.A. and the agreement to send the problem to the United Nations did not attract nearly so much interest as did "dispatches from London and Paris showing the French Government in open revolt against what it considered the watering down" of the original C.A.S.U. proposals.

/ Callender



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Washington telegram No. 1976 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

Callender (New York Times from London) echoed a common doubt when he reported that "many observers wondered whether this novel venture in collective action would contribute much to clarify or solve the problem created by Egypt's nationalisation of the Canal".

2. So far, only the New York Times and the Washington Post have commented editorially. The Times expressed mild approval. "the London conference achieved enough success to be gratifying ... the 18 Nations have certainly proved a willingness to avoid provocation. Now it is up to Egypt to be equally moderate". "A shooting war is being avoided". The Times said, but "it is still a possibility. The British and French have now disposed their troops, planes and ships to be ready for possible action. The Dulles Plan for a Users' Association was designed as a substitute for force and at the very best as a time saver, yet, the United States cannot and will not prevent the British and French from using force if they absolutely feel they are driven to it". The Post thought that S.C.U.A. was "a very meek instrument indeed ... a rather toothless improvisation in the hope that other considerations will persuade Nasser to be reasonable". "What is left is a blueprint for a User-Cooperative, shorn of some of its rough edges and provocative language, emphasising the hope of de facto arrangements with Colonel Nasser and pointing to the further step of referring the issue to the United Nations ... actually, what the Users now are relying upon is the moral force of world opinion, which is untested in situations of this kind". The Post, which during the past few weeks has been quite unpredictable, now "wonders whether Mr. Dulles was wise to back down so far on the alternative of reducing dependence on the Canal". "It may be", The Post thought, that "India ... can be of help in persuading Nasser to agree to satisfactory international guarantees of free access".

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Cairo, Tel Aviv and Paris as my telegrams Nos. 133, 77 and 341 respectively.

[Repeated Saving to Cairo, Tel Aviv and Paris].

LLLLL

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FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP



FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir R. Makins
No. 1980
September 23, 1956.

D. 12.21 a.m. September 24, 1956.
R. 2.00 a.m. September 24, 1956.

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

JE. No 11/1741

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1980 of
September 23, repeated for information to Cairo
Paris
U.K. Del. New York

My telegram No. 4408.

At an interview on "Meet the Press" on television this evening devoted entirely to the Suez question, Mr. Dulles was asked inter alia what he thought of the Anglo/French move to take the Suez question to the United Nations. He replied: "I think very well of it" and went on to explain that the consensus of opinion at the London Conference had been that the issue should be raised in the Security Council fairly soon. Mr. Dulles added that he thought it important that SCUA should be established before the Security Council took action, but that his understanding was that the timing would allow for this. He thought no decision had yet been taken as to whether the Council should be asked to act under Chapter VI or Chapter VII. But SCUA could, for instance, in his view be very useful if the Council decided to take provisional measures under Article 41.

2. Full report will follow directly transcript is available tomorrow. Two members of my staff who watched the interview tell me that Mr. Dulles put up quite a good show from our point of view.

/Foreign Office please

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FROM JEDDA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

J

Cypher/OTP

JE 1421/802

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
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Mr. Parkes

No. 304

September 23, 1956.

D. 11.15 p.m. September 23, 1956.

R. 1.25 a.m. September 24, 1956.

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 304 of September 23

Repeated for information to Bagdad

And Saving to Amman	Khartoum
Beirut	Cairo
Ankara	Tehran
Damascus	Bahrain

Your telegram No. 3239 to Cairo: Suez Canal.

Saudis qua Arabs undoubtedly sympathize with Nasser in what has come to be regarded as a struggle between one of the new nations of the East and the imperialist West. This sympathy, however, is thickly overlaid by a more realistic regard for their own interests. Official and business sections of the community are by and large fully aware of the threat which Nasser's actions offer to Saudi Arabia's oil revenues and to its economy, particularly in Hajaz where pattern of trade would be considerably distorted if the Canal were out of action. As time goes on, and assuming that nothing supervenes to enhance Nasser's prestige, I should expect increasing weight to be given to arguments of self interest.

2. So far as King Saud is concerned, I think time is also on our side. In the past few months he has radically changed his thinking on foreign affairs and would probably benefit from time to gain confidence and get used to the new position he has taken up. In this period of consolidation (provided always that current visits of Nasser, Shukri Kuwatli and Nehru do not wreck everything) satisfactory [mutilated grp ?evolution] of Saudi Iraqi rapprochement will be all important. My American, French and Pakistan colleagues would, I think, agree with this assessment subject to the rider that Saud gets

/ some of the arms

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Jedda telegram No. 302 to Foreign Office

-2-

some of the arms he so passionately desires from somewhere in the fairly near future. All three admitted [grps undecl] seeing considerable danger of Saud running out if his hopes of Western arms continue to be deferred much longer. I differ from them only in degree of emphasis.

3. There is additional point, that as economic shoe pinches Egypt may become even more dependent on Saudi financial assistance and thus more receptive to Saudi advice.

4. Your paragraph 2. Local opinion about SCUA is still largely sceptical, but there is general relief that the Association at least offers temporary alternative to open conflict. Although Saudi Arabia has condemned it officially (my telegram No. 296 not to all addressees) Head of Ministry of Foreign Affairs now admits that this somewhat premature rejection was largely centred on the ignorance of the Association's real objects. My United States colleague and I are doing our best to remedy this. SE 11/216/100

Foreign Office pass to 9 information addressees as my telegrams Nos. 28 and Saving 13, 27, 21, 16, 3, 23, 15 and 4.

[Repeated to Bagdad and Saving to Amman, Beirut, Ankara, Damascus, Khartoum, Cairo, Tehran, Bahrain]

EEEEE

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

J
FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Gardener

No. 576

D. 10.18 a.m. September 24, 1956.

September 24, 1956.

R. 12.15 p.m. September 24, 1956.

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 576 of September 24



Repeated for information Saving to Amman

Cairo

Bagdad

P.O.M.E.F.

Beirut

J
Your telegram No. 3239 to Cairo.

It is difficult to assess accurately the state of public opinion in Syria about Nasser owing to the fact that the Left-Wing, which supports Egypt, is vociferous and well organized, whereas the Right-Wing has been frightened to express its views, particularly to foreigners.

2. With this reservation in mind, I think it is true to say that while nearly everyone still admires Nasser for his successful coup against the West, his popularity now shows signs of declining. This can be ascribed to three factors:

(a) thoughtful Syrians realise that Nasser's policy, being anti-West, is playing increasingly into the hands of the Communists;

(b) others, particularly in the north, realise that Syria's trade is in danger of being forced into over-dependence on Communist markets and away from the natural outlets for her products in the West;

(c) clearly all fear that Nasser's policy, on which (as they now begin to resent) he did not consult the other Arab States, may actually involve Syria in war (although this fear has been receding in the last few days).

3. Syrian fear of war, however, has been increased by apprehensions on more than one front, e.g.

(a) recent incidents on Jordan-Israel frontier have provoked the fear that the Western Powers might incite Israel

/ to attack

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FROM ATHENS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
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E14211/1770

Mr. Lambert

No. 669

D: 12.01 p.m. September 21, 1956

September 21, 1956

R: 1.37 p.m. September 21, 1956

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 669 of
September 21

Repeated for information to: Cairo Washington

I learn from my United States colleague that Colonel Nasser communicated to the Greek Government a memorandum setting forth his proposals for handling the Suez dispute, together with a covering note inviting the Greek Government to give him their viewpoint. The Greek Government, after consulting United States Chargé d'Affaires, have now replied declining to take any part in Egyptian proposals. This is a further indication that the Greek Government will try by all means in their power to avoid taking sides in this issue.

Foreign Office please pass to Cairo and Washington as my telegrams Nos. 28 and 51.

[Repeated to Cairo and Washington]

2222

